Amandine Thiry, Thomas D'haeninck & Christophe Verbruggen

8 (Re-)educational Internationalism in the Low Countries, 1850 – 1914

As Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly have shown, 19th-century educational reform initiatives could not be separated from 'the social question'. After all, education was considered to be one of the most efficient instruments for reform.[1] If we want to understand the popular educational and reformist social initiatives and movements in Belgium and the Netherlands during the long 19th century, it is important to avoid investigating social reformers and experts in local or national isolation. Rather, one needs to approach them as part of a globalising field of discourse and practices. Transnational connections were of major importance for the development of teaching practices, educational science and the shaping of modern school systems.[2] Scholars have been exploring on these cross-border dynamics for over 30 years now, by looking at informal networks, topics of discourse and general institutional developments. Because of the huge number of associations and congresses, an extensive quantitative analysis was long thought to be unfeasible. However, by using collaborative research strategies, we are now able to go beyond a metaphorical use of 'network' as a concept. In this chapter, we advance a formal use of social network analysis (SNA) and concepts such as 'connections', 'exchanges' and 'networks'. This allows us to introduce an actor-centred perspective towards the broader field of social reform, and to look beyond the categories created and imposed by historians.

In the second half of the 19th century, countless transnational exchanges occurred in the field of education. This was partly due to the increasing mobility of teachers and students, but also the result of the emergence of educational exhibitions, the organisation of congresses, and the founding of international institutions and specialised international journals. These cross-border exchanges between academics, teachers, pedagogics, politicians and educational reformers engendered international networks that promoted scientific and professional collaboration and thus gave rise to a social and discursive field which we consid-

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1 Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, "Introduction: Educational Sciences in Dynamic and Hybrid Institutionalization," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5 – 6 (2004): 572.
2 Damiano Matasci, "International Congresses of Education and the Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge in Western Europe, 1876 – 1910," in *Shaping the Transnational Sphere. Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, eds. Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck and Jakob Vogel (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 218 – 238.

er to be 'educational internationalism'. The new educational sciences and New Education[3] in particular were major catalysts for the spread of knowledge and the institutionalisation of pedagogical internationalism in the 1920s.[4]

In this chapter, we will argue that educational internationalism was part of a wider trend of transnational circulation of intellectual and cultural goods in the second half of the 19th century.[5] As stated, this entails that educational internationalism cannot be separated from the upcoming philanthropic and reformist advocacy networks. Education was undoubtedly a crossroads for different domains of the social world.[6] By considering it as a subfield of social reform, we propose a revised and improved definition of the concept.

In the first part of this chapter, we indicate how, in the 19th century, educational internationalism was intertwined with the emergence of social reformist networks. After a brief sketch of the emergence of conferences and organisations and the (in comparison with the Netherlands) pivotal role of Belgium, we look at participation in international congresses, which we assume to be a strong indicator of transnational engagement. In the absence of international (non-)governmental organisations (which only emerged after 1870, and only by the turn of the century in the field of educational science), international congresses became the most important manifestation of "scientific internationalisation".[7] Scholars studying pedagogical reform and educational internationalism have already attempted to study these congresses. However, up until now, they have mainly focused on congresses that were strictly related to educational specialisms or dis-

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3 The term 'new educational sciences' is used to describe a movement of teachers, academics, and medical professionals that tried to put education on a scientific level, by combining methods of several newly found disciplines (e. g. experimental pedagogy, educational psychology and pedology) that emerged in the late 19th century. 'The New Education' was an international social movement with national variants (e. g. the German *Reformpädagogik*, the French *Education nouvelle*) of mostly teachers who attempted to use new educational methods to reform society. As Eckhardt Fuchs describes, there was much overlap between the new educational sciences and The New Education, both in terms of representatives as well as in goals. See: Eckhardt Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics: International Educational Congresses in the Early Twentieth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5 & 6 (2004): 757–784.

4 For New Education, see: Marc Depaepe, *Zum Wohl des Kindes? Pädologie, pädagogische Psychologie und experimentelle Pädagogik in Europa und den USA, 1890–1940* (Weinheim/Leuven: Deutscher Studien Verlag/Leuven University Press, 1993).

5 Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics"; Matasci, "International Congresses of Education," 219–220; Marco Cicchini, "Un bouillon de culture pour les sciences de l'éducation? Le Congrès international d'éducation morale (1908–1934)," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5–6 (2004): 643.

6 Cicchini, "Un bouillon de culture," 643.

7 Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics," 758.

ciplines. Ekhardt Fuchs and others have followed a rather pragmatic approach, by creating typologies of congresses based on their issues, aims and topics, the extent to which they were scientific, and in their organisational structures. Of course, the major difficulty of this approach is that, in many cases, these categories overlapped.[8]

As Damiano Matasci has pointed out, there was a certain overlap between educational congresses and congresses related to social reform. In this chapter, we will take up his suggestion,[9] and use an actor-oriented approach to investigate the co-presence or co-membership (as participants were often referred to as members) between a much wider set of congresses. This indicates changes in personal interests in social and educational issues, as well as changes in social and organisational structures. It will also enable us to answer the questions to what extent international congresses on educational matters were socially connected and to what extent they were related to other social causes. Another interesting question to pose is whether the process of 'pillarisation' in the Low Countries also manifested itself on a transnational level in clearly distinct congress series, dominated by liberals and Catholics respectively?[10] Were educational internationalists divided into class-cutting, separate ideological expert communities?

In the second part of this chapter, we examine how 'educational internationalism' relates to the emergence of an international movement for the protection of the child. Stemming from a network of prison reformers born around 1800, this movement of child protection developed in the last quarter of the 19th century, along with a change in focus from juvenile delinquency towards unfortunate children who were abandoned or in danger and in need of protection. As Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat has argued, there was a shift from a logic of punishment towards a doctrine of social defence and re-education.[11] This transformation has recently been reassessed, from institutional[12] and practice-based per-

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8 Fuchs, "Educational sciences, Morality and Politics".

9 Matasci, "International Congresses of Education," 219.

10 For the phenomenom of pillarisation: see chapter 1/introduction to his volume.

11 Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, "Le mouvement international en faveur de la protection de l'enfance (1880 – 1914)," *Revue d'histoire de l'enfance "irrégulière". Le Temps de l'histoire*, no. 5 (2003): 207– 235. See chapter 2 of this volume for a reconstruction of this evolution.

12 Eckhardt Fuchs, "From Punishment to Education: The International Debate on Juvenile Penal Reform before World War I," *Prospects* 45, no. 1 (2015): 113– 126. See also: Joëlle Droux, "L'internationalisation de la protection de l'enfance : acteurs, concurrences et projets transnationaux (1900 – 1925)," *Critique internationale* n° 52, no. 3 (June 2011): 17– 33.

spectives[13]. Yet, its intertwinement with educational internationalism and processes of institutionalisation and professionalisation has received less attention. Understandably, scholars of educational reform have already indicated that there was a thin cognitive line between the discourse on education in the strict sense of the word (teaching instruction, educational systems and educational methods) and discourse on youth work, youth charity, adult education, child protection and (last but not least) re-education. For instance, congress series on the protection of the child or juvenile delinquency also provided a forum for discussions about educational methods. One important question is to what extent this thematic coherence also resulted in social, institutional and even political-ideological ties and vice versa. Focusing on actors allows us to move from micro-configurations of actors to meso-level social configurations, which offer better perspectives for further research on the relation between 'education' and 're-education' as concepts of reform.

The intertwinement of educational and social reform

Without any doubt, congresses and associations were the most important agents and manifestations of intellectual cooperation in many fields of knowledge and in different domains. Between 1840 and 1914, more than 1500 congresses were organised in which a variety of social causes were discussed by a heterogeneous group of social experts, politicians and other international intelligentsia. They can be seen as laboratories of new expert knowledge,[14] and were – par excellence – sites where scientists, administrators, politicians, artists and other reform-minded elites of different countries met and exchanged ideas.[15] Not only did they offer a regular meeting place where scientists could share their most recent findings, but they also frequently led to the establishment of international scientific organisations. It was at these congresses that an international com-

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13 Jean Trépanier and Xavier Rousseaux, *Youth and Justice in Western States, 1815 – 1950* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
14 Nico Randeraad, "The International Statistical Congress (1853 – 1876): Knowledge Transfers and their Limits," *European History Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2011): 50 – 65.
15 Thomas D'haeninck, Nico Randeraad and Christophe Verbruggen, "Visualizing Longitudinal Data: Rooted cosmopolitans in the Low Countries, 1850 – 1914," in *Online Proceedings of the First Conference on Biographical Data in a Digital World 2015*, no. 1399 (CEUR WS, 2015), 116 – 121, last modified 2 July, 2015, http://ceur-ws.org/Vol-1399/.

munity of scholars was created.[16] They were places where the "rooted cosmopolitans" of the 19th century connected the local, the national and the global.[17]

In his study of international educational congresses,[18] Ekhardt Fuchs devised a typology of (a selection of) international congresses based on the work of Claude Tapia and Jacques Taieb, who in their turn relied on the work of the *Union of International Associations* (UIA).[19] Although the UIA's two-part guide to "*Les congrès internationaux*" is definitely one of the leading reference books for the study of international congresses, historians have also criticised the work for its shortcomings and heuristic constraints.[20] As part of the efforts of our research consortium, the TIC-Collaborative,[21] we have made efforts to combine the UIA guide with several other reference books in order to refine the list of international congresses that took place in the long 19th century.[22] We focused on international congresses and organisations related to the field of social reform. Social reform can be understood as the wide variety of efforts taken by

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16 Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics," 758.

17 Sidney Tarrow, "Rooted Cosmopolitans: Transnational Activists in a World of States," in *Cornell Workshop on Transnational Contention, University of Wisconsin*, last modified 23 October, 2001, https://ssc.wisc.edu/~oliver/SOC924/Articles/TarrowMadison%20talk.%20REV.%20Oct.23. pdf.

18 Eckhardt Fuchs, "Educational sciences, Morality and Politics".

19 Claude Tapia and Jacques Taieb, "Conférences et congrès internationaux de 1815 à 1913," *Relations internationales,* no. 5 (1976): 11–35.

20 Chris Leonards, "Ter bestrijding van armoede, misdaad, oorlog en immoraliteit. Europese congrescultuur in de negentiende en vroege twintigste eeuw vanuit filantropisch perspectief," in *Filantropie in Nederland; Voorbeelden uit de periode 1770–2020* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007), 49–62.

21 www.tic.ugent.be.

22 Alfred H. Fried, *Annuaire de la vie internationale* (Brussels: Office central des institutions internationales, 1905); Alfred H. Fried, *Annuaire de la vie internationale* (Brussels: Office central des institutions internationales, 1906); Alfred H. Fried, *Annuaire de la vie internationale* (Brussels: Office central des institutions internationales, 1907); Alfred H. Fried, *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (New York: Garland Pub., 1911); Pieter Hendrik Eijkman, *L'internationalisme médical* (Amsterdam: F. van Rossen, 1910); Pieter Hendrik Eijkman and Paul Samuel Reinch. *L'internationalisme scientifique (sciences pures et lettres)* (The Hague: WP van Stockum et Fils, 1911); Union of International Associations, *Les congrès internationaux de 1681 à 1899; liste complète* (Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, 1960); Union of International Associations, *Les congrès internationaux de 1900 à 1919: liste complète* (Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, 1964); Robert Doré, *Essai d'une bibliographie des congrès internationaux* (Paris: É. Champion, 1923); Winifred Gregory, *International Congresses and Conferences, 1840–1937; A Union List of Their Publications Available in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1938); Winifred Gregory, *Second Catalogue of Publications of International Congresses and Conferences* (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1939).

an engaged elite to deal with the social question. The 'social question', further-more, is a catch-all term scholars as well as contemporaries used to describe a wide set of tensions and conflicts that were caused by the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation. Our thematic focus reduces the original list of the UIA, which consists of over 2000 international events taking place in the long 19th century, to a corpus of about 1500 congresses. Furthermore, we linked international congresses to international organisations and provided both with tags of the major themes and topics. These tags are partially based on the categories used by Winifred Gregory.[23] This allowed us to compare congresses related to education with congresses related to social reform in general. The graph below shows that a significant number of international congresses is related to educational reform. This includes congresses that focused on the protection of the child, congresses of teaching professionals and series that focused on the various stages of formal education (preschool, elementary, secondary, vocational education and higher education).

It should be noted that, before 1914, many congresses took place in the context of national and international exhibitions such as World Fairs.[24] The exhibitions of Paris (1867, 1878, 1889, 1900), Liège (1905) and Brussels (1910) in particular have been important venues for congresses. Scientific or expert communities by definition have a durable or long-lasting character. Some of the singular congresses have been important, but the exponential growth of congresses in the last quarter of the 19th century is mainly due to the proliferation of series of (annual) congresses. Through them, people working in the same or related domains had the opportunity to meet on a regular basis. Acknowledging the importance of the exchange of knowledge is vitally important to understand the dynamics that led to the institutionalisation of intellectual cooperation during the course of the 19th century. This concerns knowledge that was domain-specific, but also knowledge about the members of the community (in the making) and organisational knowledge in general.[25] Many series of conferences could count on a permanent secretariat; which facilitated publications and the circulation of news and of domain-specific knowledge. Hence, it is no coincidence that many international organisations or bureaus have their roots in (series of) congresses. Since some (early) definitions of international organisations required meetings to be organised on a regular basis, there is even a certain degree of re-

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23 Gregory, *International Congresses and Conferences, 1840–1937.*

24 Anne Rasmussen, "Les congrès internationaux liés aux expositions universelles de Paris (1867–1900)," *Cahiers Georges Sorel* 7, no. 1 (1989): 23–44.

25 For this approach, see: Boyd W. Rayward, ed., *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
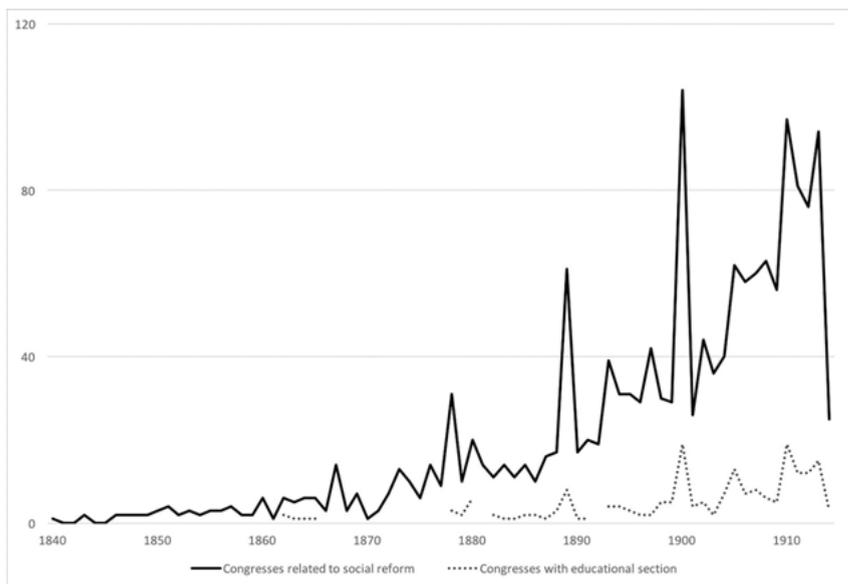
Fig. 8.1: Evolution of the number of international congresses related to social reform between 1840 and 1914 in comparison to congresses with an educational section. The data used for the analysis will become open linked data in 2019, see TIC website : www.tic.ugent.be.

dundancy. In this way, 19th-century congress series preceded both the governmental and non-governmental international organisations of the 20th century.[26]

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26 Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199-209; Madeleine Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); Volker Barth, "International Organisations and Congresses," in *European History Online*, last modified 18 January, 2012, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/transnational-movements-and-organisations/international-organisations-and-congresses.
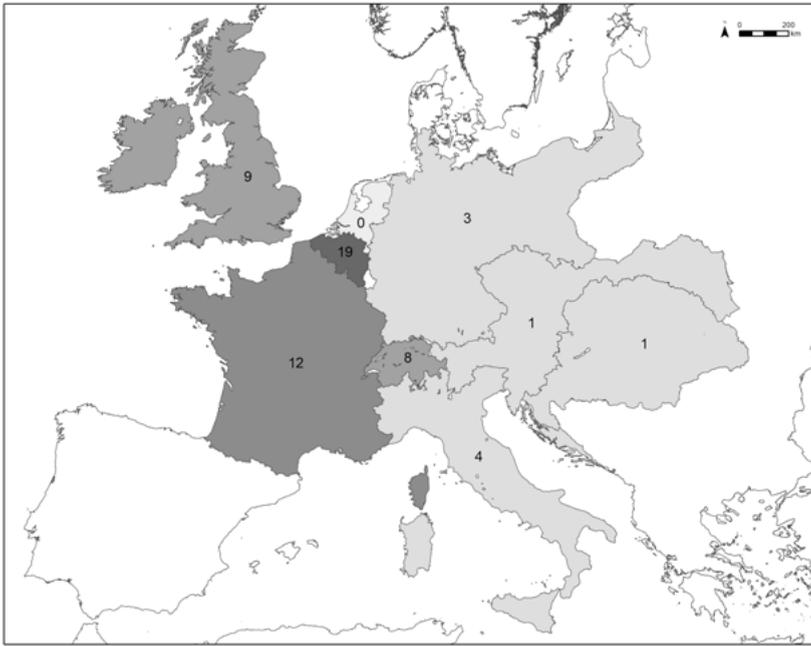
Fig. 8.2: Geographic distribution of the establishment of congress series and international organisations 1880–1914.

Founded in	Year	Name
Antwerp	1890	Congrès International sur le Patronage des Détenus et la Protection des Enfants Moralement Abandonnés
	1894	Fédération Internationale des Patronages
Brussels	1883	Comité Permanent des Congrès Internationaux pour l'Amélioration du Sort des Sourds-muets
	1887	Congrès International d'Éducation Physique de la Jeunesse
	1889	Congrès International de l'Enseignement Primaire
	1901	Congrès International de l'Enseignement Moyen
	1907	Union Internationale pour la Protection de l'Enfance du Premier Âge
	1908	Office International des Oeuvres d'Éducation Populaire
	1909	Office des Échanges Internationaux d'Élèves

Continued

Founded in	Year	Name
	1910	Association Internationale pour l'Étude des Questions relatives à l'Enseignement Technique Supérieur
	1912	Bureau International des Fédérations Nationales du Personnel de l'Enseignement Secondaire Public
Enghien	1910	International Association of Medical Inspectors of Schools
Liège	1881	Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique
	1905	Comité International de Psychologie Pédagogique
		Commission Internationale des Congrès d'Éducation Familiale
		Congrès International de l'Éducation et de Protection de l'Enfance dans la Famille
		International Commission for Agricultural Teaching
		International Institute of Public Art
Ostend	1909	Bureau International de Documentation Éducative

Figure 8.2 shows a striking difference between Belgium and the Netherlands. No less than 19 conference series and international organisations with an educational component or aimed at the protection of children were set up in Belgium. In the Netherlands, on the contrary, there was not even a single one. Setting up and coordinating international secretariats of congress series or organisations required a strong local anchoring and commitment. The first Belgian organisation that explicitly sought international supporters and established a transnational advocacy network to realise a national (secular) agenda was the *Ligue de l'Enseignement*.[27] At the time of the "*Kulturkampf*", foundations were laid for an expert community that would last well into the 20th century (e. g. the *Office International des Oeuvres d'Éducation Populaire*). In 1880, the *Ligue* organised the *Congrès International de l'Enseignement*, the first international congress fully dedicated to education. Pivotal figures were Freemasons Charles Buls (1837 – 1914), Pierre Tempels (1825 – 1923) and Alexis Sluys (1849 – 1939), who would go on to attend many international congresses related to educational questions.

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27 Carmen Van Praet and Christophe Verbruggen, "'Soldiers for a Joint Cause'. A Relational Perspective on Local and International Educational Leagues and Associations in the 1860s," *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 130, no. 1 (2015): 4 – 24. For the *Ligue de l'Enseignement,* see: chapter 5 of this volume.

These three people were also the driving force of the *Congrès International de l'Éducation Populaire* (Brussels, 1910) and the four *Congrès Internationaux de l'Oeuvre de l'Art Public* (1898–1910). These four congresses were organised by *L'Art Public*, founded under the name of *L'Œuvre de l'Art Appliqué à la Rue et aux Objets d'Utilité Publique*. In 1893, Charles Buls, Jean Robie (1821–1910), Jules de Borchgrave (1850–1927), Alfred Cluysenaar (1837–1902), Maurice Frison (1863–1938), Julien Dillens (1849–1904), Jef Lambeaux (1852–1908) and Edmond De Vigne (1841–1918) established *L'Œuvre de l'Art Appliqué* with the aim to transform the streets into picturesque and instructive museums.[28] *L'Art Public* was one of the many popular education initiatives the *Ligue* initiated (e. g. *Musée Populaire* and the *École Primaire Charles Buls*). It had a strong international focus: the four congresses of *L'Art Public* served to spread the League's ideals beyond Belgium and promote art as an instrument for instruction and social reform.

The organisation of international congresses was also highly dependent on the support of local and national governments. The first patronage congress of 1890 cannot be separated from the political agenda of the Catholic politician Jules Lejeune (1828–1911), Minister of Justice, and the ambitions of the liberal Antwerp city council. This prestigious event was supposed to stimulate the expansion of local patronage committees and promote the law on Conditional Conviction and Conditional Release of 31 May 1888 ("*condamnation et libération conditionnelles*") on an international scale.[29] In his report to King Leopold II (1835–1909),[30] Jules Lejeune presented the international congress of 1890 as an initiative of the patronage committee of Antwerp, Belgium's leading and most active patronage committee. In its "*Bureau Provisoire*", the key local players, among others the mayor of Antwerp, the governor of the province and the magistrate Eugène Hayoit de Termicourt, president of the committee and judge at the Court of First Instance, stood alongside high civil servants and national politicians. The members of the Antwerp committee were in charge of the practical or-

28 Bruno Notteboom, "'Ouvrons les yeux!': stedenbouw en beeldvorming van het landschap in België 1890–1940" (PhD diss., Ghent University, 2009), 187–200.

29 Stef Christiaensen, *Tussen klassieke en modern criminele politiek. Leven en beleid van Jules Lejeune* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 2004), 496; Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, "La Belgique capitale internationale du patronage au XIXe siècle," in *Justice et Aide Sociale: 100 Ans d'évolution; Reflets et perspectives de politiques criminelle, pénitentiaire et sociale (1894–1994)* (Brussels: Bruylant, 1994), 281–337.

30 Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, *Les pénitenciers pour enfants en Belgique au XIXe siècle (1840–1914)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Commission internationale pour l'histoire des Assemblées d'États, 1996), 77–78.

ganisations of the congress. The conference series and international organisation that was initiated in Antwerp during the 1890s has been important for the internationalisation in the field of the treatment of juvenile delinquency, as well as for the growing attention for concepts such as patronage and prevention, on both the national and international level.[31] Mary-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat argued that this indicates a growing concern for the child's health, education, re-education and moralisation. In the 1880s, the main view on juvenile delinquency went through a transition from punishment to protection via legislation and education. Children were no longer predominantly seen as guilty, but rather as children in danger who needed to be protected and re-educated.[32] The growing attention for all these different children in danger became a catalyst for several specialised educational institutions and training programmes, and also stimulated new educational sciences such as experimental pedagogy, educational psychology and pedology. Ovide Decroly (1871–1932) and others started testing and observing the intellectual capacity of children, their behaviour, and moral and physical deviations in order to classify these children in danger.[33]

The notion of patronage or protection is firmly rooted in a long tradition of Christian charity, based on a direct, personal relation between the givers and recipients of charitable support. In Belgium, charitable initiatives gained importance after the Belgian Revolution in the context of a Catholic réveil. As a complement to the penitentiary system, the authorities tried to establish so-called "*comités de patronage*" ('patronage committees') in 1835 and 1848, in order to accompany prisoners inside and outside the prison walls. The patronage organised by Willem Suringar (1790–1872) in the Netherlands as early as 1842 went beyond guiding or re-educating young delinquents or former detainees. Through personal contact, the rich were supposed to give moral, material and religious support to both parents and children.[34] Another, but still related, interpretation of Catholic patronage with an even clearer educational and re-educating mission appeared in Belgium in the middle of the 19th century when the *Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul* started several youth work initiatives. The Society also propagat-

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31 Dupont-Bouchat, "La Belgique capitale".

32 Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, "Du tourisme pénitentiaire à 'l'internationale des philanthropes'. La création d'un réseau pour la protection de l'enfance à travers les congrès internationaux (1840–1914)," *Paedagogica Historica* 38, no 2–3 (2002): 533–563.

33 Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics," 765. See also: chapter 1/introduction and chapter 2 of this volume.

34 H.D. Van Leeuw and Marco H.D. Van Leeuw, "Church, State, and Citizen. Charity in the Netherlands," in *Charity and Social Welfare: The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Nothern Europe, 1780–1920*, ed. Leen Van Molle (Leuven: Leuven University Press , 2017), 137.

ed individualised poor relief via home visits to provide material support and moral and religious teaching.[35] Belgian Catholics also saw a role for themselves at the international level.[36] *The Fédération des Patronages Catholiques*, established in 1893, contributed largely to the creation (in 1911) of an international Catholic federation, which subsequently became the *Fédération Internationale Catholique d'Éducation Physique et Sportive*.

The growing attention to non-formal education outside of school becomes clear when we look at the domain of 'family education'. The national government initiated the Liège congress of 1905 on family education (the first in a series). When in 1910, the *Commission Internationale des Congrès d'Éducation Familiale* formally established its headquarters in Brussels, this was also done with explicit support from the Belgian Catholic government.[37] On an international level, this was in line with Belgium's ambition to become an important focal point for intellectual cooperation. On the national level, gathering around the theme of family education was a good example of how intellectual elites were trying to get hold of education and upbringing outside the school and across party and political boundaries.

In any case, it is clear that every international organisation or congress series that was founded or administratively housed in Belgium had a strong local anchoring. This was also true for professional organisations that saw the light before the First World War. Without the organisational strength of the national Belgian association of primary school teachers, it would have been impossible to establish the *International Bureau of the Federation of Teachers*, which was created as a result of a congress in the context of the World Exhibition in Liège in 1905. In 1910, on the *Congrès International de l'Enseignement Secondaire* (Brussels), a temporary office was established to promote the interest of secondary education teachers. Two years later, it became the *Bureau International des Fédérations Nationales du Personnel de l'Enseignement Secondaire*. Both the *International Bureau of the Federation of Teachers* and the *Bureau International des Fédérations Nationales du Personnel de l'Enseignement Secondaire* were not

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35 An Hermans, "Negentiende-eeuwse patronaten: 'beschermplaatsen' voor volkskinderen," in *Vijftig jaar Chiroleven 1934–1984. Aspecten uit heden en verleden van een jeugdbeweging*, ed. M. De Vroede and A. Hermans (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1985), 13–28. See also: *De Vincentianen in België 1842–1992*, eds. Jan De Maeyer and Paul Wynants (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992).

36 See: Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831–1859): Catholic Revival, Society and Politics in 19th-Century Europe* (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 2001).

37 Herren, *Internationale Organisationen*, 199.

very successful, as they did not survive the First World War. However, in the 1920s, several new international teachers' organisations were established in Belgium, such as the communist *Education Workers' International* (1924, Brussels) and its counterpart, the *International Trade Secretariat* (1926, Brussels).

This brief overview of institutional developments and overlapping interests shows a confusing social and ideological landscape. At this point, our relational and actor-centred approach to the participation of Belgians and Dutchmen in international congresses comes into play. In our analysis, we include the selection of congresses with a clear educational scientific focus studied by Fuchs and Matasci, but also many other congresses where other social causes were discussed. We do so in order to show how educational internationalism was intertwined with related fields of social reform. We will start our longitudinal, relational approach towards the dynamics of intellectual movements by analysing multiple memberships, thus showing the evolution of networks and organisational exchanges. Mapping the multiple memberships of activists is a common way of studying the evolution of networks and organisational exchanges over time.[38] It has been used several times as an indicator of cultural transfers such as knowledge exchange by, for instance, Naomi Rosenthal et al., who managed to create a genealogy of causes in the 19th-century New York State, focusing on the multiple memberships of women active in social reform movements.[39] The number of mutual members or joint ties allowed the authors to make clusters of women's reform organisations. Their analysis not only revealed a genealogy of causes, but also allowed them to identify central and intermediary actors or 'brokers', core/periphery structures and, ultimately, differences between the organisational structure and culture of 1848 and 1900.

Co-presence or co-membership (as participants were often referred to as members) can reveal meaningful trends and indicate latent patterns.[40] Our main research interest lies in the internationalisation of the social question and the emergence and development of the institutional ties that were generated

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38 Mario Diani and Ann Mische, "Network Approaches and Social Movements," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 306 – 325.

39 Naomi Rosenthal, Meryl Fingrutd, Michele Ethier, Roberta Karant and David McDonald, "Social Movements and Network Analysis: A Case Study of Nineteenth-Century Women's Reform in New York State," *American Journal of Sociology* 90, no. 5 (1985): 1022 – 1054.

40 Our approach is elaborated in: Christophe Verbruggen, Thomas D'haeninck and Hans Blomme, "Mobility and Movements in Intellectual History: a Social Network Approach," in *The Power of Networks: Prospects of Historical Network Research*, eds. Florian Kerschbaumer, Linda Von Keyserlingk, Martin Stark and Marten During (Abingdon: Routledge Publishing, forthcoming).

by multiple memberships. Above all, we are looking for different and changing patterns of attending international congresses. Furthermore, it is also our aim to reveal change over time. Hence, we follow Claire Lemercier's example and assigned dates to the ties and nodes, which is a good way to include and study the dynamics of networks.[41] A change in the web of relationships indicates changes in personal interests and to what extent mobile intellectuals engaged in both discussions on educational issues and other social causes. It reveals the relevant social circles and (congress) fora in which the creation and circulation of ideas took place.

The central dataset we are using comes from TIC Collaborative, a Virtual Research Environment (VRE) for the study of 19th and early 20th-century international organisations and (scientific) congresses.[42] The database contains biographical information of over 22,000 social reformers, activists and experts and their affiliations with international congresses, as well as more than 400 non-governmental international and transregional organisations established before 1914. The VRE is powered by Nodegoat,[43] a web-based database management platform with a graphical interface. Above all, it is well-suited for the spatial exploration of data with the intention of raising new questions and discovering unexpected findings. Nodegoat is primarily concerned with the creation and contextualisation of single objects that move through time and space, but queries and selections can also be made for network analysis outside Nodegoat, or for a multivariate analysis in the context of a prosopography.

We focused on Belgian and Dutch participants in a large selection of thematically related international congresses between the first international penitentiary congress, held in Frankfurt in 1846, and the beginning of the First World War in 1914. We selected 283 congresses with a direct or indirect focus on education, women's rights or moral and cultural reform. In total, more than 7500 reformers originating from the Low Countries (the vast majority were Belgians), who together accounted for over 10,000 congress visits, are included in the dataset. Nineteenth-century congresses can be perceived as both events and organisations. They were often a first step towards institutionalisation, or functioned more or less as organisations by frequently providing a forum for experts to exchange their experiences and ideas. The latent patterns in the transnational so-

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41 Claire Lemercier, "Taking Time Seriously: How Do We Deal with Change in Historical Networks?," *Knoten und Kanten III, Soziale Netzwerkanalyse in Politik- und Geschichtswissenschaft*, eds. Marten Düring, Markus Gamper and Linda Reschke (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2015), 183 – 211.

42 www.tic.ugent.be.

43 https://nodegoat.net.

cial reform network we want to visualise refer to Belgian and Dutch reformers clustered by shared congress visits.

We use a hierarchical clustering technique in order to re-evaluate an entire network and group actors who share similar positions with regard to the totality of positions in the network together. Our activists were plotted in a two-step approach. First, the data was entered and pre-processed in Gephi. A projection technique, via the MultiMode Networks Projection plugin, was used to convert the two-mode network (persons and congresses) to a hierarchically clustered one-mode network of congresses. Second, we calculated the properties of the network (degree centrality and modularity) in Gephi via the size and colour of the nodes and vertices. The result of this can be seen in Figure 8.3.
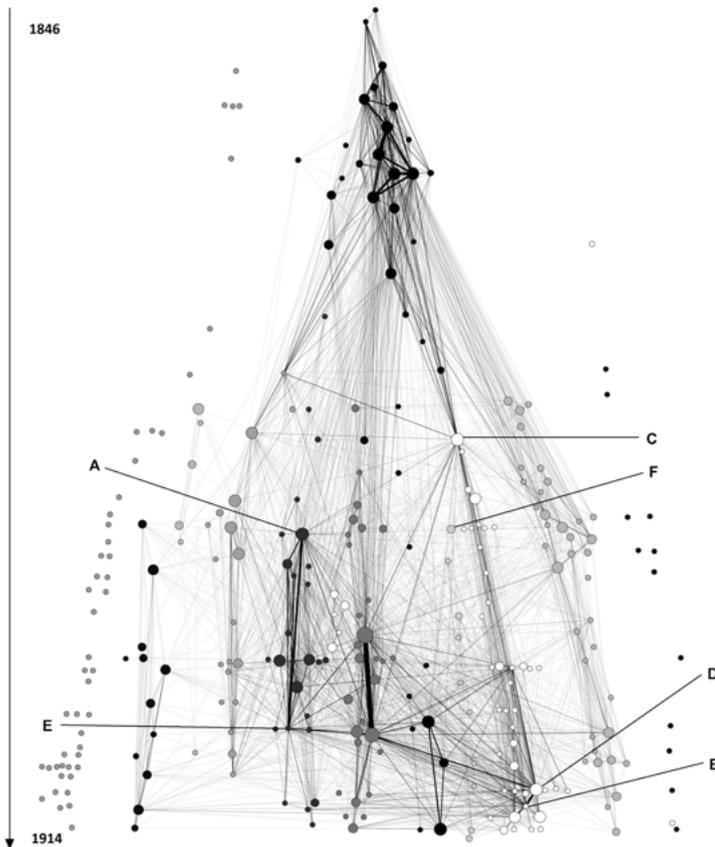

Figure 8.3: Co-membership of 283 congresses related to social reform (1846 – 1914). The data used for the analysis will become open linked data in 2019, see: TIC website: www.tic.ugent.be.

A.	Congrès International pour l'Étude des Questions relatives au Patronage des Détenus et la Protection des Enfants Moralement Abandonnées (1890, Antwerp)
B.	Congrès International de Pédologie (1911, Brussels)
C.	Congrès International de l'Enseignement (1880, Brussels)
D.	Congrès International de l'Éducation Populaire (1910, Brussels)
E.	Congrès International pour l'Étude des Questions relatives au Patronage des Condamnés, des Enfants Moralement Abandonnés, des Vagabonds et des Aliénés (1905, Liège)
F.	Congrès International du Droit des Femmes (1889, Paris)

Cluster 1 (of 11 in total):	white nodes (including B, C and D) group congresses mainly related to education and Freemasonry.
Cluster 2:	black nodes (including A and E) group congresses held on penitentiary reform, charity and social welfare, patronage, and child protection. We will refer to this cluster as the re-educational and child protection cluster.
Cluster 3:	grey nodes (including F) group congresses related to women's rights, women's protection and feminism, mostly taking place outside of Belgium

Figure 8.3 shows which congresses were visited by reformers from the Low Countries. Almost 50 (black nodes, plotted left) were not visited at all, and 20 congresses (grey nodes, plotted right) are isolated, which means that they were visited by only a few reformers, who did not visit other congresses. All congresses are ordered chronologically, with the oldest above. The size of the nodes represents the number of Belgian and Dutch delegates present at each congress (degree centrality). Although the isolates and pendants do influence the density of the network (0.063), we can clearly see a dense graph, which indicates a rather strong presence of Low Country reformers in the network (both synchronically and diachronically), as well as strong shared patterns of congress visits. However, it is important to note that of all the congresses that were visited, over 30 per cent were held in the Low Countries. Hence, the large number of visits from Belgian and Dutch scholars is only to be expected.

Clusters of co-memberships at congresses give us a lot of insight into the different 'causes' that actors (which can be both persons and organisations) were likely to share.[44] As a means to identify these clusters, we can use particular algorithms to structure the network into several subgroups of densely intercon-

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44 Rosenthal et al., "Social Movements and Network Analysis".

nected nodes.[45] One accepted model to calculate this modularity (the strength of division of a network) is the Louvain method for community detection. Applying this algorithm to a specific dataset can help researchers to visually explore their networks and develop hypotheses for further research. In our case, modularity calculation means grouping those congresses together that were largely visited by the same Belgian and Dutch reformers. The colour of the nodes indicates the modularity class they belong to. Congresses that share a high amount of Dutch and Belgian participants will have the same colour and will be strongly connected to each other. The modularity structures the network into 11 clusters, one cluster that groups the congresses taking place in the 1840s to the 1860s, 5 clusters for the congresses between 1878 and 1889, and 5 more for the period until the First World War. The Paris World's Fair of 1878 was a major catalyst for the internationalisation of the social question. More than 30 social reform congresses took place that year. The increase in the number of modularity classes follows the expanding network, which indicates that the field of social reform went through a process of specialisation. The narrow lines between these later congresses that were grouped in different modules indicate that, over time, groups of Belgians and Dutch visited more congresses on one specific theme and chose to ignore others. This stands in stark contrast with earlier congresses, which had, generally speaking, a stronger link with each other (weighted network). Congresses taking place in the 1840s to the 1860s, on the other hand, are grouped into the same cluster, indicating that there was a certain core group of congress visitors. This observation expands on the analysis of Nico Randeraad and Chris Leonards who were able to indicate a congress elite of visitors to social reform congresses in the period 1840 to 1880.[46]

Our analysis reveals that educational congresses are grouped in several clusters and share several visitors with congresses related to various social issues. Cluster 1, which contains a large number of congresses organised between 1878 and the outbreak of the First World War, is a good example. It consists of a group of congresses on Freemasonry, education and school hygiene, with a peak around 1910 to 1912, when four congresses were visited by many Belgians and Dutchmen. The group also shows strong patterns of shared congress visits. For example, the *Congrès International de l'Éducation Populaire* (1910, Brussels) had 49 visitors originating from the Low Countries in common with the *Congrès International de Pédologie* (1911, Brussels). Several visitors, especially the prom-

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45 Vincent Blondel, Jean-Loup Guillaume, Renaud Lambiotte and Etienne Lefebvre, "Fast Unfolding of Communities in Large Networks," *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment* 2008, no. 10 (2008): 100 – 108.

46 Chris Leonards and Nico Randeraad, "Transnational Experts in Social Reform, 1840 – 1880".

inent figures, can be associated with Freemasonry, the Belgian *Ligue de l'Enseignement* or the *Ligue Belge du Droit des Femmes*. Within this "*nébuleuse réformatrice*", feminism and the locally rooted transnational women's movement occupied a central place, both institutionally, ideologically and in the framing of other issues. Hence, it is clear that they entered into an alliance with Freemasons and education reformers.[47] Congresses related to the women's movement and feminism are mostly part of cluster 3, but are also partially present in cluster 1. Cluster 3 is strongly related to both clusters 1 and 2.

However, several other clusters also contain congresses held on educational topics or congresses with one or more subsections in which educational topics were discussed. Cluster 2 groups together congresses related to juvenile delinquency, child protection, charitable work and re-education. In contrast to cluster 1, in which the main visitors were dyed-in-the-wool liberals, several of the prominent congress visitors in cluster 2 were Catholics. In this cluster, the penitentiary congresses play an important role. They have about 95 Belgian and Dutch attendances in common with the congresses on the patronage of juvenile delinquency and morally abandoned children. Aside from the fact that these congresses were attended by many representatives of local charitable institutions, they also shared a strong belief in the importance of education as the main stimulus for social progress. A similar conviction was already present at the international congresses related to social sciences and social welfare in the 1850s and 1860s, which had congress sections dedicated to education. In particular, the congresses organised by the *Association pour le Progrès des Sciences Sociales* were a catalyst for the spread of educational models such as the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* ('Society for Public Welfare'), the Froebel Kindergarten or innovative practices for the education of the blind and deaf (see chapter 9 on Auguste Wagener).[48] In Figure 8.3, one can see that, although these congresses are grouped in a different cluster, there are many relations to be found between these international meetings and the first international educational congress held in 1880 in Brussels, and to some extent also to the two congress clusters discussed earlier.

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47 Christophe Verbruggen and Julie Carlier, "Laboratories of Social Thought: The Transnational Advocacy Network of the Institut International pour la Diffusion des Expériences Sociales and its Documents du Progrès (1907–1916)," in *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque*, ed. Boyd W. Rayward (New York: Routledge, 2016), 123–142.

48 Van Praet and Verbruggen, "'Soldiers for a Joint Cause'. A Relational Perspective on Local and International Educational Leagues".

Ekhardt Fuchs and several other historians have argued that there were no sequences of regular meetings of educational science nor international organisations of pedagogues before 1914.[49] It is true that the start of the 20th century can be seen as a turning point in the professionalisation and scientification of the field of educational internationalism. Nevertheless, our analysis of the co-presence of Belgians and Dutchmen at international congresses indicates that the international educational congresses cannot be separated from a wider network formed by international reformist congresses and are deeply rooted in transnational networks that emerged more than half a century earlier. Thus, our actor-oriented approach shows a fairly strong intertwining in terms of social contact and personal interest between the early educational movements and various other social causes.

Education, child protection, re-education and welfare

In the first part of this chapter, we highlighted two groups of congresses: the first was connected to education, school hygiene and Freemasonry (cluster 1), and the second to juvenile delinquency, charitable work, child protection and patronage (cluster 2). This dynamic landscape formed by the interwoven social 'causes' (Figure 8.3) helps us define educational internationalism through and beyond the "hybridity" or "pluridisciplinarity" that was already observed by Hofstetter and Schneuwly.[50] Indeed, the intellectual division of labour and professionalisation of the educational sciences took shape in a landscape in which the boundaries were still permeable. In this second part, we zoom in on the intersections between educational internationalism (cluster 1) and the international movement for child protection (cluster 2).[51]

As illustrated in Figure 8.3, the Belle Epoque's interest in child protection budded within the penitentiary network when prevention of juvenile criminality became a central matter on the prison reform agenda. From 1895 onwards, a fourth section on children and juveniles was included in penitentiary congresses, while preventive and welfare institutions for children were discussed from

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49 Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics".
50 Hofstetter and Schneuwly, "Introduction. Educational Sciences," 569 – 589.
51 Dupont-Bouchat, "Le mouvement international," 207 – 235.

1878 onwards.[52] Child protection itself was closely connected to the issue of the 'patronage' of detainees, released detainees, vagrants and lunatics, as shown by the original titles of the congresses.[53] In most of these congresses, education and special schools were considered central instruments for crime prevention.[54] For children at risk, re-education outside the family was sometimes seen as "a necessary prophylactic against further neglect and future criminal behaviour".[55] The experiences of Ovide Decroly and Jean Demoor (1867–1941), who were involved in the founding of a special school for abnormal children in Brussels, were largely circulated by the periodicals and congresses related to child protection. Within the *Société de Protection de l'Enfance Anormale* and the *Société de Pédotechnie*, there were close relationships between doctors and jurists (notably the magistrate Arthur Levoz (1852–1910), who was mostly active in the field of patronage and child protection before becoming the general secretary of the Belgian *Ligue de l'Enseignement* between 1905 and 1910).[56] On the other hand, Ovide Decroly himself served on the editorial board of the *Bulletin de l'Office de la Protection de l'Enfance* after the Great War.[57] The main question now is whether these few examples suggest a deeper interplay between educational internationalism and child protection, and whether this relationship is visible in the co-memberships between the two clusters?

Cluster 1 and cluster 2 are connected by 60 individuals, a very tiny proportion of actors compared to the 3093 individuals who visited at least one congress of the two clusters (Figure 8.4). By comparison, the cluster 'Education' is formed by the co-memberships of 520 actors. Most big names of both movements (e. g.

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52 The childhood of criminals and the importance of home education were also stressed in the criminal anthropology congress of Paris (1889), to deny the existence of congenital criminals ("*criminel-nés*").

53 For instance: *IVe Congrès International pour l'Étude des Questions relatives au Patronage des Condamnés, des Enfants Moralement Abandonnés, des Vagabonds et des Aliénés* (the fourth International Congres for the Study of Questions relating to the Patronage of the Convicted, Morally Abandoned Children, Vagabonds and the Mentally ill) (Liège, 1905).

54 Cluster 2 also includes two international congresses "to improve the conditions of the blind" (Paris 1900, Brussels 1902), one international congress on the education of the deaf (Liège, 1905), and two international congresses against pornography (*Internationalen Kongress zur bekämpfung der unsittlichen literatur* 1904; *Conférence relative à la répression de la circulation des publications obscènes* 1910).

55 Jeroen J. H. Dekker, "Philanthropic Networks for Children at Risk in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 240.

56 Sylvain Wagnon, "Le juriste Arthur Levoz (1852–1910) et les mutations de la protection de l'enfance en Belgique," *Les Études Sociales* 156, no. 2 (2012): 40.

57 Angelo Van Gorp, *Tussen mythe en wetenschap: Ovide Decroly (1871–1932)* (Leuven: ACCO, 2005), 41.

Adolphe Prins (1845 – 1919), Jules Lejeune, Henri Jaspar (1870 – 1939) but also Josefa Joteyko (1866 – 1928), Médard Schuyten (1866 – 1948)) disappear once we zoom in on these intermediate actors.[58] The new group includes few individuals interested in social reform in general, i. e. people who visited numerous types of congresses, for example the Nobel laureate and social democrat Henri La Fontaine (1854 – 1943), the socialist sociologist Hector Denis (1842 – 1913), social liberal intellectual Emile de Laveleye (1822 – 1892) and Dutch Lieutenant-Colonel Gustaaf Eugenius Victor Lambert van Zuylen (1837 – 1905). Despite their centrality within the overall network, they are situated at the periphery of the visualisation of the clusters of conferences dedicated to education and child protection, re-education and welfare (Figure 8.4). As the nodes representing de Laveleye and van Zuylen suggest, these two protagonists were particularly mobile and visited congresses which no other Belgian and Dutchman would attend.[59] The presence of de Laveleye can be explained by his interest in the patronage of prisoners, aside from his multiple other endeavours. In the early 1880s, de Laveleye was struck by the working of the patronage committee in Neuchâtel and fervently recommended to apply the Swiss model in Belgium. Hence, he also became the first honorary president of the patronage committee of Liège (1888).

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58 Raymond Buyse (1889 – 1974) and Jozef Verheyen (1889 – 1962) were too young to be included in the chronological framework of this contribution.

59 Michel Dumoulin, "Emile de Laveleye, passeur d'idées entre la France, l'Allemagne et l'Angleterre," in *Industries, territoires et cultures en Europe du Nord-Ouest, XIXe–XXe siècles, Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-François Eck* (Roubaix: Archives nationales du monde du travail, 2015), 211 – 217. On de Laveleye and his intellectual mobility, see: Thomas D'haeninck, "Writing Letters: Emile De Laveleye's Correspondence Network," in *Unhinging the National Framework: Perspectives on Transnational Life-Writing*, eds. Babs Boter, Marleen Rensen and Giles Scott-Smith (Leiden: Sidestone Press, forthcoming).

Fig. 8.4: The 60 actors connecting clusters 1 ('Education') and 2 ('Re-education and child protection') (black nodes: congresses; white nodes: persons)

A – Congrès International pour l'Étude des Questions relatives au Patronage des Détenus et la Protection des Enfants Moralement Abandonnés (1890, Antwerp)
B – Congrès International de Pédologie (1911, Brussels)
C – Congrès International de l'Enseignement (1880, Brussels)
D – Congrès International de l'Éducation Populaire (1910, Brussels)
E – Congrès International pour l'Étude des Questions relatives au Patronage des Condamnés,des Enfants Moralement Abandonnés, des Vagabonds et des Aliénés (1905, Liège)
F – Troisième Congrès d'Anthropologie Criminelle (1892, Brussels)

1 – Emile de Laveleye
2 – Victor Desguin
3 – Hector Denis
4 – Gustaaf Eugenius Victor Lambert van Zuylen
5 – Henri La Fontaine

6 – Gerardus Antonius van Hamel
7 – Pierre Tempels
8 – Jan Simon van der Aa
9 – Marie Popelin
10 – Emile Clément Waxweiler
11 – Arthur Levoz
12 – Victor Brants
13 – Henry Carton de Wiart
14 – Oscar Landrien
15 – Ovide Decroly

In this intermediary group, there were a lot of academics. The most important ones were part of a small circle from the Université libre de Bruxelles. They consisted of the founder of the Sociology Institute Emile Waxweiler (1867–1916), natural sciences and sociology professor Hector Denis, biologist Paul Héger (1846–1925), the founder of the Université Nouvelle Paul Janson (1840–1913) and philosopher Guillaume Tiberghien (1860–1901). Politicians (11/60) and magistrates (12/60) built bridges between welfare, child protection and educational matters, especially during the period between the first congress of patronage (1890) and the 1910 congress on popular education. Taken together, jurists, law professors and magistrates (judges and lawyers) represent a third (21/60) of the sample. Among the five penal and criminal law professors, three are from the Netherlands: Jan Simon van der Aa (1865–1944), Gerardus Antonius van Hamel (1842–1917) and David Simons (1860–1930). The relatively small proportion of Dutch people in the sample (10/60) can be explained by Belgium's leading position regarding child protection and patronage. As a result, only a few congresses took place in the Netherlands.[60]

By contrast, the rate of representatives of local charitable institutions (2/60) and school directors, teachers and inspectors (8/60) is relatively low. Among the five doctors in our sample, Victor Desguin (1838–1919) stands out, since he played an active role in the debates on school hygiene that were held on international congresses. In Antwerp, Desguin had established a system for medical school inspection in 1874, which he considered a model to be actively promoted abroad.[61] At the sixth International Hygiene and Demography Congress (Vienna, 1887), Desguin presented his model.[62] Some influential educational experts only

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60 Dupont-Bouchat, "La Belgique capitale".

61 Joris Vandendriessche, "Medische expertise en politieke strijd. De dienst medisch schooltoezicht in Antwerpen, 1860–1900," *Stadsgeschiedenis* 6, no. 2 (2011): 113–128.

62 Nico Randeraad, "Triggers of Mobility: International Congresses (1840–1914) and their Visitors," in *Mobility and Biography*, ed. Sarah Panter (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 69–71.

played a limited role in connecting the two clusters. One example is Ovide Decroly, who submitted a report on specialised schools for abnormal children at the International Penitentiary Congress in Washington (1910), but never attended it. Another example is the Belgian minister of Justice Henry Carton de Wiart (1869 – 1951), who successfully championed a law on child protection in 1912, and was an honour member of the *Congrès International de l'Éducation Physique* (1910). Overall, most of the actors represented in Figure 8.4 were either mostly active in only one (sub) field – even if they also visited congresses from the other cluster.

By zooming in on the two groups, some congresses appear to form bridges between the two clusters. Feminist congresses in particular played a considerable role in this respect. The feminine presence in our sample (4/60) is the result of the proximity of both clusters with a third one, which is related to women and women's rights (cluster 3 on Figure 8.3). As a result, both cluster 1 and cluster 2 included feminist congresses (*2e Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines* (1900) in cluster 1; *Congrès Féministe International* (1912), and *The International Woman Suffrage Alliance* (1913) in cluster 2). Isala van Diest (1842 – 1916), the first female doctor in Belgium, embodied the new generation of locally engaged women who attended the first patronage congress.[63] The intermediary position of these congresses can be measured statistically by calculating the betweenness centrality. As an isolated example from an older generation of congresses, the first patronage congress of 1890 has the highest betweenness centrality. It is followed closely by the first international congress of pedology (1911), the massive *Congrès de l'enseignement* (1880), and the *Congrès international de l'éducation populaire* (1910).

We should also underline the specific role of criminal anthropology as a go-between between child protection, patronage and pedology. The third congress of criminal anthropology (1892, Brussels) shared 39 Belgian and Dutch visitors with the first patronage congress (Antwerp, 1890), but also 11 visitors with the pedology congress of 1911 (Brussels) and 11 more with the *Congrès International de l'Éducation Populaire* (Brussels, 1910).[64] Half of the university professors of our sample visited the International Congress of Pedoloy in Brussels (1911). According to the words of its most renowned promoter, Ovide Decroly, pedology was a "pure science using the data of physiology, psychology and sociology".[65] Ovide Decroly strongly promoted his new science on international congresses. In

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63 Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, "Femmes philanthropes. Les femmes dans la protection de l'enfance en Belgique (1890 – 1914)," *Sextant*, no. 13 – 14 (2000), 81 – 118.
64 These shared visitors were partly the same (5 on the 11).
65 Cited in Van Gorp, *Tussen mythe en wetenschap*, 43.

his inaugural speech for the *Congrès International de Pédologie* (1911), he stressed that the science of pedology was strongly rooted in the tradition of international congresses. He stated that the current meeting would be a forum for the international circulation of knowledge. Decroly claimed that the event connected three international congresses that had taken place earlier: the *Congrès d'Hygiène Scolaire* (1903), the first *Congrès International d'Éducation et de Protection de l'Enfance dans la Famille* (1905) and the sixth *Congrès International de Psychologie* (1909).[66] The prominent role of pedology as a bridge between the two clusters is already clear by its high betweenness centrality. But the conference that marked the beginning of pedology was also strongly intertwined with various congress series beyond our sample (psychology). At this point, we must acknowledge a shortcoming in our study: the absence in the data of the congresses of the *Union Internationale de Droit Pénal* which "drew together the disciplines of penal law, anthropology, sociology, educational science and medicine into an interdisciplinary whole".[67]

Congresses and associations played a major role in what has been described as the "the canonisation of Ovide Decroly as a 'Saint' of the New Education". His trajectory and self-fashioning stand in stark contrast with the professional trajectory of the famous Dutch educational reformer Jan Ligthart (1859 – 1916), who actively participated in only two conferences: the 1911 conference devoted to pedology and the conference on moral education that took place in The Hague in 1912. Despite this, his school in Amsterdam attracted the attention of many European and American educational innovators, as well as dozens of foreign pedagogues who visited his school, including Auguste Ferrière (1879 – 1960), Ellen Key (1849 – 1926) and Maria Montessori (1870 – 1952). In return, Ligthart was invited on a tour of Sweden and Denmark at the invitation of the Stockholm school directors to discuss his ideas about modernising the educational system. His presence at the congresses in Brussels and The Hague coincided with growing attention to his work and ideas, but it is clear that centrality in conference co-membership networks was not necessarily correlated to prestige or influence within a particular field. Another important factor was the fact that his knowledge of English and especially French was insufficient to be able to participate actively without the help of interpreters in the pre-war international Francophone congresses and organisational life. Sometimes, information transfers were fairly straightforward, for example at conferences or through journals or world exhibitions, or, in the case of Ligthart, via study tours. At other moments,

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66 Van Gorp, *Tussen mythe en wetenschap*, 130.

67 Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics," 119.

however, "traveling libraries" of educational concepts and ideas followed a more convoluted path.[68] One example of another important progressive educator who followed a different international trajectory is the Belgian Catholic Edward Peeters (1873–1937). Peeters was an adept of Ligthart.[69] A few years after a study trip in the Netherlands where he had met Ligthart, and after having translated his work into French, Peeters started publishing *Minerva* (1909–1914), a journal that marked the beginning of the *Bureau International de Documentation Éducative*, founded in Ostend and moved to Geneva after the war.[70]

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have used an actor-oriented approach to educational internationalism in order to go beyond the institutional landscape formed by congresses and international associations. We focused on the co-memberships of Belgians and Dutchmen at international congresses and presented a dynamic picture of educational internationalism. Changes over time in a constantly shifting web of relationships indicate possible changes in status but, from our perspective, also changes in personal interests and organisational change. This approach ultimately reveals the relevant social circles through which the creation and circulation of ideas can be interpreted and understood. Our empirical findings have confirmed that, for the 19th century, educational reform was intertwined with the emergence of philanthropic and reformist advocacy networks. We have argued that educational internationalism should be seen as part of a wider trend of transnational circulation of intellectual and cultural goods.

These dynamics did not start at the end of the 19th century, but can also be found in the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, the start of the 20th century can be seen as a turning point in the institutionalisation, professionalisation and scientificion of education on an international level. Yet our analysis indicates

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68 See: Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education – An Introduction," in *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Travelling of Pragmatism in Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2005), 10.

69 For Edward Peeters, see: Marc Depaepe, "The Practical and Professional Relevance of Educational Research and Pedagogical Knowledge from the Perspective of History: Reflections on the Belgian Case in Its International Background," *European Educational Research Journal* 1 (2002): 360–379.

70 Jürgen Oelkers, "Reformpädagogik vor Der Reformpädagogik," *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 1–2 (2006): 19–20.

that, already in the 1850s and 1860s, social experts and activists met regularly at international congresses where they discussed educational matters. Their co-memberships of international congresses generated networks that facilitated a cross-border exchange of innovative ideas and practices in the fields of social and educational reform. Since education was of major importance in the emerging reformist advocacy network, it became the topic of a significant number of congresses.

Education was also seen as an instrument for various related social causes, including the prevention of crime, women's rights, the fight against poverty and juvenile delinquency. Several authors have indeed already emphasised that there was a lot of overlap between different fields of social reform and educational internationalism. However, the important nuance we want to make here is that there is not so much an overlap, but rather an overarching social reform field. The wind of social reform was powerful, but not powerful enough to question the social order itself. Most self-declared reformers did not engage (or at least not primarily) to eliminate poverty and social inequality and strive for equality of opportunity. Rather, they did this to administer and control the social question. In essence, many initiatives were still an expression of ancient forms of charity, as they were not aimed at fundamentally questioning the social structures themselves. They created a connection between the classic philanthropic model and the new social politics of care that was organised by the state.

Scholars of educational reform have drawn attention to the ubiquity of educational topics and the difficulty to distinguish expert knowledge on education from expert knowledge on re-education. We have zoomed in on the co-memberships between congresses grouped into the two clusters and we have found a rather small group of individuals bridging these clusters, which hardly resulted in social or institutional ties. Several of these intermediate figures were true cosmopolitans with a wide interest in social reform, who showed strong international mobility. However, within the cluster of education, much stronger connections were found with congresses related to Freemasonry and feminism. The cluster we labelled 'Re-education' was deeply intertwined with the fields of beneficence and charitable work, thus suggesting an ideological and religious distinction. Nevertheless, this distinction may not be overestimated. The casus of the *Congrès Internationaux de Patronage,* which was the result of a collaboration between Catholics and liberals, shows that (national) ideological frictions were sometimes transcended on the international level.

The limited number of connections between 'Re-education' and 'Education', especially in contrast with both domains' strong connections with other social causes, urges us to rethink the way in which educational internationalism has been defined. The centrality of some major international congresses (*Congrès*

de l'Enseignement, 1880) related to education in general, or to one aspect thereof (*Congrès International de l'Éducation Populaire*, 1910), or to the upcoming science of pedagogy (*Congrès International de Pédologie*, 1911) in the network also confirms the existence of a process of delineation, professionalisation and scientification of educational knowledge. However, rather than the emergence of a delineated social and discursive field of educational sciences and pedagogical movements, educational internationalism was, before the First World War, a crossroad of social experts and activists engaged in a variety of social causes.