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THE WORLD WE MEAN TO MAKE

TO
MY CHILDREN
AND THEIR CHILDREN

THE WORLD WE MEAN TO MAKE

*and the part of education
in making it*

by

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PREFACE

This is a book about education. But people's education should depend in part upon the lives they are likely to lead. What sort of a world, then, shall we find, or can we make, during the next two generations?

The first chapter glances at the political, economic and social aspects of the world which the children of to-day must learn to live in. They may learn to alter it into a better world for their children. If so, they will need to share a clear enough vision of the world they mean to make. In fact, their education has a double task. It must fit them for life as it is. And it ought to give them a vision: an outlook on life as it might be. The vision, seen of many, tends to become the real thing as, in the end, men's thoughts and feelings bring forth fruit in deeds. Because it can translate to-day's vision into to-morrow's reality, 'education'—I quote Mr. Butler—'is the main arm with which to win the next peace'.

The topic of the second and third chapters is the right education of people who will be good citizens of their own countries and, at the same time, feel a common loyalty to the family of United Nations or, eventually, to all nations. Without a bold bid for world loyalty and a clear vision of the oneness of mankind, we can never create a common bond of ideals between all civilized peoples; and, without this common bond of ideals to keep the nations united, political and economic measures will never ensure that future generations live out their lives in freedom from fear and freedom from want. 'In dealing with this question of education,' a predecessor of Mr. Butler's (Mr. W. E. Forster) told the Cabinet in 1870, 'boldness is the only safe policy.'

The fourth chapter treats at greater length of education in England. It also plans some changes in the English system of education. They are, however, incidental to the other changes proposed. Otherwise there would be small excuse for adding a private person's plan to the many programmes of public bodies for reconstructing the system. A dozen or more of these schemes were published during the writing of this book. But very few of them—the first interim report of the Conservative Sub-

PREFACE

Committee on *Educational Aims* was a notable exception—had much to say about the aims of education. It was the system they were out to alter.

A fifth chapter sums up the main points made in the earlier paper. It is not a Summary of Recommendations. But perhaps it will serve to recall the argument and even to clarify it by focusing attention on some of the major issues and keeping minor matters out of the light. The gist of the book is not, however, to be got, or even guessed, from this summing up. For instance, of one vital subject it contains no hint: it repeats nothing of what little the book has to say about the education of the teachers whose vision, devotion, wisdom and skill are essential prerequisites for making the world we have in mind.

Many footnotes record my indebtedness to the thought of others. Here I acknowledge my gratitude to them all and to many more from whom I may have borrowed without knowing that I did so.

J. C. M. G.

Oxford,
2 April 1943

Note added in September 1943:

Since the printing of this book began, the White Paper (Cmd. 6458) has outlined the British Government's proposals for Educational Reconstruction in England and Wales, Sir Cyril Norwood's Committee has reported on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools, a majority of Lord Fleming's Committee has recommended the abolition of tuition fees in grant-aided secondary schools, and a series of short reports has come from the British Association's Committee on Post-War University Education. In the light of these documents I have made a few changes in my third and fourth chapters. In particular I have gladly borrowed the White Paper's happy description of 'day continuation schools' or 'part-time secondary schools' as 'young people's colleges'.

J. C. M. G.

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Chapter 1

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

1. *The Atlantic Charter*

On a summer day in 1941 a British convoy, homeward bound across the North Atlantic, was overhauled by H.M.S. *Prince of Wales*. As she came up, the merchant seamen, keeping watch over their fleet, rubbed their eyes in astonishment. It seemed impossible, yet there could be no doubt about the fact: some of the destroyers escorting the battleship were not flying the White Ensign but 'Old Glory'. In such a setting these star-spangled banners were a sign that something strange had happened. Could they be heralding the birth of a new unity between the British and American Commonwealths? In the long run, what good news of great joy that would be for all peoples! It might mean peace on earth.

The battleship, passing through the convoy, made the signal: 'Good Voyage, Churchill.' It was received with enthusiasm and answered by the flying of the V flag from every ship.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was on his passage home after his talks with the President of the United States. Their meeting at sea had accomplished a great deal. It had provided all the world with an object lesson in sea-power. It had put new heart into the nations who were resisting the aggression of Hitlerite Germany and her allies. It had settled questions of supply to the belligerents, particularly to Russia, and of the working of the Lease and Lend Act.¹ It had prepared the way for the English-speaking world to work as one—at sea, on land, and in the air—whenever America might enter the war. And it had produced an authoritative declaration² of the common peace aims of the British Government and the American Administration.

This document is known as the Atlantic Charter. 'A simple rough and ready wartime statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way': so Mr.

¹ The Act of Congress of 11 March, 1941

² On 12 August, 1941.

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Churchill called it in his broadcast on 24 August, 1941. It reads as follows:

'The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

'1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

'2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

'3. They respect the rights of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

'4. They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

'5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security.

'6. After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

'7. Such a freedom shall enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

'8. They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.'

The scope of this joint declaration was limited by the circumstances of its authors. Mr. Churchill took care not to stir up trouble among the allied Governments in London or Moscow. He avoided, for example, any hint of where to look for the eventual Russo-Polish frontier, or of

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

how to solve the problem of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities dispersed over Europe. Mr. Roosevelt had no power to make a treaty save 'by and with the advice and consent of the Senate . . . provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur'. Neither the Prime Minister nor the President could afford to ignore public opinion or go far beyond it; and, while opinion in Britain was divided upon such questions as the future of Germany, or the need for parting with some national sovereignty to a new or reinforced international authority, America was in two minds on the main issue whether the United States should take part in making war and organizing peace.

Yet, despite these handicaps of its negotiators, the Atlantic Charter was a conspicuous success. It showed how different was the new World Order likely to follow Germany's defeat from the new European Order planned by Adolf Hitler. It awakened the hope that the United States might join the United Nations, first in conquering Hitlerite Germany and then in reconstructing the world. It was approved by the Inter-Allied Council, including Soviet Russia, meeting at St. James's Palace on 24 September, and again by the American Republics at their conference in Rio de Janeiro in December, 1941. And it was formally endorsed in a 'Declaration by the United Nations' on 1 January, 1942, when representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, the Netherlands and twenty-one other nations signed an agreement pledging the use of their full resources against the Axis and binding themselves not to make a separate peace or armistice with the enemy. On 23 February, 1942, Great Britain and the United States concluded an Agreement one of the objects of which was to work out jointly the means of applying the economic principles of the Charter. The Anglo-Russian Treaty of 26 May, 1942 expressed the intention of the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. to collaborate closely with one another, as well as with the other United Nations, at the peace settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction, on the basis of the Atlantic Charter.

2. The Commonwealth of United Nations

In order to appreciate the outstanding achievement of the Atlantic Charter, and also where it fell short of the ideal, let us attack the problem which faced the British and American leaders. We can do so without the disabilities under which they worked because we lack their responsibilities. Unless the peoples of the democracies discuss peace aims among themselves, the unprepared state of their public opinion may prevent

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their governments from saying the right thing at the right time, and so winning the peace as well as the war.¹ Mr. Lloyd George, at Paris in 1919, had his peace plans upset by a telegram from 370 Members of Parliament. 'Our constituents', they wired, 'have always expected that the first action of the peace delegates would be, as you repeatedly stated in your election speeches, to present the bill in full and make Germany acknowledge the debt.'² Unless the British people, in particular, prepare their minds for great changes at home and abroad, another British Prime Minister may some day find himself in Mr. Lloyd George's predicament.

The British peoples entered the war, not for any national or imperial gains, but to defeat Hitlerite Germany's policy of conquest and enslavement. When the German aggressors have been beaten, their European hangers-on—Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania and Finland—will also be out of the fight. There should follow an armistice, and the beginning of reconstruction in Europe, even if Japan is able to hold out for a little while longer before being overwhelmed. For some years after the final victory of the United Nations they will have to police the world and save it from anarchy and chaos. Then will come the time for the third and last stage of peacemaking, beginning with a World Congress to negotiate a final settlement.

There are thus three steps on the way to peace. They are:

- (1) an armistice between the belligerents;
- (2) a transitional period to end the war, restore order and begin reconstruction; and, later on,
- (3) a World Congress to begin the peace by negotiating a general settlement.

There may be more than one armistice, and possibly a separate provisional treaty with each vanquished State. But the general settlement must be one and indivisible. To the Congress that has to negotiate it, the few remaining ex-neutrals as well as all the ex-belligerents should be invited. The settlement might mean changes in the rights of some of the parties under existing treaties, including any that may be made to end the war.

The terms of the armistice with Germany, or with Japan, and of any

¹ 'The nature of the peace settlements concluded at the end of the present conflict will fundamentally depend on the desires and convictions of the great rank and file of the peoples of the United Nations.' (Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, speaking at Washington on 25 January, 1943.)

² See *The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations*, by C. Howard Ellis (1928), p. 44.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF UNITED NATIONS

interim treaty following it, are to be 'unconditional surrender'. They must at least (a) put a stop to Nazi, or Japanese, aggression, by the instant reduction of German, or Japanese, armaments and by the prompt withdrawal of German, or Japanese, troops within their national frontiers as they stood, say, in 1930; (b) restore sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them, but without necessarily preserving all the old frontiers; and (c) require the vanquished States to accept in principle the peace aims of the victors. They would have to ensure the disappearance of the Hitler regime. They would also have to meet the military exigencies of the time. On the other hand, the blockade would be lifted forthwith so as to supply the urgent needs of the civil population in the occupied territories, and then in Germany, or Japan.

It is convenient to describe these armistice terms as 'war aims' in order to mark them off from the peace aims to which we now turn. The achievements of these peace aims will take a long time. The general settlement negotiated by the World Congress can only be a beginning.

The assembly of this Congress may wait for say, four years, or it might be more, after final victory. 'Four years', said Mr. Churchill in his broadcast speech of 21 March, 1943, 'seems to me to be the right length for the period of transition and reconstruction which will follow the downfall of Hitler.' In order to prevent anarchy, the Axis countries and some of the lands which they invaded will have to be policed by the United Nations during this period. The interval will allow time for war passions to cool; for order to replace the chaos of the immediate post-war period; for self-government to be re-established in countries from which it had disappeared since Germany's rape of Austria in 1938, as well as in Austria herself if she prefers to be governed from Vienna rather than from Berlin; for new regimes to be set up in Germany and her satellite States and perhaps also in Japan; and, above all, for truth to enlighten the minds of men and women who have been kept in the dark, many of them since long before the war. Truth must help to win the peace. Truth is great and will prevail.

The general settlement negotiated by this Congress should bring into being an international authority¹ which we may call The Commonwealth

¹ On 2 December, 1942, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, told the House of Commons that 'Our general object is to form a world system for ensuring the peaceful development of all peoples'. Mr. Churchill, on 1 March, 1943, spoke of 'the future world organization'. Cf. also Field-Marshal Smuts in a broadcast to South Africa on 12 May, 1941: 'Security, reform, the better ordering of our world, all call for an effective common authority.' Again, Mr. Sumner

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of United Nations or, more briefly, 'The Commonwealth'. It need not begin by being, but should aim at becoming, world-wide. Its chief functions would be to maintain the rule of right and to promote human welfare—social and political, economic and cultural—among the member States and, eventually, among all mankind.

3. *The Rule of Right*^{*}

We here speak of maintaining the rule of right rather than of preserving peace because peace is not always the greatest good. Of the *Pax Romana* it was said that the Romans made a desert and called it peace.¹ Where justice is not to be had by peaceful means there may arise the grievous need to break the peace in order to right a yet more grievous wrong. Moreover, too great a love of peace, as we learnt from the appeasers of 1938-9, may destroy the very peace it is intended to preserve. Every nation must be ready to share in stopping aggression by the use of overwhelming force.

In order to maintain the rule of right within The Commonwealth, its member States should regard its authority as supreme for certain matters of common concern. These matters would have to include (a) the nature or uses of armed force (especially the prevention of aggression), and (b) the administration or amendment of international law.

Under the first head, The Commonwealth would aim at reducing the crushing burden of armaments among its member States by using the strength of all for the defence of each. But, before there could be any general reduction in armaments, The Commonwealth would have to make sure that it had the necessary strength to enforce its authority and to defend itself. For these purposes it should have the use of such military or naval forces as it may require on each occasion from each of its member States. But, instead of having a similar right to use contingents

Welles, American Under-Secretary of State, on Memorial Day (30 May), 1942: 'I believe that the voices of the men who will make our victory possible will demand . . . that the United Nations become the nucleus of a world organization . . . to determine the final terms of a just, an honest, and a durable peace.' And the British Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, spoke in the Guildhall, London, on 24 February, 1943, of the need for 'the creation in due time of a genuinely representative world political association. . . . A world association is the aim. . . . We cannot make progress except in organized association'.

¹ *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant* was said by the Briton, Calgacus (Tacitus, *Agricola* c. 30).

THE RULE OF RIGHT

of national air forces, it would be far better that The Commonwealth should have its own air force, and that its member States should cease to have independent air forces of their own. Partly to the same end, but partly also to link up its domain and to ensure the freedom of the air over all its territory, The Commonwealth should supervise civil aviation, and directly control international flying, within its borders.

In the second place, The Commonwealth's administration of international law implies that its member States should look to it to declare¹ what justice and good faith require for the peaceful settlement of any of their disputes which they are unable to compose by themselves, even with the help of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The amendment of international law by The Commonwealth means that, in such a case, its member States should accept its declaration and so act that in due time that declaration may take effect without violence, even when it involves revising a treaty or altering international conditions in some other way.

A regional group of member States should form The Commonwealth's first line of defence against aggression in their region, particularly where there is most risk that peace may be disturbed. The States in each regional group would pledge themselves to use at once all their resources—political, economic and military—to stop aggression within their own region, and this obligation would be the more certain to be honoured because disorder near home threatens vital national interests. The other members of The Commonwealth would give political and economic support to the regional group and would neither aid the aggressor nor assert neutrality. The regional group would also have whatever help it needed from The Commonwealth's air force. But if, even so, the regional group proved unequal to the task of stopping an aggressor in its region, the other member States of The Commonwealth would be obliged to give, so far as they could, whatever further armed assistance might be needed to ensure success. 'It is abundantly clear', said Mr. Cordell Hull on 12 September, 1943, 'that a system of organized international co-operation for the maintenance of peace must be based upon the willingness of the co-operating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace.'

¹ The declaration of The Commonwealth might very well be based on the advice of such an 'equity tribunal' as Lord Davies has proposed. The tribunal would be made up of persons who, by their nationality, their personal character and their experience, appear to The Commonwealth to furnish the highest guarantees of competence and impartiality. But the tribunal should find the facts and *recommend* what should be done. The *decision* must be left to the political authority of The Commonwealth.

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4. *Human Welfare*

Besides maintaining the rule of right, The Commonwealth, we said, is to promote human welfare. As a condition of becoming or remaining a member of The Commonwealth, every State would have to recognize limitations to its right to regulate its own economy.¹ It must also observe certain minimum standards of behaviour towards its citizens and other inhabitants. These standards would tend to rise as time went on. But, even from the outset, the practice of cruelty and other vices deemed degrading to mankind could not be permitted within The Commonwealth.

In order to improve the economic and social life of its member States, and eventually of all the world, The Commonwealth should invite the co-operation of an outer ring of friendly States who share its aims in this field but are not yet willing to accept the other obligations and rights of members. The Commonwealth and these friendly States would seek to establish, in place of economic nationalism, a system of world planning in the spirit of the International Labour Organization or the Health or Economics Section of the League of Nations. This new order would make the world as a whole materially better off than it could be under Adolf Hitler whose new order aims at concentrating the more important industries in Germany and exploiting the rest of mankind for the sake of their German masters. Speaking in the Mansion House on 29 May, 1941, Mr. Eden put it in this way:

'The free nations of America, the Dominions, and ourselves alone possess a command of the material means and, what is perhaps more important, these nations clearly have the will and the intention to evolve a post-war order which seeks no selfish advantage, an order where each member of the family shall realize its own character and perfect its own gifts of liberty of conscience and person. . . . It will be our wish to work with others to prevent the starvation of post-armistice period, the currency disorders throughout Europe, and the wide fluctuations of employment, markets and prices which were the cause of so much misery in the twenty years between the two wars.'

¹ Cf. Mr. Sumner Welles' speech in New York on 7 October, 1941: 'The creation of an economic order in the post-war world which will give free play to individual enterprise and at the same time render security to men and women and provide for the progressive improvement of living standards is almost as essential to the preservation of free institutions as the winning of the war.' (*The Times*, 1 November, 1941.)

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All the earth for all the people¹ would be the goal of these efforts of The Commonwealth towards social security, work for all, and the subordination of both State interests and private profit to the sacredness of human personality.

That freedom from want, or at least freedom from unemployment, is not an unattainable ideal for The Commonwealth has been proved by the experience of Soviet Russia. In the U.S.S.R. there has been the longest period on record free from industrial depression; and unemployment has been, in effect, abolished. If it is to disappear from other countries in The Commonwealth, it may be necessary to make two drastic changes in their present ways of life. The first is that neither the production nor the distribution of essential goods should any longer depend on someone being able to make a profit out of it. The second is that essential goods, including those now rationed, should be supplied to each citizen according to his need—perhaps in return for his ration coupon—and even when he cannot pay for them.²

If these departures from the practice of free nations prove to be indispensable, the time to make them is before the wartime precedents have been forgotten. We are now accustomed to large scale production independent of private profit; to every citizen receiving his gas-mask free; and, in New Zealand, to every child being given an apple a day at the Government's expense. A report to the Conference of the Inter-

¹ 'By collaborating with the rest of the world to put productive resources fully to work we shall raise our own standard of living and help to raise the standard of living of others. It is not that we shall be taking the bread out of the mouths of our own children to feed the children of others, but that we shall co-operate with everyone to call forth the energies of everyone, to put God's earth more fully at the service of all mankind.' (Mr. Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, speaking at Delaware, Ohio, on 8 March 1943.)

² In the case of other (non-essential) goods, the problem of purchasing power might be solved, so that wealth might not only be produced but also distributed, by a combination of public expenditure and price control. Prices would be tied down to costs of production, including a reasonable profit, and wages would be determined not from economic pressure—the so-called market value of the services as determined by supply and demand—but by ethical considerations. Then the only way in which the 'entrepreneur' could make more money would be by producing more goods. This method would result in the same eagerness to buy as we see in wartime queues, but there would be a big flow of goods. Eagerness to buy would increase international trade. Heavy buying from small producing countries would lead to heavy investing there and so to further trade.

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national Labour Organization held in New York in October, 1941, declared that 'finance must be the servant and not the master of economic policy if economic policy is to become an instrument for achieving social objectives'.¹

The limitation of the profit-motive in the manner here proposed would not, of course, destroy the right to property or the rights of property. 'It is a traditional doctrine of Christendom that property is necessary to fullness of personal life; all citizens should be enabled to hold such property as contributes to moral independence and spiritual freedom without impairing that of others; but where the rights of property conflict with the establishment of social justice or the general social welfare, those rights should be overridden, modified, or, if need be, abolished.'²

Both these departures from the *laissez-faire* economic systems of most of the United Nations would be helped by developing all their essential industries on more or less the same lines as the social services of the United Kingdom and the United States. The normal evolution of every industry producing staple commodities would then begin with private initiative. It would pass through the stage of a multiplicity of private enterprises, and then that of amalgamation into something like a monopoly. The monopoly, or near-monopoly, would be regarded as a

¹ See *The Times*, 25 and 31 October, 1941.

² This is the sixteenth proposition accepted by the Archbishop of York's (Dr. Temple's) Conference on *The Life of the Church and the Order of Society*. The Conference met in Malvern in January, 1941. This proposition has since been further discussed in a committee containing economists, industrialists and representatives of labour. In their report, dated January, 1942, the committee 'urge . . . that the right direction of the profit motive wherever it is operative

'(a) requires co-ordination with the service motive which is of prior ethical and spiritual status; there are other incentives to effort than mere profit;

'(b) will ensure that both State and individual enterprises make the economic security and the full personal life of all those engaged within the enterprises (together with provision for maintenance, development and renewal) a first charge upon revenues, before any wholly private or any wholly personal drafts upon any surpluses are conceded for other legitimate purposes or ends: . . . all industries are fundamentally a fellowship, a partnership of persons;

'(c) permits that after such first charges have been met, adequate inducement and encouragement be offered to personal initiative and ability. It is equally proper to prevent the accumulation of inordinate profits under individual control. Nor should posterity be burdened in perpetuity with charges for services once conferred, which in the course of time have lapsed.'

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public service and be transformed into a public utility corporation (such as the Metropolitan Water Board, the British Broadcasting Corporation, or the Tennessee Valley Authority) before it had time to make itself rich by exploiting the consumers.

To restrict the influence of the profit-motive in the manner here proposed would take The Commonwealth a long way towards freedom from unemployment. A further measure would help to complete the process without destroying the freedom of private enterprise to create and supply demands for non-essential goods, or for varieties of essential goods where private enterprise would prove more efficient and more amenable to the public taste than the giant public trust. This third departure from the pre-war practice of capitalistic countries has been outlined by Sir Ralph Wedgwood. He writes:

‘It is in the case of manufactured goods that the alterations of slump and boom are most conspicuous, and that employment calls most insistently for stabilization. Yet the causes which lead to those alterations have hitherto been obscure, and apparently outside human control.

‘Happily recent economic thought and investigation have done much to clear up the obscurity and to suggest the remedy. Not all manufactured goods go into direct consumption. A variable proportion (structural materials, machinery, and the like) goes into the increased production of other goods or, in other words, is invested. If economists are right in maintaining that the steadiness of this stream of investments is the best guarantee of sound health in international trade, then Governments would be wise to watch the movement of such goods with especial care, to control the demand in a rising market, and to stimulate it by increased Government investment on the first sign of a fall. Public works of a national character, if put in hand in good time, will provide some stimulant, but not enough. It must be reinforced by an international programme of world development on a lend-lease plan. China, India, Africa stand ready for such development, and will respond by enriching the world with increased production.’¹

All these developments will require to be controlled by The Commonwealth or by an international economic organization working under its direction. This body must watch the whole balance of trade. It must allocate all staple commodities between exporting and importing nations. It must regulate the investment of new capital in the member States, increasing or restricting production as circumstances may demand.

That some such international control will be exercised by The Com-

¹ From an article by Sir Ralph Wedgwood in *The Times* of 13 January, 1943.

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monwealth has become much more likely since many governments of the United Nations have decided to begin the discussion of their economic collaboration after the war. The decision was taken after the speech at Toronto on 26 February, 1943, by the United States Under-Secretary of State. Mr. Sumner Welles declared that:

'There is no disagreement anywhere as to what the United Nations want. They want full employment for their people at good wages and under good working conditions, and the other physical and institutional arrangements that add up to freedom from want. I believe that, if the United Nations were to set up machinery for the purpose of assembling and studying all international aspects of problems under the general heading of freedom from want, the controversies and conflicts of policy which have so long embittered relations in the international economic field—and therefore generally—might largely disappear. . . .

'My Government believe that the initiation of such studies is overdue. If we do not make a start now there is danger that we shall be brought together to make the peace with as many plans as there are Governments. . . . My Government intend at once to undertake discussions with other members of the United Nations.'

Freedom from want, as Mr. Sumner Welles recalled in his Toronto speech, is wider than freedom from idleness. It covers the whole field of social security, including all the schemes of social insurance and allied services recently surveyed in Britain by Sir William Beveridge. His Report¹ has set a standard for the United Nations of to-day and for The Commonwealth of to-morrow.

But the promotion of human welfare extends in many directions beyond the fields of economics and finance; or of production, distribution and the monetary system. The Commonwealth should help its member States to deal with social services including health, nutrition and labour standards; to safeguard the rights of racial, religious and linguistic minorities; to preserve the freedom of international communications by land and sea as well as in the air, and by radio; to control migrations; to administer colonial territories in the interests of their inhabitants and so to afford equal opportunities for the trade of all nations; and to educate all The Commonwealth's citizens to love and serve it.

5. The Four Freedoms

Here comes a difficulty. President Roosevelt, in his address to Con-

¹ *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (Cmd. 6404), November, 1942.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

gress on 6 January, 1941, said they would 'look forward to the four essential human freedoms—freedom of speech and expression everywhere; freedom and the right to worship God in their own way everywhere; freedom from want; and freedom from fear.' He added that 'this is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for the kind of world attainable in our own time and generation!' On 27 May, 1941 (when the *Bismarck* was sunk) he repeated the four freedoms in a fireside chat broadcast to the people of the United States. 'We will accept', he then said, 'only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression, and the freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and freedom from terrorism.' Two days later the President's speech was welcomed by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden. Within a month Soviet Russia was as much in the war as Great Britain and more so than the United States. What would be the Russian view of the four freedoms?

We may assume that the U.S.S.R., as one of the four leading members of the United Nations when Germany is defeated, will wish to retain the same position during the transitional period that follows and in the eventual Commonwealth of United Nations when a general settlement has been reached. The other United Nations will certainly wish her to do so.

The Anglo-Russian Treaty leaves no room for doubt that the Russian Government will accept the political duties and enjoy the rights of a member State so far as to help in preserving political security or 'freedom from terrorism'; and that Russia will be prepared for a full share in the economic work of The Commonwealth so as to ensure 'freedom from want'. But what if she does not see her way to promising the other two freedoms for her citizens? Is she then to be excluded from The Commonwealth?

Surely not. For although The Commonwealth, if it is to live and prosper, must be rooted in the understanding and loyalty of its citizens, and although education in citizenship—coupled with freedom of speech and freedom of worship—should therefore be a concern of the new international authority,¹ the other United Nations will look to Russia to play as big a part in directing The Commonwealth as she will have played in defeating Germany. Consequently all the United Nations ought to agree that, while Russia accepts from the outset her duties and rights in the political and economic spheres, the other provisions, including the educational provisions, of The Commonwealth's constitution will not apply to Russia until she says so. In other words, the

¹ See above, p. 13; and below, p. 36.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

U.S.S.R. would contract out of these obligations but would try to make every Russian understand and approve of the political and economic aims of The Commonwealth.

It is, however, by no means certain that Russia, after sharing the victory of the free nations over Hitlerite Germany, will not wish to share with them all the fruits of that victory, psychological as well as political and economic. In particular, post-war Russia may welcome freedom of expression and freedom to worship as well as freedom from want and freedom from fear.¹ Even if some time must first elapse, this interval is likely to be shorter the more closely the Soviet Union and the rest of us work together for the political and economic welfare of mankind.

6. The Constitution of The Commonwealth

It is not yet possible to foretell which States will form The Commonwealth when it first comes into being. We may expect, but cannot be sure, that it will include all the United Nations and most of the few remaining neutrals. We have the authority of the British Foreign Secretary for the view that the maintenance of peace will depend on the continuance of the United Kingdom's wartime co-operation 'with other great Powers, in particular with the United States of America, with Soviet Russia and with China'. Mr. Eden added that 'Our general object is to form a world system for ensuring the peaceful development of all peoples'; but that 'any international organization, if it is to have a chance to achieve its purpose . . . must be fully representative of the Powers that mean to keep the peace.'²

For some time after the beginning of Hitler's war it seemed likely that America's place would be with the outer ring of States who help The Commonwealth to promote social and economic welfare but whose full membership belongs to the future. President Roosevelt's speeches³ together with the change which has come over American opinion since the Battle of Britain and again since Pearl Harbour and Mr. Churchill's Christmas visit to Washington, allow us to expect that the United States, after helping to win the war, will be ready to join in preserving

¹ Russia has already accepted the Atlantic Charter: see above, p. 11.

² Speech made in the House of Commons on 2 December, 1942.

³ Cf., for instance, the President's message to Congress on 6 January, 1942. He then said: 'I know I speak for the American people—and I have good reason to believe that I also speak for all the other peoples who fight with us—when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war but also to maintain the security of the peace which will follow.'

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH

the peace; and that this will be so whichever party wins the election of 1944.¹ But even if this hope is disappointed, it still seems safe to reckon that, if Britain resolutely pursues such Peace Aims as have here been outlined, the whole British Empire (except perhaps Eire) and all the European States (except perhaps Germany but including Russia) will wish to join the United Nations' Commonwealth. So also, no doubt, will China and most of the Arab world. The Commonwealth's power would then amply suffice to prevent aggression by post-war Germany or Japan. Any aggression on their part would have so slight a chance of success as most likely never to be attempted until, in the fullness of time, the United States returned to the United Nations and made political security doubly secure. And it is by no means certain that a chastened Germany or a disillusioned Japan will not wish to take part from the outset in The Commonwealth whose ideals have prevailed, in ordeal by battle, over those of Adolf Hitler and 'the grisly gang who work his wicked will'.²

The regional groups, bound together within The Commonwealth both by common interests and by formal legal bonds—whether regional security pacts or articles of confederation or perhaps federal unions—might consist in the first instance of Eastern Europe led by Russia and of Western Europe led by Great Britain. Or a start might be made in Europe with smaller groups such as the confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the Balkan States led by the confederation of Greece and Yugoslavia, and the Scandinavian countries. But none of these smaller groups should be bound to move against a powerful aggressor unless a Great Power like Britain or Russia moved with them. The British and American Commonwealths might lead a group of maritime member States for policing the region of the seven seas on The Commonwealth's behalf.

What is likely to be the legal constitution of The Commonwealth?

¹ A Gallup Poll on the question whether the United States should participate in world affairs or stay out showed that 76 per cent of American public opinion favoured the U.S. taking an active part, 14 per cent preferred non-participation, and 10 per cent gave no opinion: see *American Précis* published by the American Outpost in Great Britain, 31 March, 1943. On the 15 June, 1943, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives: 'Resolved by the House of Representatives: That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favouring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favouring participation by the United States therein.'

² Winston Churchill on 14 July, 1941.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Probably not, to start with or for a long time to come, a federal union on the American model. The Commonwealth is much more likely to begin as an inter-State system like the British Commonwealth of Nations, but, as we have suggested, with some limitation of national sovereignty in certain matters of common concern.¹ It would need to have an assembly representing the governments of the member States, an executive, an international secretariat,² a court of justice (doubtless the Permanent Court of International Justice established in 1921) and an International Labour Organization.³ It would, however, be held together not only or chiefly by a written constitution analogous to the Statute of Westminster but by an invisible bond of ideals growing steadily stronger as the years go by.⁴

¹ A sufficient transfer of sovereignty (see above, p. 14) to The Commonwealth from its member States might be effected under some inter-State system which falls short of a federal union. See *A Lasting Peace* by Maxwell Garnett (1940), p. 191.

² As this book goes to press, the United Nations are beginning to create parts of the machinery needed for the government of the post-war world, particularly during the transition period. For instance, the unanimous recommendations of more than forty nations at the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture (held in May-June, 1943, at Hot Springs) include the creation of an Interim Commission to prepare a plan for a permanent organization in the field of food and agriculture; and the American Government has published proposals for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration including an assembly (called the Council) and an executive (both consisting of government delegates), an international secretariat, a Director General, and regional organizations. (*The Times*, 11 June, 1943.)

³ There would be no need to duplicate or replace the existing International Labour Organization. Its continued vigour and utility were proved at its Conference in New York in October, 1941. The American Secretary for Labour, Miss Frances Perkins, presided. President Roosevelt, in a message of good will, said that when the world struggle was over, the International Labour Organization would continue to play its part 'formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.' And, on 20 April, 1942, Mr. Bevin, the British Minister of Labour, described the I.L.O. as 'destined to play a tremendous part in rebuilding the world of the future'. On 2 December, 1942, Mr. Eden spoke to the House of Commons about the machinery of the League of Nations and observed that 'There are certain international services which have gone on during the war, which have not died, and which may render great services after the war. These are the international health services and economic services and the work done by the International Labour Organization. We shall need that work more than ever after the war. . . . The I.L.O. must be strengthened and developed.'

⁴ On 8 March, 1928, in the Union Parliament, Cape Town, General Smuts

THE CHARTER AND THE COMMONWEALTH

7. *The Charter and The Commonwealth*

Much of all this but not all is covered by the eight points of Atlantic Charter.¹ The war aims outlined on page 13 above are embodied in points 1, 2, 3, and 8 of the Charter. Points 4 and 5 concern the economic and social aspects of the peace aims. Their purpose is 'improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security' for all people. They are compatible with the proposals sketched on pages 16-20 above, and might be developed along the same lines. Point 7 enjoins freedom of communication by sea but not by land and air as prescribed on page 20 above. Political security, leading eventually to an all-round reduction of armaments, is treated on pages 14 and 15 above; and points 6 and 8 of the Charter have the same end in view, although they are vague about the means by which it is to be attained. The Charter implies American co-operation in achieving its aims.

On the other hand, the Atlantic Charter does not provide, except by implication,² for the creation of an *international authority* or Commonwealth by the United Nations. (Without such an institution most of the aims of the Charter cannot be realized. But public opinion in America was not prepared in August, 1941, for the United States to share in a project of this kind. Nor was British opinion ready to part with so much national sovereignty as would allow any super-national authority to be supreme in any respect, not even for such matters as the nature and use of national armaments or the administration or amendment of international law.) The Charter, in points 6 and 8, says something, but not as much as our unfettered peace aims, about *the nature and uses of armaments*, particularly in the event of The Commonwealth being attacked from outside or in case of war within The Commonwealth. The Charter omits all reference to the *administration and amendment of international law*. (The United States was not yet ready for membership of the World Court or any kind of international legislature.) Nor does the Charter treat of *minorities, refugees or stateless persons*, of *international communication* except by sea, of *colonial administration*, or of *education*.

spoke of 'the invisible bond of ideals' as 'probably the strongest bond of all' which held the British Commonwealth together. Lord Balfour's view was much the same. Lord Tweedsmuir wrote of him as having 'revised the doctrine of the Empire so as to shift the emphasis from constitutional bonds to human loyalties.' (*Memory hold—the—door*, 1940, p. 162.)

¹ See above, p. 10.

² E.g. in paragraph 8 where it foreshadows 'the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security'.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

8. The Pope's Five Peace Points

A comparison of the Atlantic Charter with the Five Peace Points of Pope Pius XII¹ shows that the Charter is more explicit and precise than the Five Points, but that it avoids much of the ground surveyed by the Pope. Both documents treat of the rights of nations as well as of security and disarmament. The Pope's third point is the need for an international authority which is only implicit—not explicit—in the Charter. The Pope's fourth point concerns minorities and subject peoples who are not mentioned in the Charter. Pope Pius's fifth point treats of education, psychological planning, or the religious background of social order, an essential element in our unfettered peace aims² but omitted from the Charter. Its omission is the more remarkable because it touches closely upon two of President Roosevelt's four freedoms to which the Charter makes no direct reference: freedom of worship and freedom of speech. But the President's broadcast of 23 February, 1942, made it clear that they were not meant to be left out of the Charter. 'The Atlantic Charter',

¹ The Pope's Five Peace Points are:

1. The assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence. The will of one nation must never mean the sentence of death passed on another. When this equality of rights has been attacked, destroyed or threatened, order demands that reparation shall be made, and the measure and extent of that reparation is determined, not by the award nor by the arbitrary decision of self-interest, but by the rules of justice and reciprocal equity.

2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments, and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognized need revise and correct them.

4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be then laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.

5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that deep and keen sense of responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolable standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and the most general expression of the Christian ideal.

² See above, p. 20.

THE POPE'S FIVE PEACE POINTS

he then said, 'applies not only to those parts of the world that border on the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of the aggressors, the self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.'

On the other hand the Pope's five points, apart from a reference to 'the real needs and just demands of nations',¹ do not touch the social and economic questions dealt with in the fourth and fifth sections of the Charter. But a letter, printed in *The Times* of 21 December, 1940, and signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and by the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council as well as by Cardinal Hinsley, associated with the Pope's five points 'five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested'; and one of these five standards declares that 'the resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race', which is also the ideal—all the earth for all its people—of the fourth section of the Atlantic Charter.²

9. *President Wilson's Fourteen Points*

Another document with which the Atlantic Charter challenges comparison is the Fourteen Points programme propounded by President Wilson on 8 January, 1918. The terms of this programme and of the President's subsequent speeches formed the basis upon which the victorious Allied and Associated Powers undertook to make peace with Germany after the first world war.

Of these fourteen points, the first—'open covenants openly arrived at'—is not repeated in the Atlantic Charter, perhaps because, on the one hand, the registration of treaties at Geneva and their publication by the League of Nations had become the actual rule of conduct among governments since 1920, and, on the other hand, the limitations of 'open diplomacy' for the negotiation of treaties were more fully understood in 1941 than in 1918.

The second of the fourteen points, the freedom of the seas, is the subject of the seventh paragraph of the Atlantic Charter.

Economic co-operation and free trade between the nations is treated in the third of the fourteen points, but not so fully as in the Charter.

President Wilson's fourth point was the need for a general all-round reduction of national armaments. This need is recognized in the eighth paragraph of the Atlantic Charter.

¹ See point four of the footnote on p. 26 above.

² See pp. 10 and 17 above.

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The fifth of the fourteen points dealt with colonial territories. No mention is made of them in the Charter.

The next eight points are concerned with the territorial settlements of 1919. The basis of the territorial settlement after the second world war is laid-down in the first three paragraphs of the Atlantic Charter.

President Wilson's fourteenth point was the need for a League of Nations: 'A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.' The Atlantic Charter also needs an international authority if the United Nations are to make it work; but, as we have seen, the Charter does not explicitly recognize that this is so, although it does foreshadow a 'wider and permanent system of general security'.

In the account of the Atlantic Charter which he broadcast on 24 August, 1941, Mr. Churchill claimed that it differed in two distinct ways from the attitude adopted by the Allies during the latter part of the last war.

'The United States and Great Britain', he said, 'do not now assume that there will never be any more war again. On the contrary, we intend to take ample precautions to prevent its renewal in any period we can foresee, by effectively disarming the guilty nations while remaining suitably protected ourselves. The second difference is this: that instead of trying to ruin German trade by all kinds of additional trade barriers and hindrances, as was the way of 1917, we have definitely adopted the view that it is not in the interests of the world and of our two countries that any large nation should be unprosperous.'

Yet the Charter has much in common with the Fourteen Points and with the Covenant of the League of Nations. The resemblance between the aims of the League and the unfettered peace aims set out on pages 13-20 above is even closer. But did not the League come to grief? Ought not the new peace to aim in a different direction?

The answer depends upon the reasons why the first League experiment failed. Field-Marshal Smuts gave his reading of the facts when he spoke in the South African Parliament on 27 March, 1941. Nationalist members of the House of Assembly had criticized a vote of £25,000 for the League of Nations. The Prime Minister replied that many people who thought deeply were convinced that the only hope for the salvation of the world lay along the road of the League. Let us look back over the facts and make up our own minds.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

10. *The League of Nations*

The Covenant, as it emerged from the Peace Conference of 1919, was based for the most part on British and American ideals. The Americans, led by President Wilson, insisted upon collective security: 'mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.' The British, represented on the Committee which drafted the Covenant by Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts—now Viscount Cecil and Field-Marshal Smuts—added plans for the political settlement of international disputes: plans worked out by a Foreign Office committee with Lord Phillimore as chairman. The French contributed the idea of a World Court of Justice. The limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement was an aim common to all the victorious countries. General Smuts was responsible for the idea of mandates, which came to mean that a State-member of the League might be made its agent for administering one or more of the non-civilized or partly civilized territories taken from Germany or Turkey. And a prominent member of the British Foreign Office, who had been reading Leonard Woolf's book on *International Government*, managed to get economic and social services included within the sphere of action of the League.

All the negotiators at Paris were agreed that the League must not be a super-State, although the military proposals made by M. Léon Bourgeois on behalf of France did in fact postulate the existence of such a body. The framers of the Covenant made no direct attempt to increase the feeling of international solidarity in the countries that were to form the League. They knew how weak that feeling was compared with belief in national sovereignty. When the two dogmas clashed they generally favoured the latter. In particular, they provided, in Article 19,¹ quite ineffective means for revising unjust treaties against the will of one of the parties. Despite the warning of Colonel House that the law was bound to break if it could not bend, the Covenant did not depart from the time-honoured principle that international law could only be amended by the concurrent will of the sovereign States concerned. And yet, as Lord Cecil saw clearly enough,² unless peaceful means were pro-

¹ Article 19 of the Covenant reads: 'The Assembly' (on which all Members of the League are equally represented) 'may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.'

² *A Great Experiment*, 1941, p. 77.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

vided for righting an international wrong, war must come whenever any nation regarded it as a less evil than the continuance of the existing injustice.

How did the Covenant work?

A majority of the United States Senate voted for the Covenant. But the majority fell short of the two-to-one required by the American Constitution. Accordingly, the Great Republic did not join the League. President Wilson's guarantee that America would help to defend France against any unprovoked aggression by Germany was also rejected by the Senate. The British had made a similar promise to France, and it had already been approved by the Parliament in London. But the American and British guarantees were each conditional upon the other being ratified. The effect of the Senate's decision was therefore to cancel them both. M. Clemenceau had accepted the British and American guarantees in place of the Rhine frontier demanded by Marshal Foch. Now France had neither the one nor the other.

The withdrawal of the United States made the former neutrals and the British Dominions look upon collective security as a liability rather than an asset. They wished therefore to whittle away the guarantees of security provided by the Covenant. The most formidable of these guarantees were contained in Articles 16 and 17 and in Article 10. Articles 16 and 17 contemplated that both economic and military measures would at once be taken by members of the League (although the military measures did not need to be taken by all the members) to stop an act of aggression. These provisions were emasculated by an interpretation to which the League's Second Assembly agreed in September, 1921. Thereafter there was no certainty that any armed forces would be collected 'to protect the covenants of the League' against an aggressor until the effect of economic pressure had first been tried. At the Fourth Assembly, despite a negative vote by Persia, a similar fate, in effect, befell Article 10 by which 'The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.' After the Assembly's vote in September, 1923, this obligation ceased to be regarded as unconditionally binding upon every League Member.

Successive attempts by France to repair the damage thus done to her security were defeated by Great Britain. The British Labour Government refused, in 1924, to ratify the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The British Conservative Government, in 1925, rejected the Geneva Protocol; but, later in the year, successfully negotiated the Locarno Treaties. France never felt that they were sufficient for her security.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Then, in 1931–2 and again in 1935–6, the free nations missed their chance to preserve and strengthen what remained of collective security. Had we then understood the things that belong to our peace, we should have realized that it would be suicide to wait until the aggressors were ‘in our front yard’,¹ and we should have made the most of the Covenant guarantees to China and Abyssinia. But we were unwilling to take such risks for the League and the one-ness of the world as we would readily have accepted had we then known that the safety of our own homes was at stake. We know now. The facts were summed up by Mr. Churchill in a speech broadcast to America on 16 June, 1941. He said:

‘It is but a few years ago since one united gesture by the peoples, great and small, who are now broken in the dust would have warded off from mankind the fearful ordeal it has had to undergo. But there was no unity. There was no vision. The nations were pulled down one by one while the others gaped and chattered. One by one, each in his turn, let themselves be caught. One after another they were felled by brutal violence or poisoned from within by subtle intrigue.’²

The defence of each by the strength of all—the principle known as ‘collective security’—thus faded out of the League picture. So long as the law had this force behind it, even the most powerful State preferred to bring its grievances before the League and to accept the League’s plan for a settlement. But, with the decline of collective security, the chances for would-be aggressors steadily rose, and the League gradually became less able to settle disputes between nations.

Nevertheless, the creation, in 1921, of the Permanent Court of International Justice was a notable achievement. By 15 June, 1939, forty-nine States, including the United Kingdom and all the British Dominions, had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court so that each of them was obliged to appear before the Court in answer to any charge brought by any of the other forty-nine States.³

¹ The words are quoted from Roosevelt’s fireside chat of 27 May, 1941. The President went on to declare: ‘if we believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight to defend them just as much as we would for the safety of our own homes.’

² *The Times*, 17 June, 1941. In his broadcast of 24 August, 1941, Mr. Churchill added: ‘Three and a half years ago I appealed to my fellow-countrymen to take the lead in weaving together a strong defensive union, within the principles of the League of Nations, of all the countries who felt themselves in ever-growing danger. But none would listen; all stood idle while Germany rearmed.’

³ At the outbreak of the present war this obligation was suspended by the British belligerents.

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The Locarno Treaties of 1925 and the General Act of 1928 marked further progress towards the settlement by third-party judgement of every international dispute which the parties could not decide for themselves. At least this was the legal effect of these agreements; but the political results, particularly of the General Act, were disappointing. Not much more useful was the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928. By it, sixty-three States renounced war 'as an instrument of national policy' and promised to use none but pacific means to settle their disputes. But this 'Pact of Paris' had no noticeable effect upon the political action of any of these States, save that it made America ashamed 'to stand idly by in the event of a gross breach of a multi-lateral treaty to which she was a party'.¹ This consequence of the Pact was seen when Japan attacked Manchuria and again when Italy invaded Abyssinia.

Since the League's Fifth Assembly in 1924, the main political purpose of the League has been summed up under the triple head of Security, Arbitration, Disarmament. 'Security', as we said, implied the defence of each by the strength of all. 'Arbitration' covered every means of settling international disputes with the help of third-parties and without resort to war. 'Disarmament' meant the all-round reduction and limitation of national armaments by international agreement.

We have seen how failure to establish 'security' injured the cause of 'arbitration'.

To 'disarmament' it proved fatal. France, Poland, Belgium and the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania—dared not disarm unless their security were guaranteed. It was therefore impossible to fulfil the promise which had been made to Germany before she agreed to her own disarmament. The German Delegation had told the Peace Conference at Paris that:

'Germany is prepared to agree to the basic idea of the army, navy and air regulations . . . provided that this is the beginning of a general reduction of armaments.'

And M. Clemenceau had replied:

'The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote.'

¹ These words were used by Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, in 1928.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Little had been done to carry out this pledge when, in the thirteenth year of the League, the Disarmament Conference at last assembled. Dr. Brüning, the Reich's Chancellor, pressed the German claim to equality. His words were:

'The old jealously guarded sovereign right of States to decide for themselves the extent of their national defence forces must find its highest fulfilment in the voluntary incorporation of this right amongst the obligations of international solidarity and the consolidation of peace. . . . Should we prove unsuccessful—and God grant that this may not be so—humanity would realize too late and at the cost of intolerable suffering the fatal error it committed in allowing the decisive moment to pass.'

But Brüning returned empty-handed to Berlin. Perhaps he would not in any case have been able, and some hold that he would not have tried, to prevent what afterwards happened. Within a year Adolf Hitler had become Chancellor. Nine months later Nazi Germany left the Disarmament Conference and gave notice of retiring from the League. Mussolini then began to plan the rape of Abyssinia, and the League missed this last fine chance to revive collective security.

So the League experiment failed: 'utterly, dismally failed', according to Professor Rappard's latest account of it.¹

11. Why the League failed

The League of Nations was the first attempt to replace international anarchy by a world order based upon the consent and co-operation of all nations. As we have said, and as all the world knows, the experiment failed.

Was it bound to fail? I think not. 'A lasting peace among free and disarmed nations' was not an unattainable objective. But it could not be reached by a frontal attack along the political road. If it was to be captured, and held, a flanking movement by way of economics and education was indispensable. Yet the Powers at Versailles gave scarcely a thought to anything but politics. How little regard they had for the economic consequences of the peace they were making was remarked at the time by Mr. Maynard Keynes, now Lord Keynes. And for education—to build up the international community in the minds of the people and of those who would be leading them in ten and twenty years' time—they made no provision at all.

¹ Readers of Dr. Rappard's book, *The Quest for Peace* (Harvard University Press, 1940), will realize how much I owe to it.

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It is true that, under pressure from organized labour, the peacemakers of 1919 acknowledged that 'universal peace . . . can be established only if it is based upon social justice', and that therefore they set up the International Labour Organization alongside of the League of Nations. It is also true¹ that the economic and social services of the League, briefly authorized by Article 23 of the Covenant, made an important contribution to international government. And it is true that, at the instance of Dame Edith Lyttelton, a British delegate to its Fourth Assembly, the League began, in 1923, to take a mild interest in the education of children and youth in international affairs. But the task of building up a body of public opinion to understand the League and how peace depended upon its whole-hearted support by governments and peoples, was left, in most countries, both before and after 1923, to voluntary effort. In the United Kingdom most of this effort was directed by the League of Nations Union. Similar, but smaller, voluntary societies worked in some thirty other countries, including all the larger States, whether Members of the League or not, Soviet Russia alone excepted.

The League of Nations Union had many advantages. It received a Royal Charter from the King in Council. It worked under the patronage of leading members of all political parties including every Prime Minister (except Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) from Lord Balfour to Mr. Winston Churchill. Many ex-Cabinet Ministers and future Cabinet Ministers served on its Executive Committee. It enjoyed the co-operation of all the Churches,¹ teachers' associations, associations of local education authorities, the Trades Union Congress, and almost every national organization of women. And it received from the British public, in the course of twenty years, approximately one million pounds to pay for its work.

But its precarious receipts—including both capital and income—seldom exceeded £60,000 in any one year. This was less than the annual

¹ On one of its committees, concerned with work through Christian organizations, Roman Catholic priests sat side by side with officers of the Salvation Army, ministers of the Free Churches, and clergymen of the Church of England. Such a measure of joint action 'has not happened in this country since the Reformation', as the Bishop of London said (on 28 May, 1942) of the new Standing Joint Committee of Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Free Churchmen. This new Committee, of which Dr. Fisher is chairman and for which the Christian Organizations Committee of the League of Nations Union helped to prepare the way, has been formed to unite Christians 'in common action on broad lines of social and international policy'. See *The Times*, 29 May, 1942.

WHY THE LEAGUE FAILED

expenditure of many a school or college. It was not nearly enough for the education of all classes of British people to realize that their peace and prosperity depended upon the maintenance and development of the League system, to look upon the League as a vital British interest, and to feel bound to the League by a sentiment of loyalty and an invisible bond of ideals such as holds the British Commonwealth together. In particular, little impression was made upon the City, the official classes, and the older generation of naval and military advisers to His Majesty's Government: men who were apt in any case to look askance upon an unofficial body like the League of Nations Union. Yet great numbers of younger people, some of whom will help to make the coming peace, learnt in school and afterwards, and particularly in the universities, to think of themselves as members of an international community, and as belonging not only to the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth but also to an even greater society, potentially world-wide.

In most other countries, the League of Nations Societies had an even harder task and more limited resources than the League of Nations Union in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. What a different tale future historians might have had to tell of the 1930's if, in the 1920's, every League government had spent upon the education of its people in international affairs one-tenth of one per cent of the sum it spent on armaments!

But instead of thus strengthening the foundations of the League system, the governments strove to improve its superstructure. Instead of grasping the fact that the League could do, and in the long run could only do, what enough public opinion wanted it to do, many of the governments supposed that the effective working of the League could be assured by further commitments. They sought to bind the future, not by the increase of understanding and loyalty in the minds of men, but by pacts and promises on paper.¹

12. The League and The Commonwealth

We must do better next time. Whatever may be the central authority of the Society of States co-operating to organize the international com-

¹ Many of these attempts, like the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923) and the Geneva Protocol (1924) came to nothing. Among the completed 'pacts and promises' made by the British Government were the Locarno Treaties (1925), the Kellogg Pact (1928), the General Act (1928), and the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice (signed by the Government of the United Kingdom in 1929).

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

munity after this war, it will have to concern itself with education.¹ 'The statesman', said Aristotle, 'must make a study of the soul.'²

In this domain it will do well to have the advice and assistance of an International Education Organization, representative of teachers', parents' and students' associations, of education authorities, and of the governments of the United Nations. This body, like the Board of Education in London, should make inquiries, offer suggestions, issue reports, encourage experiments, and give (to the poorer countries at least) grants in aid of their work in this field. It might also encourage research in education, particularly concerning the qualities, and the means of developing the qualities, needed by a good citizen of his own country and of The Commonwealth. And it might promote contacts between citizens who have similar interests and occupations and who belong to the several United Nations, particularly educational administrators, teachers, or pupils of the same age. Opportunities for these contacts would occur in graduate studies and refresher courses provided by universities, in such summer schools for undergraduates as Sir Alfred Zimmern conducted for fifteen years in the Geneva School of International Studies, in holiday conferences and tours, and by means of the interchange of teachers and graduate students.

The advice of the International Education Organization,³ although formally tendered to The Commonwealth as the central authority of the

¹ 'Of all the State's activities, education is the basic activity.' First Interim Report of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education (September, 1942), p. 37.

² *Ethics*, Bk. I, Ch. XIII.

³ These and other suggestions for the creation of an I.E.O. on the model of the I.L.O., and for the definition of its duties, should be considered before the Peace Conference, and even before the Armistice, by an international commission representing educators and education authorities in all the United Nations, especially America, Britain, Russia and China. The same commission should, as Dr. Julian Huxley has suggested (in the *New Statesman* for 12 February, 1943), prepare plans for the guidance of the United Nations in reshaping education in Germany and other Axis countries during the period of military occupation following the Armistice. Or the preparatory work might be done by a United Nations' Bureau for Educational Reconstruction such as has been proposed in a recent report on *Education and the United Nations* (by a joint commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship). This Bureau might develop out of the Conference of representatives of Allied Ministers of Education which has begun to meet in London under the chairmanship of Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education for England and Wales.

THE LEAGUE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

United Nations, would help to guide the national Ministries of Education in regard to the study and teaching of international affairs. Only very rarely and in the gravest cases would it recommend the central authority to exert pressure upon a national government which flagrantly failed to apply the principles of education agreed upon by the United Nations for their Commonwealth.

What ought these principles to be?

Of course, the facts of international affairs should be known, particularly the aims and work of The Commonwealth and the terms of the new settlement. To this end, The Commonwealth would do well to provide regular broadcasts of international news, member States helping and encouraging their citizens to hear these broadcasts. The Commonwealth's broadcasts need not of course be confined to 'straight news'. So long as its *news* bulletins are kept distinct from *views*, its radio organization might also offer entertainment. It could provide programmes in the principal languages which would be first-class alternatives to the national programmes. Within this framework of entertainment could be got across a sense of the essential oneness of mankind and, particularly, of international solidarity within The Commonwealth. With the same end in view, international negotiations should be as open as is compatible with their success: the 'open covenants openly arrived at' of President Wilson. And free speech and a free press should be guaranteed throughout The Commonwealth.¹ But this freedom should not include freedom grossly to misrepresent the news or other ascertainable facts: even in England prosecution awaits parents who make their children attend a school where they are regularly taught that twice two is five and other errors of the same sort.

But should The Commonwealth's concern for education be confined to specific instruction in world affairs, or even to making known the aims and work of the new society of United Nations and the terms of the new settlement? Or should it extend to every aspect of education that may help The Commonwealth to grow and prosper? What is it, after all, that we expect from education in The Commonwealth?

¹ Cf. President Roosevelt's insistence upon the 'four freedoms' in his address to Congress on 6 January, 1941, quoted on p. 21 above.

Chapter 2

THE GOOD CITIZEN

1. *The Rule of Law*

The Commonwealth is concerned with the behaviour of its citizens. Their thought is their own private affair and so also, within wide limits, is their talk; for the citizens are to enjoy freedom of conscience and freedom of speech. These are the first two of President Roosevelt's four freedoms, the other two being freedom from want and freedom from fear.¹ But all these freedoms would vanish if anyone (or any nation) were allowed to behave as he (or it) liked without regard to other people or to the State (or to the United Nations as a whole). The conduct of every citizen must therefore conform to the law. The law must set a minimum standard to regulate men's dealings with each other and with the community.

The enforcement of the law—that is of 'municipal', as distinguished from 'international', law—is the business of each member State of The Commonwealth. Whatever the constitution of a State may be, the first business of its government is to govern.

If the regime be totalitarian, the government may punish every breach of the law, however innocent and however harmless, on the ground that the majesty of the State has been defied.² But even if its constitution be as free and democratic as possible, the State must yet enforce the law whenever a breach of it does real injury to an individual citizen or to the State itself. The enforcement of the law may go so far as to cut off the wrongdoer from the State, either for a time or altogether. It may mean his imprisonment, or banishment, or execution. Or it may be limited to his paying damages to those whom he has injured. And, in order that most citizens may comply with the law, every citizen should know, broadly speaking, what the law is, fear its penalties, and be trained in the habit of obeying it.³

¹ See above, p. 21.

² Cf. Walter Lippmann, *The Good Society* (1937), pp. 289–94.

³ 'It is by training the habits that legislators make the citizens good.' Aristotle, *Ethics*, Bk. III, Ch. I.

THE RULE OF LAW

But the letter of the law is no sufficient guide to conduct. It is a low stage of morality which has rules of life rather than principles.¹ There would be something very wrong with The Commonwealth if the attitude of the average citizen to his neighbour and to the community at large were governed by fear of the penalties of the law. If President Roosevelt's four freedoms are to flourish, most citizens must share the purpose of the legislature, and, of their own free will, seek to do better than the law requires.² Most people, that is to say, must be guided by the spirit rather than by the letter of the law. They will then wish to treat each other fairly and to give good service to the State.³

If this spirit is lacking in the mass of the people, nothing can take its place. It would be useless, for instance, for the government to make many laws, and to employ an army of officials to see that these laws were obeyed, in the hope of ensuring the wholehearted co-operation of the citizens for the common good. Such a system would imprison the human spirit, hinder the search for truth, retard discovery, check the spread of knowledge, restrict production, impoverish the people, and multiply fear.

The law, in fact, is no pole-star to guide the forward march of free citizens.⁴ Its role is the humbler one of whipping in the laggards, so that no citizen who remains free may fall too far behind the centre of the advancing column.

¹ Cf. Dr. Jowett's introduction to Book I of Plato's *Republic*. Cephalus and Polemarchus, he wrote, represent 'the proverbial stage of morality which has rules of life rather than principles.'

² Cf. Aristotle's account of the equitable man. *Ethics*, Bk. V, Ch. XIV.

³ 'Englishmen

Will serve day after day, obey the law,
And do dull tasks that keep a nation strong,
Once I remember in London how I saw
Pale shabby people standing in a long
Line in the twilight and the misty rain
To pay their tax. I then saw England plain.'

The White Cliffs by Alice Duer Miller (1941).

⁴ In China the idea of law is not the same as in the Western World. 'A Chinese law does not consist of a set of commands which the people are expected to obey to the letter; it rather aims at setting up an ideal standard of conduct which men are not really expected to attain. The Chinese method was to influence men's minds by example and exhortation rather than to compel obedience by precept and command.' See *Great Britain and China* by Sir John Pratt (Oxford University Pamphlet, No. 58), p. 6.

THE GOOD CITIZEN

2. *Loyalty and Power*

To guide the mass of citizens some other motive is needed than fear of the power of the State in case they break the law. Such a motive may be found in loyalty—loyalty to the State, loyalty to The Commonwealth of United Nations, loyalty to mankind, or loyalty to God—and in the purpose to serve the object of one's loyalty.

But the society of free citizens, the advancing column as we have called it, will disintegrate unless the loyalty of the majority is supplemented by power to enforce the law upon the small minority that fails to keep up. The loyalty of the citizens and the power of the State are equally essential to the continued existence of an organized community of free people. In particular, none of the United Nations can do without either loyalty or power. The same is true of The Commonwealth as a whole. If it is to hold together, it must have the loyalty of the citizens of each of the United Nations, and it must have the power to maintain 'right order resting upon force'.¹ 'The old League of Nations failed', said Mr. Eden in December, 1942, 'not because its machinery was faulty but because there was not the representation or the force [power] or the drive [loyalty] behind it.'

The citizens of the several nations united in The Commonwealth must therefore think of themselves as also citizens of The Commonwealth. They need to understand how its interests are their interests and what its evolution may mean for their peace and prosperity²—indeed for all their four freedoms. They ought in particular, to realize that The Commonwealth will not be able to adapt itself to changes, and so to survive, unless its will prevails in all those matters of common concern over which the co-operating States have agreed to make its authority supreme.³ But the will of The Commonwealth, as of any other society of free men, is only done because of its hold upon their minds or on account of its power over their bodies.

So we come back to loyalty and power, to consent and coercion, to the motives of love and fear. Both loyalty and power are needed. This

¹ 'If . . . he who is to be a good man should . . . never voluntarily or involuntarily do evil, this result will only be attained if we live so to say, in accordance with reason and right order resting upon force.' Aristotle, *Ethics*, Bk. X, Ch. X.

² It was a great mistake on the part of those who planned and worked the League of Nations that they failed to make obvious economic advantages flow from League membership.

³ See above, p. 14.

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is as true of The Commonwealth as of each of its member States. Power without loyalty is short-lived, for its use gives rise to resentment, disaffection and disintegration. Loyalty without power is vain, for there will always be some whose loyalty is deficient. But the greater and more widespread the loyalty, the less power will be needed to coerce disloyal minorities. The best discipline is always self-discipline; and the less use The Commonwealth has to make of its power, the better chance will it give to all its citizens to realize their best selves in the service of each other, of their States, of The Commonwealth and of God.

Loyalty is the name here given to the hold of The Commonwealth, or of the State, upon the minds of its citizens. The loyalty felt by the citizens touches their springs of action as well as their power of reason. If The Commonwealth and its aims appealed only to the reason, it would have but little influence upon the behaviour of its citizens. 'The mere intellect', wrote Aristotle, 'has no motive power.'¹

As a directive of conduct, intellect is neutral. Other functions of mind, in addition to reason, determine whether a man's reasoning power, together with his accumulated knowledge and skill, shall in fact produce a tank, as against a telescope, or as against a toxin.² 'Reason will play its part, as a tool.'³ But loyalty goes deeper than reason. It makes use of other powers of the mind and other parts of the brain. A mere understanding of the advantages afforded by The Commonwealth to its citizens will not give it a hold upon their minds sufficient to influence their conduct. Feeling and desire must be called into play. Men must love The Commonwealth and want to serve it, as the patriot loves and wants to serve his country.

Loyalty to The Commonwealth is consistent with national patriotism.⁴ Its object is, indeed, wider than that of patriotism; but it resembles patriotism in being a 'sentiment'. That is to say, it is an acquired system of feelings and urges, of emotions and desires, linked with a mental picture or intellectual image of its object.

For instance, a child who has once been bitten by a dog may acquire from that experience a sentiment of fear for dogs, or for the particular dog that bit him. Again, a mishap when climbing or sailing may create

¹ *Ethics*, Bk. VI, Ch. II.

² Cf. A. C. F. Beales, *The Catholic Church and International Order* (1941), p. 17.

³ Sir Charles Sherrington, O.M., *Man on his Nature* (1940), p. 388.

⁴ 'To teach the truth about our own nation is to teach its place in a community of nations. . . . A true internationalism is not the antithesis, but the fulfilment of nationalism.' *Christian News-Letter*, 28 October, 1942.

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a lifelong sentiment of dislike for high mountains or for small boats as the case may be. So also a moving account of a country and its people may create a sympathetic and appreciative interest¹ in them. A study of the Greek classics may lead to an abiding affection for ancient Greece; communist propaganda has made some Englishmen love Soviet Russia more than they love their native soil; the war speeches of Winston Churchill or Mrs. Miller's poem on 'The White Cliffs' have made many friends for Britain among their readers in the United States; and the historical novels of Winston Churchill's American namesake have kindled a very warm feeling for the Great Republic in many a young Englishman.

In the same way, a sentiment of loyalty to The Commonwealth can be created if the proper means are used.

The process can begin before The Commonwealth itself comes into being. So Hamilton and Madison and Jay set about creating, by their writings in *The Federalist*, a United States patriotism when as yet there were no United States but only a loose confederation of thirteen sovereign republics on the Atlantic seaboard. A century later the American nation, spread across the continent, was able to absorb masses of European immigrants largely because its schools had acquired the technique of implanting a sentiment for the United States in the foreign children and so transforming them into patriotic Americans. 'I've been beaten by a foreigner,' explained a young American whose teacher asked him why he was weeping. The 'foreigner' happened to be the boy's father.

3. *A Common Purpose*

While loyalty to The Commonwealth is a condition of its survival, its development depends upon this loyalty guiding and urging the mass of the citizens towards the ideal Commonwealth of the future. It is not enough that they should seek to preserve The Commonwealth as it is, to defend it against aggression from outside, and to enforce the existing law within its borders. They must strive to realize The Commonwealth as it might be: united, peaceful, prosperous, friendly, fair and free.

The drive in this direction can only come from the citizens' loyalty, and the loyalty can give the drive that is needed. Whoever loves The Commonwealth will wish to serve it,² just as whoever fears a tiger, or a

¹ Such an interest is only another name for a sentiment; and a sentiment is only a particular kind of interest, an interest centred upon a single object.

² We here take William McDougall's view that each of certain elemental

A COMMON PURPOSE

dive-bomber, feels an urge to run away and hide whenever he sees or hears it coming near. Thus the common loyalty of the mass of the citizens implies also a common purpose. But is this common loyalty, and the common purpose that goes with it, going to *change* The Commonwealth and the surrounding world? .

Change in human institutions follows from human action. If the actions of many people over a long period are to have a positive result, one man must not undo what another does, nor must the actions of one and the same man at different times cancel each other out. There must be some common guiding factor, or motive, at work upon most of the actions of most of the people during most of the time. The common purpose of The Commonwealth's citizens must therefore introduce harmony, not only between the behaviour of different people, but also among the various acts of the same person at different times. The common purpose must result in single-mindedness as well as in like-mindedness.

4. *Reflexes, Habits, Interests*

A man's actions are determined by impressions which reach him through his senses from the world outside; by the lay-out of his nervous system, partly innate and partly acquired; and by his own free will.

It is true that some psychologists deny the freedom of the will. In their view it is nonsense to suppose that there is in man something from outside space and time, something in a different dimension as it were, which can interfere with the interplay of mechanical forces in the material universe. The opposite view—that, in the words of the British Prime Minister, 'We are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty'¹—comes down to us from Greek philosophers and Hebrew prophets. It is shared by many British and American psychologists. Emotional feelings is always accompanied by an instinctive urge to act in a particular way. This theory of the instincts is generally accepted by British psychologists. But the 'Gestalt' psychologists—notably Professors Koffka, Köhler and Lewin—who have lately migrated from the University of Berlin to the United States, do not accept it. They are, however, unable so far as I can see, to account for a number of phenomena which McDougall's theory exactly fits (see, for example, *Knowledge and Character*, by Maxwell Garnett, 1939, pp. 111–15) nor do they appear to have discovered any facts which their theory fits and McDougall's does not. See a paper on *Gestalt Psychology* by Maxwell Garnett in *Philosophy*, April, 1943.

¹ Winston Churchill's broadcast to America. See *The Times*, 17 June, 1941.

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gists.¹ If we also share it, and believe that there is in us a spirit which can alter the course of our lives, we have still to recognize that such interventions—acts of will, as they are called—are comparatively rare events. Probably they only occur when there is conflict between the material influences that guide most of our thought and conduct.

Some of our movements are quite involuntary, and some are even beyond our control. We can't help blinking at a sudden bright light or recoiling when we touch something hot. In such cases, the sense impression starts a volley of impulses in the nervous system. Like an empty toboggan rushing down an ice-run with steep banks on either side, these nervous impulses can only flow in the direction fixed by the layout of the track.

Not very different from these reflex acts are movements due to habit. A man's morning shave, for instance, proceeds, when all is well, from start to finish without his conscious control. The motions of shaving follow one another in a fixed routine, far more permanent than any 'permanent wave'. They are determined by the layout of his nervous system. But habits are acquired, although reflexes are innate. The layout that determines a habit is the product of experience as well as of inheritance, of nurture as well as of nature. Moreover, unless a habit has been consolidated or canalized by long usage and frequent repetition, the track of the impulses which determine the movements of muscles and limbs is not unalterable. If a reflex act is like a toboggan on a high-walled run, a habit rather resembles a skier descending a well-worn track across a snow-field. His thoughts may be elsewhere and his movements automatic until his attention is suddenly arrested by a point of rock showing through the snow ahead. With a quick turn he avoids the danger, swerving from the old track and making a new one. Conscious control is available when wanted. And so with the man who is shaving. Should an accident happen, should the razor slip, the routine of habit can be broken and a new movement take its place before the cut goes deep.

Most human actions that are neither reflex nor habitual are guided by interests. These interests are ordered systems of knowledge and feeling, permanent possessions of the mind. They are represented in the brain

¹ The case for psycho-physical interaction has been presented by William McDougall in *Body and Mind* (1911). It is summed up by the present writer in *Knowledge and Character* (1939), p. 117, where William James, Bernard Hart, Charles Spearman and Morton Prince are cited as interactionists. Sir Charles Sherrington in his Gifford Lectures has declared himself on the same side: 'The theoretically impossible does happen.' *Man on his Nature* (1940), p. 313.

REFLEXES, HABITS, INTERESTS

by complex layouts, comparable rather to the criss-cross of ski-tracks in the snow around a much-used hut than to the built-up ice-run that stands for a reflex or to the long snow road that resembles a chain of habit.

In this analogy, the criss-cross of ski-tracks are the traces left by the passing and repassing of nervous impulses which accompany our thoughts, and especially our emotions, as we think and feel about what interests us. From the description already given of a sentiment¹ it will be seen that an interest is a wide kind of sentiment, a sentiment for any number of connected objects. A sentiment is thus a particular kind of interest: an interest in a single object or class of objects.

The skier crossing freshly fallen snow prefers to follow in tracks already made rather than to undertake the labour of making a new one for himself. So also the nervous impulses in our brains, and the corresponding thoughts in our minds, find it easier to follow a beaten path. They are apt to be guided by the traces—real physical traces²—of earlier thoughts, especially if these were so vivid or so fraught with emotion as to make a deep impression. That is how habits are formed and that is why, when they are formed, they exert so great an influence upon our thought and conduct.

But all our thoughts and feelings help to guide our future thinking and behaviour. That is true of thoughts and feelings which have neither been intense enough nor repeated often enough to leave the deep traces belonging to habits. Particularly is it true of those ordered systems of knowledge and emotion here called 'interests'. Their systems of linked-up traces in our brains attract the impulses moving in their neighbourhood, just as the tired or hungry skier on the mountains is attracted by the prospect of rest and food afforded by the criss-cross of interlaced tracks that mark a climbers' hut within his reach. In fact, we tend to think of things that interest us.³

¹ See above, pp. 41, 42.

² Köhler's book on *The Place of Value in a World of Facts* (1938) brings the Gestalt psychologists into line with McDougall and other British psychologists on this point. Köhler holds that the memory traces of any particular thought are 'physical entities in the cortex' (p. 278)—or outer layer of the fore-brain—having their own particular place or 'pattern' (p. 239) in the brain tissue. 'The trace', he writes, 'obviously does something about' cortical occurrences 'beyond itself' (p. 334). Köhler adds that 'such traces of past events are left in just those locations in which corresponding processes have occurred. Thus the remnants (traces) of visual experience are . . . localized in the visual cortex . . . and so forth.' (p. 245).

³ The analogy between ski-tracks in a snowfield and memory traces in the

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If, for instance, I am interested in stamp collecting, my attention may be attracted by the display of stamps in a stamp-dealer's window when, apart from my interest, I should never notice the window or its contents. For this to happen, it is not necessary that I should be thinking of stamps as I pass the window for the first time. The mere existence of my interest leads me to think of the interesting object as soon as it becomes visible even when the main stream of my thoughts is, up to that moment, concerned with something quite different. And, when the object that interests me has attracted and received my attention, it may hold it for some considerable time. Meanwhile the object of my interest guides my thought and even controls it unless this control is prevented or interrupted by incoming sense impressions or by an act of my will.¹

An interest may indeed be so wide and deep that its influence on thought and conduct is hardly ever absent. Of that kind was the interest in their country displayed by patriotic Poles during the nineteenth century when Poland had disappeared for the time being from the political map of Europe. Many tales are told of this feeling of the Poles for Poland. For instance, an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman and a Pole each backed his own language against all comers. In order to test their claims they agreed each to write an essay on whatever topic might be named on a slip of paper to be picked by chance from others in a hat. The paper, when unfolded, gave 'The Elephant' as the subject of the essay. The Englishman wrote on 'Hunting the Elephant', the German on 'The Natural History of the Elephant', the Frenchman on 'The Loves of an Elephant', and the Pole on 'The Elephant and the Polish Problem'.

brain, close though it is, is not close enough to illustrate precisely how the nervous impulses that accompany thought are attracted by traces of an interest so that we tend to think of things that interest us. How this tendency works has been described elsewhere by the present writer. See *Knowledge and Character*, pp. 93-115.

¹ How complete this control may be is shown by the fact that public speakers have been known to fall asleep without interrupting their flow of talk or losing the thread of their discourse. It was said of the eighth Duke of Devonshire, that on one occasion, he dreamt that he was addressing the House of Lords and woke up to find his dream was true. And Lord Cecil records of M. Léon Bourgeois, (who represented France on the League of Nations Committee at Versailles and afterwards on the League of Nations at Geneva) that he 'had a great power of pouring out a stream of French reasoning, admirably phrased, in an even delivery without special emphasis. He told me that he had once been making a speech and that, in the course of it, he went to sleep. When he awoke a few minutes later he found that he had continued his speech without any interruption.' *A Great Experiment* (1941), p. 65.

MIND AND SPIRIT

5. *Mind and Spirit*

Thus our interests, including our sentiments, help to guide our thoughts and to direct our actions. Indeed, as has already been said, all our thoughts and feelings, fleeting though they be, leave behind them traces which may influence our future thinking, whether knowing or feeling or striving.

Where are we to look for these traces? Real physical traces¹ remain in the brain and nervous system after the passage of the nervous impulses which accompany thought. Are corresponding traces left in the mind where the thought occurs?

When we speak of the brain and nervous system we know, broadly speaking, what we mean. When we talk about the mind we are not nearly so sure. Let us try to give greater precision to this word 'mind' before we make further use of it.

The mind is the medium of thought. It is usual to distinguish at least two different kinds of thought: 'cognitive' concerned with knowing, and 'affective' concerned with feeling and striving. Cognition is an intellectual process, while affective thinking involves the emotions. But every process or event in the mind, whether it be intellectual or emotional, cognitive or affective, is accompanied by a corresponding process or event in the nervous system and particularly in the brain.²

Now a mental process, like solving a problem or remembering a name, often seems to be made up of a series of separate events.³ For instance, I am aware of a problem; I try to think out its solution; I am baffled time and again; my effort stops, and starts afresh; and then, suddenly, 'out of the blue'—perhaps when I have ceased to think of the problem and my thought has turned to something else—the solution of the problem flashes into my mind. There it is, all complete, and generally the true solution.

It is hard, and quite unnecessary, to suppose that the corresponding brain process has been other than continuous. But then there must have been some parts of it which did not correspond to, and were not accompanied by, conscious thought. It is convenient to describe them as accompanied by, and corresponding to, unconscious mental processes, continuous with the conscious thought which led up to it and followed from it. We assume then, that every train of thought is a continuous

¹ See above, p. 45.

² See above, p. 44.

³ Cf. *Knowledge and Character*, p. 97, and William James' *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, p. 243.

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process, even if it disappears from consciousness every now and then. And we conceive of the mind as the medium in which the whole process takes place although parts of it may be 'below the level of consciousness'.

Thus defined, the mind becomes the counterpart of the brain and nervous system in so far as their activities accompany a train of thought.¹ Every trace which my past experience has left in my brain then has its counterpart in my mind, and so also has every innate neural feature which affects my thinking. These mental counterparts make up the pattern of my mind. They include interests, sentiments, knowledge, memories, purposes, tastes and other more or less permanent mental features. And they influence the flow of my thought as their neural counterparts influence the flow of the nervous impulses which accompany my thinking.

If, as we assume,² my thought and conduct can also be influenced by my free will that agency forms no part of my mind as here defined. We have identified it with 'spirit' because, whatever it be, it is as distinct from mind as it is from those material features of brain and nervous system of which the mind forms the counterpart.

What then is 'character'? It is whatever distinguishes a man's behaviour from that of other people in the same circumstances. If we knew exactly how a man would act in every conceivable environment we should know his character. But his behaviour depends, we said, partly upon impressions which reach him through his senses from the world outside; partly upon the more or less permanent features of his brain and nervous system, or, as we may now say, of his mind; and partly upon his own free will. His character is therefore determined by the last two of these three factors: that is, by his mind and his will. His character is therefore being moulded as his mind develops. Every addition to his knowledge, every change in his interests, sentiments, or habits, makes some difference to his character.

6. *Inner and Outer Worlds*

The pattern of my mind influences, as we have seen, the flow of my thought and, consequently, my behaviour. Much of that pattern is due to my experience of the outside world. It forms a map or chart which I use when I wish to think out, or foresee, what is likely to be the result of some action I incline to take. But my map of the world is far from

¹ The 'mind' is then the counterpart of the 'neurography' defined in *Knowledge and Character*, p. 83.

² See above, pp. 43, 44.

INNER AND OUTER WORLDS

accurate. It represents the world, neither as it is, nor as it is becoming known to science, but as I myself have come to see it, to think of it, to feel about it and in part, perhaps, to know it. The world shown on my map or patterned in my mind is not the outer world but a foreshortened, distorted, peculiar, private, inner world of my own and with myself near the centre of it. Neither world need be confined to material objects. Both may also include things of the spirit: things from outside space and time which affect the spirit of man and its instrument, his free will.

My inner world differs from yours, and yours from your neighbour's. That is because, while we all live in the same outer world, we are in different parts of it, so that we see it from different angles and experience it differently. Yet there is some resemblance between all these inner worlds, for each of them is based on the same outer world.

Indeed, we may be said to live in two worlds,¹ each of which affects our behaviour. For whenever my thought, guided by the pattern of my mind, begins to lead to action, as all thought does sooner or later, my bodily movements bring me up against some material object in the outer world, and it may hurt. If my inner world differs so much from the outer world as to allow me to plan an impossible task, my attempt to carry out my purpose will result in such powerful and insistent sense-impressions as will interrupt the flow of my thought and prevent or modify my intended action. The traces left by this experience alter the pattern of my mind. My inner world is thus changed into closer conformity with the outer world. But if the difference is not too great, I may perhaps be able, if I try hard enough, to accomplish my task. In that case I shall have altered the outer world, and made it conform to my purpose. In either case my action will have increased the likeness between my inner world and the physical world outside.

If the pattern of my mind, including my map of the world (my inner world) is a miscellaneous and disorderly hotch-potch, if it contains many diverse interests all equally attractive, then the guidance it will give to my thought will be unreliable and haphazard. I shall very likely undo to-day what I did yesterday. In the end, I shall get nowhere and accomplish nothing. And if, by an effort of will, I try to give my thought a constant direction, I am at a loss how to do so, because all the objects in the world as I see it are of equal (and none of very great) value.

¹ The inner world is Köhler's 'phenomenal world' and Koffka's 'behavioural environment'. The outer world is Köhler's 'physical world' or 'transphenomenal world' and Koffka's 'geographical environment'. See Köhler, *The Place of Value in a World of Facts* (1938), pp. 104 *et seq.* and Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (1940), pp. 27 *et seq.*

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7. *Oneness of Mind*

On the other hand, my mind may possess such a structure that, whatever be my thought at any moment, it tends to flow towards the same goal, as rain falling anywhere in the Thames basin or the Mississippi valley finds its way towards the mouth of the river. If my mind is of this pattern, my interests do not compete with one another. They do not attract my thought in opposite directions. Instead, they all form part of one main interest, single and very wide. My involuntary thinking, so long as it is undisturbed by sense impressions from the outer world, proceeds under the guidance of that single wide interest.

If a sensation from outside, or any other interruption, interferes with this guidance, the resulting conflict will have to be resolved by an effort of my will; but I know at once where to look for the goal at which I should aim. It is where my interest is deepest, where the values as I see them are greatest, at the centre of my single wide interest, the mouth of the river. Thus, whether my thought is flowing involuntarily as it mostly does, or whether my will is called upon to direct it, it tends to have a constant aim if my interest is single and wide. So the centre of my single wide interest colours all my thought and influences my every action. It tends to make my conduct consistent.

We have likened a single wide interest to a river system draining a wide area of land. The water flows always downhill until it reaches the lowest level—sea-level, as a rule—at the river's mouth where the flow is greatest. The flow of thought is not, of course, downhill. But, apart from the influence of will or of sensations from the outer world (including the thinker's own body), thought does flow according to ascertainable laws¹ comparable with the law of gravity.

The flow is always towards an interest that is linked, in the mind of the thinker, with his thought at that moment. If it is equally closely linked with two interests, the attraction of the deeper² and, as it seems to him, the more valuable³ of the two will prevail over that of the other.

¹ For a tentative account of these laws see *Knowledge and Character*, Ch. V. The 'law of diffusion' is provisionally formulated on p. 92 and the 'law of convergence' on p. 104.

² This term recalls the traces or tracks in the brain which, as was explained on p. 44 above, corresponds to interests in the mind. Its full significance appears from pp. 56, 110 and 177 of *Knowledge and Character*.

³ The value of a fact or object to each of us personally depends upon the depth of our interest in it: see *Knowledge and Character*, p. 210. Concerning value in the outer world, see pp. 201 and 205 *et seq.* of the same work.

ONENESS OF MIND

Thus his thought will move towards the most interesting and most valuable of the objects¹ connected, in his inner world, with whatever has his attention at the moment.

If therefore, his inner world, the world as he sees and knows it, has the structure of a single wide interest—if it is made up of objects all fastened together like the jewels in a diamond star so that each adjoins another which is more valuable, more interesting and more central than itself—then his thought will always tend to flow towards the most valuable, interesting and central object of all. Thus his attention will constantly come back to the highest good he knows. And, since the end of thought is action, his conduct will always be guided by his idea of the *summum bonum*. Such a man has what is called a strong character.

8. What is Truth?

But behaviour consistently directed towards a constant end will not result in a man's leading a useful and effective life if the world as he sees it, his inner world, differs too much from the outer world. This outer world is the same for all men. It is the world of human experience, the world as known in part to science. But it is not necessarily the world as known to God.

The facts that fit the experience of mankind, and are therefore as near as we have yet come to the truth, may not be absolutely true. The facts of to-day's science may not completely fit the experience of to-morrow. Then they will have to be altered to make to-morrow's science. From time to time, new facts take the place of old ones, as when Newton's law of gravitation was replaced by Einstein's equations in order to fit new experience. Moreover there may be some aspects of reality of which we are at present wholly ignorant and which the limitations of our human nature may never allow us to grasp.² Absolute truth is by no means certainly identical with our outer world, the world as science begins to know it, the realm of facts, facts that are true so long, and only

¹ This statement will not be misunderstood although it would be more exact to say that the thought, in the mind, moves towards the 'map' of the object—i.e. the permanent trace in the mind—rather than towards the object itself. Cf. also *The Place of Value in a World of Facts* (1938) by Wolfgang Köhler.

² Cf. Georges Sorel: 'Reality is protected by an obscurity which philosophy must respect if she does not wish to fall into charlatanism, falsehood or fiction.' *Les Illusions du Progrès* (4th ed.), p. 2, quoted by E. H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace* (1942).

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so long, as they fit experience.¹ Yet we may describe this outer world, the realm of facts, as the 'real' world because it is the most real world we know.

Our inner worlds, yours and mine, have, as we said,² some resemblance to this outer world, the realm of facts. The inner world of the specialist who is a master of some particular branch of knowledge, or who possesses expert skill in his own craft, may be exactly like the outer world in that one region. But no man's inner world, not even if it is the most encyclopaedic and elaborate of all, can reproduce every part and every detail of the whole realm of facts. Our inner worlds therefore tend to short-circuit³ or round-off many features of the outer world. They provide us with simplified versions—rough sketch maps rather than accurate models—of the realm of facts.

We now see why too great a difference between any man's inner world and the 'real' world outside will prevent him from leading a useful and effective life. Unless his view of the environment in which he lives with his neighbours is sufficiently like theirs, he will not be able to work with them, or to persuade them to work with him, in adapting it to meet their common needs. Nor can he hope to bring about such changes by his own unaided efforts if he misconceives essential features of the 'real' world or fails to understand the principles of its working: e.g. that you can't get ninepence for fourpence, nor health out of a bottle of medicine, and that things will have their consequences. The advancement of science and its application to industry, the march of scientific discovery and technological invention, all depend upon men whose thought of nature is checked and tested by experience, their own and other people's.

So far indeed from helping to alter the world we live in by adapting it to meet our common needs, I shall come quickly to a bad end unless I adapt myself sufficiently to my environment as it now is. If, for example, I take a running plunge into the sea from the pier off which I enjoyed a bathe a few hours back, but fail to notice until too late that the tide has since fallen and left only wet sand, the difference between my inner world, where the tide is still high, and the outer world, where it has ebbed, may be the end of me. If my inner world were centred in Adolf Hitler and my main purpose in life were to do his will, there would be the same sort of fatal incompatibility between my picture of the world and the world as it 'really' is.

We have seen that the inner world of the expert in his profession or

¹ This definition does not limit the 'realm of facts'—or the outer world—to the *material* universe, the world of space and time.

² On p. 49 above.

³ Cf. *Education and World Citizenship* (1921) by Maxwell Garnett, p. 237.

WHAT IS TRUTH?

craft resembles the outer world in that one region at least. His professional work or skilled labour may be consistent and effective, and may be of real service to The Commonwealth, even though he has no other purpose than to pursue his own narrow interest. But most people do not belong to this class. The government of The Commonwealth would be impossible if they did. Consistent and effective service to The Commonwealth depends, so far as most of its citizens are concerned, upon their possessing undivided minds with single wide interests sufficiently like the 'real' world outside.

9. *The Oneness of the World*

We are thus brought face to face with the question whether the world as it really is, or as it is partially known to science, has any resemblance to the ordered world pictured by the man with a single wide interest, the man of strong character whose conduct is consistent because it is directed to a constant aim. This problem has been discussed in an earlier work by the present writer.¹ The upshot is that scientific thought does give such a picture of so much of the world as it has so far brought within its scope. 'Scientists believe that there is a hierarchy of facts' wrote the French mathematician, Henri Poincaré.² This hierarchy of facts, or realm of facts as we have called it, is not merely discovered by the intuition of men of science and verified by their experiments, but it is organized by their thought. The realm of facts is indeed being gradually constructed³ to form an ordered whole.

Facts are not all born free and equal. They have an order of value, and have to be arranged in this order in the outer world as it is gradually constructed. The simpler and more general facts link up the more concrete and particular facts that are of lower value. The former are more valuable than the latter because they can be used so often. A regular conjugation, for instance, covers many single verbs. It is far more useful to know one's tables and to realize that two and two are always four—a general and very abstract fact—than that two arms and two legs make four limbs. It is far more useful to know things that are true of any and every circle than merely to know a few odd facts about a dinner plate or a motor tyre or the earth's equator.

As the realm of facts is built up, a bit at a time, it is on its way to

¹ See *Knowledge and Character* (1939), Ch. X.

² *Science and Method*, p. 16.

³ The word is used both by Koffka (*Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, p. 35) and by Köhler (*The Place of Value in a World of Facts*, p. 142).

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become 'the neat, trim, tidy, exact world which is the goal of scientific thought'.¹ It approximates ever more closely to an ultimate order which enables thought about the world as known to science to proceed with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of effort. As was said by the Viennese philosopher, Mack, 'the part of science is to effect economy of thought.'²

That goal has not yet been reached. But scientific thought has occupied, organized, arranged for handy reference³ and linked together many fields of knowledge. If the process is to continue, the branches of knowledge which still remain separate must be united by the discovery of further facts, more valuable, simple and general than those they have to link up. And the way of discovery must be the same as it has always been: a guess or intuition or inspiration following upon reasoned thought and afterwards confirmed by experience. The finding of principles and generalizations that are ever more abstract and more nearly universal can have no other goal than the discovery of the most general fact of all, the final synthesis that dominates and unifies all the rest, the supreme reality.

There is no reason why the later stages of the search for truth should be confined to physical science or even to those branches of knowledge which are called, in German, *Wissenschaft*. The organization of thought has in our time linked chemistry to physics and mechanics to geometry. Why should it not go on to integrate or unify the whole world of our experience: beauty and goodness and things of the spirit⁴ as well as natural and social philosophy?⁵ The result would be to identify the supreme good with the supreme reality.

¹ A. N. Whitehead, *The Organization of Thought* (1917), p. 110.

² Quoted by Poincaré, *Science and Method*, p. 28. Köhler also mentions Mack in *The Place of Value in a World of Facts*, p. 351.

³ Cf. Cecil H. Desch, F.R.S. 'Science progresses by becoming more synthetic. . . . With the increase in the number of facts there comes before long an ever more successful grouping of the facts under general laws, so that phenomena which appeared to be widely separated are in time embraced under a single formula. It is the apparent diversity of science that impresses the casual onlooker; it is the growing conviction of the real unity that sustains the scientific worker. Physics, not so long ago a heterogeneous collection of facts concerning light, heat, electricity and so forth, forming almost watertight compartments . . . is now unified in a marvellous fashion as the result of modern discoveries, and indeed, in its own way, is becoming a model for the other sciences.' *The Social Function of Science* (1931), p. 4.

⁴ See above, pp. 43, 48.

⁵ 'It needs a synthetic view of science, embracing social as well as physical

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10. *The Final Link-up*

To make such an hypothesis about the central truths and highest values in the world of our experience and then to try it out in practice would be the natural way to complete the process by which our knowledge of the physical universe has attained its present level. In so far as the guess is found to fit experience, it fills the gap in the centre of the realm of facts by providing the central fact, or group of facts, that unites all others and makes our outer world a single whole. This is the final goal of scientific thought.

If such a guess does fit experience, if our outer world can thus be completed as a single whole, it means that the 'single wide interest' pattern of mind, which already enables a man to lead a consistent life, may also give him a true enough picture of his environment: true enough, that is, for him to be able to alter that environment and to get the help of his neighbours in the task. Then his life will be not only constant in aim but also practically effective. And if his sentiment for The Commonwealth be an integral part of his single wide interest, his service to The Commonwealth will also be consistent and effectual.

There will then be no problem more vital to the survival and growth of The Commonwealth than that of fostering this pattern of mind in all its citizens so that they may love and serve it. The problem would be solved by finding out how to give to each of them a single wide interest, including both a deep sentiment for the Commonwealth as a whole and a true enough representation or map of our outer world. In two regions especially this map, which is the inner world of its owner, should correspond to the outer world as nearly as possible. In the first place, every citizen should know the most central facts and feel their value. And, secondly, he should possess the special knowledge and skill required for his particular walk in life.¹

If, on the other hand, the world we live in is not of this kind, if it does not form a single whole,² if goodness is not to be had without sacrificing truth, then indeed no man may hope to behave both consistently and effectively. He may be a Utopian, ever faithful to his dreams of what the world ought to be, attempting the impossible task of altering the outer

phenomena, to present a picture of the universe which can become fully related to ethics and religion, instead [of] standing wholly outside of them. Desch, *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

¹ See *Knowledge and Character*, Ch. XI.

² In the view of Professor John Dewey, 'apart from human activity nature itself is not a unity'. *Education To-day* (1941), p. 9.

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world into the likeness of his own inner world. Or he may be a hard-bitten realist without principles to guide him save that of conforming to the world as he finds it, by altering his inner world to fit the outer.¹ To attempt in such circumstances to educate citizens to love and serve The Commonwealth would be to substitute propaganda for education. It would mean acting a lie by ignoring or denying facts which do not fit the object in view.

Human experience does not enable us to decide between these two opposite views of the essential nature of our outer world. We cannot feel sure that one account is much nearer the mark than the other, as we feel sure, for instance, that Copernicus and Newton and Einstein have all been on the right road. Yet we cannot afford to wait and see. We can never reach the truth, or even approach it, except by making guesses and trying them out in practice.²

Shall we then assume that the first view is likely to fit the facts; and therefore educate the future citizens of The Commonwealth to try the experiment of regarding the world as one and The Commonwealth as a valuable, and essential, part of it? Or shall we take the opposite line? If we choose the former way and it turns out to be wrong, future generations may think of us as Utopians or even as propagandists: a horrid prospect. But if we follow the second path and it leads us astray we shall be in an infinitely worse case. The verdict of history upon us will be that, having had the chance to save the world, we missed it for lack of faith.

With these two alternatives before us and no decisive experience to tell us which to choose, it would be the height of folly not to prefer and act upon the former. We may hope that the makers of the coming peace and the creators of the future Commonwealth will see the matter in this light. Upon this hope we base our further discussion of education in The Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth is then to aim at educating its citizens so that each of them sees the world as a single whole, organized around and centred in the supreme good which is also the supreme reality, but so that they are always ready to test this outlook in the light of new experience and to change it, if need be, to fit new facts.

11. World Loyalty

As part of the perfect pattern—the single wide interest—of each

¹ Cf. E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis* (1939), p. 28.

² We saw, on p. 49 above, that action tends to bring men's inner worlds into harmony with the outer world.

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citizen's mind, The Commonwealth will seek to create a sentiment of loyalty to itself. In order that the typical citizen may give the best service of which he is capable both to The Commonwealth and to his fellow-citizens individually, his sentiment for it and for them as belonging to it must be linked in his mind with most things that he thinks of. The reason is that, apart from some chance occurrence—like the stamp-collector's happening to pass the stamp-dealer's window—which starts a subsidiary and at first unconscious train of thought, a man's interest will influence his thought only when what-he-is-thinking-of is already linked in his mind with what-interests-him. If the greater part of his knowledge and feelings is already bound together in a single wide interest with his sentiment for The Commonwealth as an essential part of it, that sentiment will exert a constant influence upon his thought and conduct. His feeling for The Commonwealth and his desire to serve it will fill such a place in his life as Poland filled in that of the Pole for whom the most unlikely things, even elephants, had to do with the Polish problem. The Commonwealth will be to him what the sacred city was to the exiled Psalmist: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.'¹

For the typical citizen, the good of The Commonwealth will then be very nearly the highest good of all: as nearly, indeed, as is consistent with his having a true enough² picture of the 'real' world. The Nazi, for instance, who attaches supreme importance to the German racial stock must before long come into fatal conflict with the truth, since the part cannot be greater than the whole, or German blood and soil higher in the 'real' scale of values than man and his planet. But if, as Christians believe and as most of the other great religions also teach, man's value comes next to God's in the world of our experience, then, after the service of God, the service of man—and meanwhile, as a means to that end, of as much of mankind as can be included in The Commonwealth—is in *truth* the highest good of all. This service to man, service to the community both national and international, is by no means confined to political action. It covers all positive tasks undertaken, whether in the course of daily work or, as a citizen, during leisure, for the economic and social betterment of all peoples, and especially of the poorest among them.

The typical citizen whose education has moulded his mind in the pattern of a single wide interest, with loyalty to The Commonwealth as an essential and central part of it, thus shares with his fellow-citizens a

¹ Ps. 137, v. 5.

² See above, p. 55.

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master-purpose to serve it.¹ What each of them most wants to do is what the others also want him to do in the common interest of them all. He is therefore free to do as he wishes, so that *freedom* prevails in The Commonwealth. Indeed, freedom follows from truth, from sharing with one's fellow-citizens a right outlook on life. 'The truth shall make you free'.²

Again, each citizen's service to The Commonwealth will be greater if his love for the community as a whole is reinforced by a feeling of friendliness or comradeship for his individual fellow-citizens. This feeling makes a man think of his neighbour's interests as if they were his own. It is the root of *justice* and mercy.

Last but not least, this feeling of friendliness, comradeship and fellowship that is part and parcel of the sentiment for The Commonwealth implies a sense of *unity*, of solidarity and of common interests. And this sense of unity has a firm basis in fact, since unity of action is bound to follow when citizens share a common master-purpose.³ It must extend throughout the international community of States belonging to The Commonwealth. But the unity of aim and of ideals in The Commonwealth at large is not incompatible with a great variety of political machinery and practice among the United Nations, or of knowledge and skill among their individual citizens. Indeed, we have already remarked how the minds, the single wide interests, and particularly the inner worlds, of the several citizens ought to differ from one another so that each may have the special knowledge and skill by which he can best

¹ See above, p. 43. Cf. also E. H. Carr: 'Internationally as well as nationally the discovery of a common purpose . . . is the cardinal need of our generation.' 'It will be necessary to give the German people, not only a common interest in the building of the new Europe, but also the sense of a common moral purpose.' *Conditions of Peace* (1942), pp. 235, 233.

² John 8, v. 32.

³ Christians will note that the freedom, fellowship and service of which the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) lately wrote in his *Christianity and World Order*; the liberty, equality and fraternity of the French Revolution; the freedom and democracy (the practice of equality in politics and why not in economics also?) of British war propaganda; the four freedoms of President Roosevelt—all these follow at once from the two cardinal Christian virtues of godliness and unselfishness, that is from putting God first and treating one's neighbour as oneself. Freedom, truth and unity derive from the principle of godliness, and the rest from that of unselfishness. But to derive freedom from assertion of human rights, instead of from man's relation to God, is to endanger unity since, as Dr. Temple has pointed out (see *The Times*, 5 May, 1942), a principle of self-assertiveness is a principle of division.

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serve his country and The Commonwealth. Diversity in unity is what we want at all stages of education.

The surest way to make truth and freedom and justice and unity prevail in The Commonwealth is, then, to educate its citizens so that each has his own single wide interest but always including, near the centre, a deep sentiment of loyalty to The Commonwealth.

A sentiment so deeply ingrained, so essential a part of each citizen's outlook on life, should be proof against the efforts of the enemies of The Commonwealth to destroy it by means of false promises, specious arguments, persuasive eloquence or even coercive cruelty. The loyalty of its citizens thus educated will last as long as they live. It provides the main strength of The Commonwealth and the surest guarantee that it will survive and grow.

'Patriotism is not enough.' Those words of Nurse Cavell's will be remembered and repeated as long as English is spoken. They are not only true, but they were first uttered by as good a patriot as ever lived and at the moment when she was about to die for her country.

Nor is Commonwealth loyalty enough. If the citizens of The Commonwealth are to lead consistent and effective lives, realizing their best selves in its service, they must indeed be moved by such a loyalty. But this loyalty to the international community must, as we have said, be part and parcel of something wider still: a single wide interest in the whole world.

We have also seen¹ that the outer world, or realm of facts as at present known to science, is not yet of this pattern because its final link-up is incomplete. If good citizens are to have undivided minds with single wide interests corresponding as nearly as possible to the outer world, each of these single wide interests must also include a representation of the as-yet-unexplored centre of the realm of facts. It is this central region which, as we said, makes of the outer world a single whole and the discovery of which is the final goal of scientific thought.

Now the very process which provides the individual citizen with the central and most valuable elements of his integrated mind, also provides the means of exploring the supreme reality and the supreme good. That process is, we said, to make a guess and then to try it out in practice. And the guess must not only bridge the gaps in our knowledge of the physical reality but also link it in our minds with our impressions of other aspects of reality, such as beauty and goodness.²

¹ On pp. 54, 55, above.

² See the footnote on p. 61 below. It seems likely that the neural counterparts of these impressions are for the most part located in parts of the brain other than the cortex of the cerebrum, or roof of the fore-brain.

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Can we formulate such a hypothesis: one that will identify the supreme good with the supreme reality in the outer world, and so give men who apprehend it in their inner worlds the single-mindedness and the like-mindedness which make for consistent and effective lives?

12. Religion and Natural Science

Such a hypothesis already forms part of the teaching of the seven or eight great religions of mankind. They regard it as the outcome of divine inspiration. Now it used to be supposed, two generations ago, that truth would be of greater value if it could be shown to be discovered by human reason than if it were accepted as a divine revelation. Modern psychology suggests, however, that there is no such sharp contrast between these two processes, 'discovery by human reason' on the one hand and 'divine revelation' on the other.¹

The supposed difference between them is partly due, no doubt, to divine revelation being regarded as sacred. Those who claim this source for some belief which they hold to be a fact would, in many cases, deem it an act of impiety to check their belief against experience. On the other hand, those who claim to have discovered truth by the use of human reason have generally been careful to confirm their hypothesis—their first insight, inspiration, intuition or guess—by practical experiments as well as by theoretical deductions from accepted facts. This difference of method between some saints and most men of science does not, however, imply any real disparity in the essential part of the process. Insight occurs at the moment when the happy recipient of a bright idea catches his first glimpse of new truth. He may be on the road to Damascus; or having his bath, like Archimedes when the notion of specific gravity first occurred to him; or on a picnic, like Henri Poincaré at the moment of one of his mathematical discoveries. Here is Poincaré's account of what happened:

'I left Caen, where I was then living, to take part in a geological conference arranged by the School of Mines. The incidents of the journey made me forget my mathematical work. When we arrived at Coutances, we got into a brake to go for a drive, and, just as I put my foot on the step, the idea came to me, though nothing in my former thoughts seemed to have prepared me for it, that the transformations I had used to define

¹ See Poincaré's account of mathematical discovery quoted in the next paragraph below and the present writer's description of the reasoning process in *Knowledge and Character*, Ch. XII, especially pp. 250, 255. Cf. also Kenneth Richmond, *Education and Liberty* (1918), pp. 221, 222.

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Fuchsian functions were identical with those of non-Euclidean geometry. I made no verification, and had no time to do so, since I took up the conversation again so soon as I had sat down in the brake, but I felt absolute certainty at once. When I got back to Caen I verified the result at my leisure to satisfy my conscience.¹

While, however, divine revelation and discovery by human reason may be two different names for essentially the same process, a clear distinction can, of course, be drawn between objects thought of on one occasion and on another. Some aspects of the outer world can only be grasped with the help of feeling or desire: for instance, a work of art, a sunrise on mountain peaks, a storm at sea, or the starry dome of heaven. Other aspects may be discerned by reason (cognition) alone: for example, a mathematical proposition, a ton of bricks, or a kilowatt-hour.² But reason alone will not enable us to apprehend that God is love, or the beauty of the Parthenon, or the elegance of the Pythagorean theorem.

Now 'revealed religion' is for the most part concerned with goodness and beauty and human relations, requiring feeling and desire for their proper apprehension. By way of contrast, natural science, treating of objective reality, while it may not be discovered without the drive of curiosity or fully appreciated without the emotion of wonder, can at least be understood by reason alone.

These differences in much of their subject matter do not imply that one sort of insight is true and the other false, but only that there are aspects of human experience which we cannot hope to bring within our system of organized thought, or to integrate with that part of the realm of facts which is known to science, unless we are ready to make use of a hypothesis which transcends objective reality. Such a hypothesis, filling the central gap in our outer world, making it into a single whole, identifying the supreme good with the supreme reality, must therefore be sought beyond the so-called 'discoveries of human reason'. Why not look for it among the essentially similar 'divine revelations'? In doing so we shall not be departing from the method of scientific thought, provided that we are always ready to check our hypothesis and its consequences against experience. We shall then be treating 'divine revelations' as personal and experimental rather than accepting them from ecclesiastical authority as sacred and unquestionable.

¹ *Science and Method*, p. 53.

² Where reason functions apart from feeling or desire, the essential brain processes may be confined to the roof of the fore-brain. But where feelings and desire are called into play, the brain processes must extend to other parts, notably the basal ganglia.

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Most of the seven or eight great religions of the world offer hypotheses or 'divine revelations' such as we are looking for. All these hypotheses have certain features in common. All transcend objective reality: physics and chemistry, space and time, matter and energy. All insist that man is something more than a part of the material universe. It is not merely that he is alive or that his body, like those of the animals or vegetables, is made of living cells. There is something about him from 'beyond space and time'. He possesses a 'spirit' as well as a mind and a body. His mind, as we have defined it,¹ is the counterpart of material things. But his spirit is in a different category, although it may interact with the material universe and alter it, as when he exercises his free will to sign a cheque or launch a ship.

The existence of the spirit of man² means that our outer world is partly spiritual. It includes the spirits of our fellow men. These and other spiritual things may, for all we know, act upon our spirits and influence the exercise of our free wills.

The hypothesis we seek in order to unite our outer world, or make it into a single whole, must therefore link up its spiritual with its other aspects. The fundamental hypotheses offered by the great religions of mankind do in fact identify the supreme good with the supreme reality by identifying both with a supreme Spirit who is God, the creator and upholder of the universe. If we then take, as the hypothesis we are looking for, what is common to all or most of the great world religions³ we shall tentatively assume that

¹ On p. 48, above.

² Cf. Mr. Churchill's words—'We are spirits, not animals'—quoted on p. 43 above. In his Gifford lectures, *Man on his Nature* (1940), Sherrington wrote: 'We have, it seems to me, to admit that energy and mind are phenomena of two categories' (p. 318). Sherrington used the word 'mind' to include what we have called man's spirit; for, without denying that men's wills are free, he treats willing as a function of the mind (cf. p. 199). He observed, however, that 'when in the developing soma its integrated assembly of chemico-physical systems reaches a certain completeness and complexity mind appears' (p. 318). He describes life as appearing in much the same way when a certain completeness and complexity is reached by those aggregates of atoms which we know as protein molecules (cf. p. 91). 'Their wealth of detailed pattern provides a practically inexhaustible variety for life to build with' (p. 116 and cf. p. 78). The outlook of natural science is thus consistent with the view that human evolution occurred in three stages: inanimate or inorganic matter, living systems, and then mind providing contact with a new category which we call spirit.

³ See the last footnote on p. 66 below.

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1. God, the creator and upholder of the universe, is at once the supreme good and the supreme reality; and that

2. Man shares the spirit of God, so that all men are united by this spiritual bond, as well as by having bodies which all belong to one and the same animal species.

Thus man is put next to God at the centre of our outer world. Of course, if we look only at the physical aspect of reality, man is no more than a tiny parasite on a petty planet of a middle-sized star. But that is no reason for rejecting the assumption that, when other aspects of reality are also taken into account, man comes next to God in value. Certainly, the ultimate importance or value of man does not depend only upon the size of his body.

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Now if this twofold hypothesis about God and man and their close relation to one another truly represents the most central facts in our outer world, they ought also to be central in the inner world of every good citizen of The Commonwealth. Only so will the reasoned thought of the good citizen sufficiently resemble the real world for his conduct to be effective in so far as it follows from his reasoning. Since, however, most of his behaviour is by no means the direct result of reasoned thought, we saw that the good citizen should have a single wide interest organized around a centre which is not only the supreme reality but also, for him, the highest good.

Thus, wherever the twofold hypothesis about God and man holds the central place in the single wide interests of all good citizens, three consequences follow. First, since every interest tends to be centred in a purpose and the single wide interest is no exception to this rule, all the good citizens share a common master purpose: in fact, the service of man which is also the service of God.¹ Second, The Commonwealth, held together by this common bond of ideals, will have the toughness and solidarity which, for a like reason, belongs to the British and the American Commonwealths and is now coming to be shared by all the United Nations. Third, the good citizen, having his interest centred no longer in himself alone but in God and all mankind, gives to his neighbours, near and far, as high a place as to himself in his scale of values. The fact that he loves his fellow men—and The Commonwealth which potentially includes them all—means much more than that, when great issues are at stake, he will be ready to sacrifice himself for the public

¹ Cf. the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matt. XXV.

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good. It means that quarrels about the minor matters of everyday life will be avoided because he obeys the golden rule and treats his neighbours' interests as his own.

The Commonwealth, needing good citizens above all else, has therefore the best of reasons to foster the religious education of its people and so to add the like-mindedness of all to the single-mindedness of each. But The Commonwealth will not be kept alive and made to grow, society will not be saved, by the twofold hypothesis or any other ideas received and communicated at a merely intellectual level.¹ The mere teaching of an ethical code will not suffice save perhaps for a few men and women of high intelligence and strong character.² To most people little good will come of sandwiching ethics into school time-tables between say, mathematics and eurhythmics, or of offering to adults the choice between a course in ethics and one in economics.

Both single-mindedness and like-mindedness have been assured among the United Nations in war-time by our common cause. When the spiritual issues of the war were debated by the House of Commons on 22 October, 1942, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declared that the United Nations were fighting for those things which the wisest men of every race and every religion had always fought for. Mr. Law did not think that anyone would deny that they were Christian objectives, but that was not the same thing as to say that they were exclusively Christian. The cause of the United Nations was 'common to all the great religions'.

Indeed, that cause itself partakes of the nature of a religion, in the etymological sense of the word. It ties up, or binds together, each individual personality and all the diverse persons who make up the United Nations. The average citizen feels its effect all day and every day, integrating his will, his feelings and his understanding. Hardly for a moment can he forget that 'there's a war on'. It tends to make his life consistent and effective for the common purpose. It makes him single-minded. At the same time, it makes, or tends to make, him and his fellow-citizens like-minded. It implants in all of them the same crusading spirit. So long as the war lasts, this quasi-religion, this common purpose to defeat the Axis, this common bond of ideals, holds the United Nations together and makes them, collectively as well as individually, consistent and effective.

¹ This phrase and some others hereabouts came from Dr. J. H. Oldham's supplement to the *Christian News-Letter*, No. 88 (1 July, 1941).

² Cf. the *First Interim Report* of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education (September, 1942), p. 21.

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But if, when the war is won, the United Nations are, as President Roosevelt said, to 'keep it won', they themselves must keep united. Both their single-mindedness and their like-mindedness must somehow be preserved. How is it to be done? Neither the Atlantic Charter nor any other plans for world reconstruction will suffice to move the masses of the United Nations as they are moved in war-time by their determination to defeat the Axis and all it stands for. Some deeper motive is needed. It must tend to bind together the will, the feelings and the understanding of each citizen and, at the same time, all the citizens to one another.

Educators in the past have spent too much time on *minutiae* and too little on principles, too much on knowledge and too little on meditation and discussion, too much on imparting information and far too little on connecting it together, on linking facts with feelings, and on trying to ensure that right ideals are backed up by a strong will.¹ We have forgotten Aristotle's warning that 'It is difficult to change by argument the settled features of character.'²

What is wanted is something far deeper than an intellectual exercise, something that appeals to the whole personality. If the average citizen's ideas of God and man are to inform and direct his purposes so as to influence all his behaviour, they will have to stir his deepest feelings and to set in motion the powerful driving forces of his instincts; and his free will must support these altruistic feelings whenever, as is bound to happen from time to time, they come into conflict with his innate selfishness. The dry bones of the twofold hypothesis, as he apprehends it, must be clothed with flesh and blood, so as to move the will and to evoke emotions and desires as well as an intellectual response. Each religious faith does this in its own way.

For instance, the Christianity of the gospels³ presents God as the loving father of men, providing for the needs of their bodies and overcoming the evils that beset their spirits. It tells of One who, being the best and wisest of men, the perfect Son of Man, was in a unique degree also the divine Son of God. It teaches that this Jesus by his death on the

¹ See below, p. 70.

² *Ethics*, Bk. X, Ch. X.

³ Cf. the *Statement of Christian Belief* issued in January, 1943, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council. (*The Times*, 4 January, 1943.) Professor John Macmurray's pamphlet *The Challenge to the Churches* (1941) is a useful reminder that this essential and creative Christianity, breathing the spirit of modern science, is very different from Christianity as commonly understood, a dogmatic tradition in the spirit of Medieval Scholasticism.

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Cross, triumphed over evil; gave value to suffering; kindled a love for God, often of passionate intensity, in those who believe; and, by giving them a new outlook and a new hope, freed them from their sins. It regards all men, whatever their racial stock or cultural tradition, as equal members of one human family, each of them a personality of infinite value. And it offers two simple rules for the practical guidance of men: to love God above all else and one's neighbour as oneself.¹ Here is the test by which Christians can tell what is right from what is wrong in human actions: Good deeds are those that flow from these two precepts.²

All this, of course, fits perfectly into the outlook of the good citizen described in the preceding pages. But, being concerned with the central verities—with the things that are God's rather than with the things that are Caesar's—it does not insist on loyalty to and love for any political society, whether the nation or The Commonwealth of United Nations. It is indeed essentially international and universal.³

Here, as the pages of history abundantly show, is a burning faith, an undying fire, that has moved men to attempt and to achieve seemingly impossible tasks, and not to count the cost. This faith—willed action on a hypothesis so as to test it against experience—has, indeed, provided a vitalism more dynamic than the vitalism of soil and blood, a power of the Spirit stronger than material might.

The Christian faith, in one form or another, is more widely distributed over the earth than any other religion.⁴ But less than a quarter of man-

¹ See the last footnote on p. 58 above.

² This test may be compared with Aristotle's. His answer to the question 'What makes good things good?' was 'Neither deficiency nor excess but the mean'; not too much nor too little but the right amount. See *Ethics*, Bk. II, Ch. II.

³ Cf. Professor Macmurray's *Challenge to the Churches* (1941): 'It is interesting to discover . . . the radical antagonism which makes Christianity incompatible with Nazi racialism. Christianity was born of the rejection of racialism. But it is more important to see that this rejection of the "kinship" basis of community is the secret of *any* creative religion, of any religion which is to be about the new society and not the old' (pp. 41, 42).

⁴ 'It may be interesting in this connection to summarize in approximate figures (in millions) the distribution of the world religions. The Christians are 560 millions—270 Roman Catholics, 170 Protestants, 120 Orthodox (counting Russians as Orthodox which most of them are no longer). The Moslems are 220 millions; Hindus, 210; Buddhists, 130; Confucianists, many of whom are also Buddhists, 300; Shintoists, 25; and Jews, 15.' *The Religious Foundations of Internationalism* (1933) by Professor Norman Bentwich, p. 269.

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kind lives in countries which are Christian even in name. The Commonwealth will certainly have to reckon with many different ways of embodying the same skeleton hypothesis in active faith so as to make the dry bones live. Sir Francis Younghusband, than whom no one possessed a more sympathetic understanding of all the chief world religions, put the matter thus:

'Most people prefer that way in which they were brought up as children. Some Europeans prefer the elaborate ceremonials of the Roman Catholic Church. Others enjoy the quiet simple way of the Scotch Presbyterians. Some Asiatics prefer the exuberance of the Hindus. Others are attracted by the austerity of the Muslims. And it is very meet and right that each should follow that way to which his heart inclines and by which he can get nearest to God'.¹

Whoever has a religious faith, built around the essential hypothesis on which our outer world depends for its oneness, possesses an outlook on life—a view of the universe with himself as part of it—that satisfies his intellect (by giving oneness to the whole), stirs his feelings (influencing the emotional and aesthetic sides of his life and, through them, his relations with his fellows), and spurs him on to action. His religion is therefore, *inter alia*, a way of thinking, feeling and living based on a faith. Because it implies an essentially undivided mind, it is of the utmost value to him as an individual.²

¹ These words come from a circular letter dated February, 1941, to the World Congress of Faith of which Sir Francis Younghusband was Chairman. His letter continued: 'But the time has clearly come when we shall have to look beyond our lesser communities, to the larger community—the world-community—of which the lesser communities, even if they number many millions of members, form only a part; and, in the words of Henri Bergson, look to that "God common to all mankind, the mere vision of Whom, could all men but attain it, would mean the immediate abolition of war".'

² Cf. C. G. Jung, M.D., LL.D.: 'During the past thirty years, people from all civilized countries of the earth have consulted me. I have treated many hundreds of patients, the larger number being Protestants, a smaller number Jews, and not more than five or six believing Catholics. Among my patients in the second half of life—that is to say, over thirty-five—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life. It is safe to say that every one of them fell ill because he had lost that which the living religions of every age have given to their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook. This of course has nothing to do with a particular creed or membership of a church.' (*Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, pp. 234, 264; quoted by E. B. Castle, *The Undivided Mind*, pp. 13, 14.)

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It is also, as we have seen,¹ of very great value to the community of which he is a member.² 'Let us with caution,' said George Washington in his Farewell Address, 'indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.' 'Hitherto,' wrote Lord Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*,³ 'civilized society has rested on religion, and . . . free government has prospered best among religious peoples.'⁴ And in a speech broadcast on 22 July, 1940, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, afterwards, like Lord Bryce, British Ambassador at Washington, claimed that Christian teaching and belief in God have been the foundation of the United Kingdom and of the United States. Nor is it a modern doctrine that religious men and women make the best citizens of a free commonwealth. It comes down to us, like so much of our Christianity, from the Greeks and the Jews. Pericles held that his dream of 'a united Greece with Athens as its eye', if it were ever to come true, must have behind it a religious motive. As Lord Samuel told the Council for Education in World Citizenship,⁵ politics and economics

¹ On p. 65, above.

² 'Emotional awareness by the individual of a purpose at once transcending and governing not only his own life but the whole contemporary and terrestrial scene—this is an essential condition of all social excellence and the general character of all active religious belief.' *The First Interim Report of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education* (September, 1942), p. 25.

³ Vol. II, p. 599 (Second Edition).

⁴ Cf. Professor John Macmurray: 'If the religion of a community fails to maintain the inner bond of affection, then the unity of society must be maintained by compulsion from without and the power of the State will grow. . . . As the power of religion declines, so the power of the State must increase; until at last, where religion is rejected by society, the power and authority of the State become unlimited. This is the genesis of the Totalitarian State, and the disappearance of democracy.' (*A Challenge to the Churches*, 1941, pp. 28, 29, 31.)

⁵ Meeting at Oxford on 4 January, 1941. Lord Samuel added that Hitler is a vacuum phenomenon; he is there because of the gap between philosophy and religion in Germany. Because of a similar gap in France, such French unity as existed under the Third Republic, was a unity of national patriotism and not that which comes from a common philosophy of life and a common bond of ideals. Hitler's propaganda was able to divide the monarchists, aristocrats and right-wing Catholics from the parties of the left who believed in the Third Republic and the ideals of the French Revolution; see Francis Williams, *War by Revolution*, pp. 54, 57. In a war of ideologies, the gap between the ethical teaching in French schools and the religious teaching in French churches may well have been a major cause of the French collapse in June, 1940. 'Here', wrote Harold Butler, 'lies one of the causes which divided

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will not know where to look for guidance without philosophy and religion.¹

Now we have said that every citizen of The Commonwealth must be free to worship God in his own way. Nor can there be any question of trying to enforce throughout The Commonwealth some one particular mode of embodying the essential hypothesis in a living faith. And yet, for the reasons already given,² The Commonwealth should offer a religious education to all its citizens.

The Commonwealth will therefore encourage all persons or societies—particularly schools, colleges and churches—who are ready to help in this task. In the English-speaking world, for instance, The Commonwealth and its United Nations should foster (subject, of course, to a conscience clause) every effort to give an essentially Christian education to all future citizens.

That is not to say that the State or The Commonwealth ought to identify itself with any one church. Even if most religious people in every part of the world come to hold the same Christian faith and to be citizens of one world-wide Commonwealth, that Commonwealth would still be very different from the Kingdom of God on earth. For the Commonwealth would be the community in its political aspect, while the Kingdom—with the Christian Church as its outward and visible sign—would be a spiritual society within the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth would seek to provide a political, economic and social order within which the Kingdom could grow and develop: 'a land fit for heroes' but not confined to heroes.

The heroes, the good citizens, must be heroic. However well they may have been educated, what happened to them in the past will not by itself ensure their giving, here and now, loving service to God and man. However strongly developed may be their tendencies to do what their education has made them know and feel to be right, other older innate tendencies, due to a long animal ancestry, are also at work within them. France against itself in the face of the enemy. For generations the champions of democracy and progress had been violently anticlerical. Whatever the rights or wrongs of their controversy with the Church, it had produced a cleavage in French life which the years had not healed.' (*The Lost Peace*, 1941, p. 65.)

¹ Cf. the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education: 'Divided as the members of our Committee are upon the dogmatic statement of this relation ["that this world is of no final consequence if it is not related to a world lying beyond the transitory give and take of human affairs"] we are all united in the belief that this relation exists.' *First Interim Report* (1942), pp. 23, 24.

² See above, p. 64.

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When the two kinds of propensity come into conflict, as inevitably happens from time to time, the good citizen will use his free will to decide the issue. By itself, indeed, his free will has not much chance of success. On this point Pagan poet and Christian apostle are agreed. '*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*' sang Ovid. 'The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do' was the lament of Paul. The apostle, however, did not stop there: God would deliver him 'from this body of death'.¹ And the Christian believes that, with God's help, the spirit of the good citizen will give the victory to his acquired nurture over his inherited nature.

Yet none of these victories will end the good citizen's adventure. His holy war lasts as long as he lives. Nor is it only a civil war within his own person between his private propensities for good and for evil. The good citizen fights against evil—disorder, disharmony and discontinuity—in the outer world as well as within himself. Nor again is his holy war, like Bunyan's, mainly defensive. His part is not simply to hold a position already won, but to go out and conquer evil wherever he may find it. Even that is not enough. The good citizen cannot rest content with destroying what is bad. He must create what is good. Bergson calls man *homo faber*. The world he means to make will never be finished. But, if he is to get on with the job, he must be ready to exert his will whenever his environment or his own nature resist the effort he is making, along with his like-minded fellow-citizens, to build a better world—better politically and economically and socially—than that into which he was born. Then indeed he will not labour in vain, provided that his education has given him an undivided mind of the sort outlined in this chapter. Such a mind, we recall, includes the special knowledge and skill which the good citizen needs for his vocation. And it is centred in godliness and unselfishness, a purpose to serve God and promote human welfare until the earth is filled with the glory of God as the waters cover the sea.

¹ 'Who will rescue me from this body of death? God will!' Rom. vii. 24, 25 (Moffat's translation).

Chapter 3

THE TRAINING OF GOOD CITIZENS

1. Brains and Backbone

WE do not yet know whether a man's will power is innate and unalterable, or whether there is any way of strengthening his will and so increasing the effect of any effort he may make to control his thought and force it into new channels. But recent researches give us good grounds for believing that a man's chance of reaching a remote goal, or of achieving a far-off ambition, depends much more upon the persistent strength of his purpose than upon the power of his will when he chooses to exert it.¹ It seems therefore that his success or failure depends upon his nurture more than upon his nature. For his purposes are a part of his outlook on life; and this is due, in the main, to his education.

Purposes are, of course, interests: interests in the future. And they exert a greater influence upon one's thoughts and conduct than most other interests equally deep and wide.² If the education of a good citizen has organized his thought as a single wide interest, or in so far as it has succeeded in doing so, the centre of that interest plays a dominant part in guiding his thought and conduct.³ It follows that his chief purposes or ideals⁴ must occupy a central place in his mind. And, since a single wide interest is a harmonious whole, these purposes must be in harmony with one another. They must all, therefore, form part of a single master-purpose to attain the supreme good as he conceives it. This master pur-

¹ See W. P. Alexander, *British Journal of Psychology*, Monograph Supplement 19; and Maxwell Garnett, *Knowledge and Character*, Ch. VII.

² See *Knowledge and Character*, p. 165.

³ See p. 51, above.

⁴ See above, p. 64. These ideals include the 'visions' of which Sir Richard Livingstone writes: 'The forces that move the world need to be informed and disciplined by the intellect, but they are not in themselves intellectual'; and again 'part of the work of education is to enrich the vision of its pupils and thereby train their characters.' *Education for a World Adrift* (1943), pp. 49, 51, 52.

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pose we have already identified, in the case of the good citizen, with loving service of God and man, and so also of The Commonwealth.¹ The implanting of this master-purpose, or of its first small seed, cannot begin at too tender an age. It is one reason why nursery schools or classes are needed for all little children who do not receive an equally good nursery education at home.

The good citizen's single wide interest is always growing, becoming more single and more wide. So long as he lives, there will be constant struggles between this growing harmony and his other interests or instincts which are not yet integrated with it. Every time the single wide interest and the high purpose at its centre prevail over a lower propensity outside it, the growing interest is strengthened, widened, deepened; and its victory on the next occasion is made more likely. This gradual conquest of evil by good, of disorder by order, in the mind of the good citizen ought to begin in infancy, long before the manifold purposes of the little child have started to coalesce. Here again nursery teaching has a vital part to play. It can teach the child what is good and what is bad for him to do. It can give him practice in the use of his will and just enough help on each occasion to ensure that his effort, added to the influence of his purpose to do right, masters his inclination to do wrong.

So we see that this practice may not strengthen his will,² but that every victory of good over evil, of order over disorder, makes it less difficult for his will to prevail when the conflict flares up again. While, however, we cannot be sure that will-power atrophies if it is not used, there is a widespread conviction among teachers of older boys and girls that much practice in hard thinking does make these young people more ready to reason things out for themselves, not merely when the fulfilment of a cherished purpose demands a special effort, but also in the common life of everyday. So long as this conviction remains unchallenged by any direct evidence to the contrary, it would be most unwise to omit a strenuous intellectual discipline from the training of good citizens.

But it is not easy to teach people to think for themselves. That is because they tend to follow the line of least resistance. They find it natural to think and do what other people are thinking and doing, or else to allow their thought and action to be guided by the primitive instincts they have inherited from their animal ancestors. They find it hard to be always on the watch and ready by an act of will to make some

¹ See above, pp. 57, 58 and 65.

² I.e. it may not increase the effect, in his mind and in his brain, when he makes an effort of will.

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acquired purpose prevail over some natural inclination towards passive idleness or positive iniquity. An education which seeks to make of men what their own animal natures would lead them to become may safely reckon upon spectacular success. It needs neither to implant a high purpose nor to provide practice in hard thinking. So the education of Nazis is simple to plan and plain to perform. Any ass can make people bad.

The training of a good citizen ought then to provide him with a strenuous intellectual discipline, as well as try to give him a single wide interest of the kind described in the last chapter. This single wide interest is centred in a religious outlook on life, which makes for loyalty to The Commonwealth,¹ and it includes the knowledge and skill required for his daily work.² Expressed in slightly different terms, the good citizen's undivided mind should integrate his religion, his citizenship and his vocation.³ The training of a good citizen is a combined physical, intellectual, social and spiritual venture.⁴

The development of his single wide interest may begin at any time. But the earlier, the better. Many good citizens, on looking back, will find the starting point hidden in the mists of infancy. It may well have been the little child's first faint love for God, learned from mother or nurse or nursery school teacher, together with his first acts of self-discipline, curbing his impulses and ordering his behaviour according to principle. By learning to treat every new event as an act of God, he links up his experience in the simplest possible way. This first 'explanation' can afterwards be amplified by finding closer bonds between the new fact and others already known.

The interests of childhood tend to be many and various. They are concerned with hard facts, separate and concrete, rather than with the abstractions which, in later life, link those facts together and introduce

¹ See above, pp. 63 and 68.

² See above, p. 55.

³ See below, pp. 76 *et seq.* Cf. also Sir Richard Livingstone: 'education must . . . include a vocational element, a social or, as the Greeks would have called it, a political element, and a spiritual element'. *Education for a World Adrift* (1943), p. 46.

⁴ Cf. E. B. Castle, Head Master of Leighton Park School: 'As yet there exists no unified popular consciousness, no official opinion, indeed, no philosophy of education, which sees the training of every citizen as a combined vocational, cultural, religious venture whose deliberate purpose is the creation of Christian character and the emergence of a Christian community on English soil.' (*The Undivided Mind*, 1941, p. 91.) 'To form Christian character' is the final summing up of the aim of education as outlined by the present writer in *Knowledge and Character*, p. 296.

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order among them. Some unity of outlook or singleness of mind does however result from many of the child's interests being connected with his growing interest in himself. If he learns, from the give-and-take of the play-ground and from having to behave properly at school meals, to control his selfishness and to think of others besides himself; if his parents or other teachers see to it that his self-interest is tied up with an interest in a personal God; and if, at the same time this personal God is made very real to him by his seeing the remarkable effects produced upon the practical behaviour of his elders by their attitude to God, notably, but not only, in acts of worship—then the period between babyhood and adolescence may contribute something substantial to the growth of such a single wide interest as a good citizen ought to possess.

But, from the dawn of adolescence, the organization of thought, including feeling and desire, in a single wide interest may make much more rapid progress. Since no amount of effort by the future citizen or his teachers can link together all his thought, their endeavour should be focused upon what is of most lasting value. Whenever it is possible to select the things he should learn and do and feel, the choice should depend upon their lasting value to him as a man, a worker and a citizen. And this lasting value may be measured by their effect upon his character,¹ adapting him to fit, and also to improve, his environment, physical and economic, social and political, mental and spiritual.

2. Nature and Society

The vast growth of knowledge, particularly of physical science, during the past century, and the consequent increase in the complexity of civilization, have led to the extension of book-learning on a scale hitherto undreamt of. Among more than three-quarters of the people of the globe, the proportion taught to read and write is far larger than it was five, or three, or even two generations ago. But illiteracy is not the worst form of ignorance. It is entirely compatible with skilled craftsmanship and strong character.² Arts and crafts and morals may decline among a people which learns to read but not to choose good reading. All too often, where boys and girls were formerly taught to do things and to make things—to feather an arrow or bend a fish-hook, to till a field or hew a stone, to build a house or thatch a barn, to spin a thread or weave a cloth—they now learn only to read and write odd facts about the things their grandparents used to handle and to understand. So much

¹ See above, p. 48.

² See above, p. 51.

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effort is spent in learning facts expressed in words, spoken or written, that the purpose of it all is often disregarded. We are apt to forget that all this learning is only for the sake of doing. For a pupil to learn facts 'for their own sake' is not wisdom but the sheerest folly. 'What can he do?' is a much more important question to ask about a boy than 'What does he know?' In the old Mathematical Tripos the problem papers counted for more than masses of bookwork.

Facts, of course, he must have. They should be facts that will be of value to him in the life he is going to lead, particularly as a citizen and in the practice of his vocation. They must hang together and make a coherent whole with the feelings and desires which help to make up his interest. But they must not be acquired at the expense of time to think, time to turn them over in his mind, and so fit them into the body of knowledge already there, time to reason about them and learn to use them.¹

The facts, feelings and desires which the future citizen chiefly needs to acquire during his adolescence are, we said, those that will be of value to him because they will help him to adapt himself and his environment to fit each other. They include some knowledge of the physical world and skill in handling it, particularly that part of it with which he is likely to have most to do in later life; then a devotion to human interests (including the needs of his own State and of The Commonwealth) and some acquaintance with human nature derived partly from his own experience and partly from a study of the best that has been said and done since literature and history began; and, most important of all, a religious faith which gives meaning and purpose to life because its central hypothesis links up all his other interests and integrates his whole mind, satisfying his intellect, stirring his feelings and spurring him into action.²

¹ Cf. Sir Charles Wilson, President of the Royal College of Physicians, in a letter to *The Times* of 8 November, 1941: 'An examination, the first M.B., is being used as a means of duress to compel the teacher to pump into the boy a large number of technical details, so that the training of his mind is neglected. Let the first M.B. be a test of intelligence to eliminate the boy who is not fit to be a doctor. The student is hurried out of thought by a ceaseless drill; he is so busy assimilating facts that he has little time or energy left to turn them over in his mind.' (Sir Charles Wilson is now Lord Moran.)

² See above pp. 62 and 67. Compare the following conclusion of the chapter on Divinity in the Board of Education's pamphlet (No. 114) on *The Organization and Curriculum of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools* (1938): 'The approach to the Christian philosophy of life may not, at school, lead very far towards the centre. But . . . viewed from this standpoint Divinity, far from standing in isolation—as in some schools it seems to stand—provides the point at which

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Yet the knowledge and skill, the culture and world-citizenship,¹ and the relation of it all, and of oneself, to God are not three things but one thing: a religious outlook that makes one's inner world a single whole.

Knowledge of material things and skill in handling them ought not to be confined to memories of facts and theories set forth in text-books, or even to those memories supplemented by such first-hand practical experience as can be got from slavishly following the teacher's directions. The pupil needs some freedom to leave the beaten track and to play about with the materials or apparatus he is learning to use. Only so will he have the chance to find out facts for himself, or to produce some new thing for the sake of its beauty alone. That is the way to feel the thrill of discovery (although the facts new to him may be old to other people) and the joy of creation. When knowledge has thus been linked with feeling, its memory trace is deepened and it is less likely to be forgotten. Moreover its value is enhanced; it has more power over thought and conduct; it has become part and parcel of an interest which may in turn be linked up with others to form an integrated mind, an interest both single and wide.

The good citizen's knowledge of the physical world needs to be combined with his devotion to human interests. His training must prepare him for contacts with other men. His manners and his tastes must help him to play his part smoothly and effectively in his social and political relationships. We may speak of this aspect of his education as humanism² or culture³ so long as we mean much more than mere acquaintance with

many studies meet. Bringing these into relation it endues them with fresh significance and gives unity to items of knowledge and experience which otherwise would be disorganized and unassimilated.' p. 25. [Italics mine.]

¹ 'In the period between the two wars—not the most glorious in our history—we tended to slip back from our own standards towards policies of separatism, sectionalism and a reluctance to assume the full responsibilities of world citizenship.' The Home Secretary (Mr. Herbert Morrison) in the Guildhall, London, on 24 February, 1943.

² Humanism: 'devotion to human interests.' O.E.D.

³ When Hobbes wrote of the culture of the minds of children he meant their education in all its aspects, and the German word *Kultur* still has this wider meaning. But since Mathew Arnold defined 'culture' as 'the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been thought or said in the world', the word has had a narrower meaning in English. However, at the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, education was described as a social process by which the community 'attempts to pass on to' all the individuals within it 'its culture, including the standards by which it would have them live'. *The Churches Survey Their Task* (1937), p. 130.

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music, with art, and with poetry or other humanizing and refining literature. His spontaneous interest in his school should widen out so as to include the larger communities to which he also belongs. With the locality as his first text-book he should become interested in the economic and social conditions of his fellow-men; in a national purpose transcending party loyalties;¹ in local, national and Commonwealth government; in 'the state of the country' and in international relations.² But the widening of his interest in these directions is not to be attained merely by adding new courses—for instance, in 'citizenship' or in 'international affairs'—to an already crowded curriculum.

Nothing short of a new emphasis in the teaching of all subjects can achieve the desired results. Every major subject has something to offer towards an understanding of the modern world. Geography . . . offers unique opportunities for the study of the distribution of raw materials, of international means of communication and similar elements relevant to an understanding of international relations. Foreign languages, taught beyond their mere mechanics, offer a valuable key to some of the imponderabilia in national character. Even arithmetic, by a judicious choice of examples and problems, can do much to further an international outlook. If the Nazis draw many of their examples from military aviation, if Communist Russia teaches percentages in terms of achievements obtained under her various Five-Year Plans, there is no reason why the American boy or girl should not learn percentages in figuring the financial contributions of the various member States to the League of Nations or the output of oil in the various parts of the world. Since mathematics comes with difficulty to many youngsters, they are not likely to forget these data! Social science courses will take on new significance if, going beyond the worn-out pattern of family, local community, State and Federal Government they bring out the place of such institutions as the International Labour Office in their attempts to improve the standard of living throughout the world. A course in general science is not complete without bringing home the fact that present-day world-wide interdependence is largely the result of the inventive genius of the scientist. Teaching of this type which breaks down the narrow departmentalization of learning means the end of provincialism in

¹ Cf. the *First Interim Report* of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education (1942), p. 12.

² Cf. *Educational Reconstruction* (the White Paper of the Board of Education dated July 1943, Cmd. 6458, p. 11): 'education in the future must be a process of gradually widening horizons, from the family to the local community, from the community to the nation, and from the nation to the world.'

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thought. It will help us to see the world as a whole. Rather than to view individual parts or aspects of it, the younger generation and adult students will learn to comprehend its general pattern both in time and space. They will not only learn to understand the international scene but they will gain a better group of [their own national]¹ problems, many of which reveal their true meaning only if seen in their international context.'

Wherever possible, his school should give to the good citizen some personal contact with famous men in real life as well as in books. Such men may be invited to speak to the school in the hall or in chapel and afterwards to meet the boys, or some senior boys, at a party given by the headmaster or the governors.

Indeed, the social and political education of a good citizen does not belong only or chiefly to printed books or to the classroom. Outside the school he should see at first hand some of the raw facts of life. Nor is it enough that he should know something and feel strongly about these human interests. He needs to 'do' as well as to 'know' and to 'feel'. Some practical experience in helping the community, and especially those members of it who suffer from bad conditions of life and labour, is a valuable part of the education that is to fit boys or girls for their social environment and to make them eager to improve it.

Within the school, organized games, school societies and corporate meals, all have their part to play; and not on the social side alone. They widen and deepen the pupils' interest in their school. This interest then enhances the effect of all they owe to their school, whether it be mainly concerned with the physical, the intellectual, the social or the religious side of education.²

3. Religion and the State

Turning now to religious education in The Commonwealth, we become conscious of difficulties which did not trouble us when we were discussing the future citizen's study of material things or the growth of his human interests. We have seen³ how vital a part religion may play in the life of the good citizen. Without some such hypothesis as we discussed in the last chapter⁴ no man can have the integrated mind that sees the world single and sees it whole. And without the emotional drive

¹ 'American' took the place of the bracketed words in the original. This passage is quoted from Walter M. Kotschnig, p. 242 of *International Conciliation* for April, 1942.

² See the second footnote on p. 89, below.

³ On pages 63 to 68, above. ⁴ See above, p. 63.

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that religion puts behind such an outlook, few men can lead consistent and effective lives. Yet The Commonwealth, and each of the United Nations within it, must walk warily lest, in trying to ensure that as many as possible of its boys and girls receive a religious education, it makes the fatal mistake of the totalitarian Powers and attempts to exercise dominion over the spiritual lives of its citizens.

Religious education is education in a way of life based on a faith, and both must be taught; but the way of life first. The State must, as we said,¹ use its power to enforce conformity with certain standards of social behaviour, and ensure that its future citizens are taught to observe these standards. It may reasonably insist that they learn to think of the material world as it is commonly supposed to be.² State schools, and other schools also, may therefore be required to teach what most of its citizens believe to be true about human relations and the world of space and time—the so-called laws of nature, for instance; or that every individual citizen owes a duty to his country; or that his country has had a great past and should have a great future; or that no such future is possible without international co-operation. But there must be no attempt on the part of the State to tyrannize over opinion in the things of the spirit or, in other words, to compel a person to believe (or to act as if he believed) some particular dogma concerning the nature of God or His relation to man. In matters of religion, every citizen must be left as free to think his own thoughts as to worship God in his own way.

The State may, however, properly require all children and young people to be made aware of the fact of the existence of a religious interpretation of life.³ After all, 'human recognition of superhuman controlling power and especially of a personal God entitled to obedience'—the definition of religion in the Oxford English Dictionary—is widespread among men. Our analysis of good citizenship suggests that the State ought to go further than this in the direction of religious education. If we were not mistaken, all the boys and girls of the United Nations should learn that it will be hard for them to become good citizens unless they acquire an outlook on life organized as a single whole around a

¹ On p. 38, above.

² In England, for instance, parents may be punished for insisting on teaching their children that the earth is flat; or, at least, for refusing to send them to a school where they would learn that it is round. See above, p. 37.

³ 'No boy or girl can be counted as properly educated unless he or she has been made aware of the fact of the existence of a religious interpretation of life.' *Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Secondary Education* (1938)—commonly called the *Spens Report*—p. 208.

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central common purpose¹ and including a loyalty to their State and to The Commonwealth; that for the final link-up they will need some working hypothesis concerning the relation of all things to God (and so to one another) and covering, in particular, God's relation to man; that this organization of thought, this integration of the mind, will have no great effect upon behaviour unless it extends beyond purely intellectual matters to emotions and desires; and that every citizen would do well to put life into the dry bones of his philosophy by embodying them in the flesh and blood of a religious belief, 'a conviction about what is ultimately real'. And, since religion is not merely a creed or a succession of emotional experiences but a practical way of life, the school should go so far into the domain of the spirit as to advise its pupils not to rest content with the change of mind involved in acquiring a religious faith but to test the truth of their faith by acting upon it of their own free will. As Dr. J. H. Oldham has said, 'It is impossible for the school to be entirely neutral in religious matters. To treat religion as having so little importance that it can be ignored is not to be neutral; it is a positive decision against religion.'²

Of course, this teaching would be so given as to make its meaning plain to the pupils in their several grades. Their thought of God as good and real and almighty, and of man as having in him something of God, would at first resemble their thoughts of the concrete facts of everyday: just bits of the truth we think we know. Later on, when they come to see that most of the facts they have learnt—Newton's law of gravitation, for instance—are no more than approximations to the truth, their thought of God and man would also become a working hypothesis to be tried out in practice.

Equally of course, boys and girls whose parents conscientiously object would be excused from attending at times reserved by the school time-table for direct instruction in religion. But it would be as impracticable, and as unnecessary, to prevent the pupils from hearing in school incidental references to God and all that is of ultimate significance in life as, if they happened to live in Great Britain, it would be to forbid their listening to 'God Save the King', or to prevent them from reading the King's speeches commending the labours of Parliament to Almighty God.

The State schools of those democratic countries where many of the parents belong to widely different religions, may not be able to carry religious instruction much beyond the limits outlined on the preceding

¹ See above, pp. 43, 58.

² Supplement to the *Christlan News-Letter* for 19 November, 1941. See also p. 147, below.

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page,¹ except to give an agreed account of the faith and works of the religions in that State. But where the great majority of the parents share the same religion, the schools, while they must not attempt to 'indoc-trinate' their pupils with it, may, subject to a conscience clause, advise them to try it out in their daily lives. In some of these countries it will be possible for the teaching profession to agree with the churches and the universities upon the outline of a religious basis of life to which all knowledge and moral principles may then be related.

In England, for instance, a number of syllabuses of religious instruction have been prepared with the help of representatives of several Christian denominations and issued by local education authorities for use in their schools and with the recommendation that they be adopted 'as a common basis of religious education in other schools'.² These syllabuses are used in the primary schools, both Council and Church, in many parts of the country. Moreover, the Headmasters' Conference speaking for many famous schools which do not belong to the national system of education, has asked the Christian Churches 'to find means of preparing a joint statement of our common Christian Faith which could be employed as a basis for the teaching in the schools'.³

In Scotland, wide use is made of a syllabus of religious instruction prepared by a joint committee of the Church of Scotland and the Educational Institute of Scotland which represents the whole teaching profession including the university teachers. The syllabus—*A Syllabus of Religious Instruction for use in Scottish Schools* (1931)—is 'Approved and issued by Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Educational Institute of Scotland'.

In Sweden, more than 90 per cent of the people belong to one church. Every child, whether a member of the State Church or of some other denominational group, must attend religious instruction. There are no exceptions. In the teacher-training institutions religious instruction is a required subject, and an examination in religion is required of all students taking the elementary teachers' examination. 'No teacher may be appointed who is not a member of the State Church.' But the local school board will allow a private elementary school to be established 'on condition that the head of the school is a member of the Swedish Lutheran State Church, that he leads a moral life and has the necessary teaching qualifications'.⁴

¹ The reference is to the last paragraph but two.

² See below, p. 148.

³ See below, p. 126.

⁴ See an article by B. Jason Bergqvist, Ph.D., D.D., in the *Educational Year Book, 1932* (International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University), pp. 400, 409, 411.

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In Holland, 'the public [i.e. State] school is no longer the national school for all the children of the country. One of the causes of the decline is the importance which the greater part of the nation attaches to religious education.' For the public school is prevented by the Educational Law of 1801 from giving religious doctrinal instruction. 'Even the mention of God or Jesus was sometimes disapproved as not being neutral.' The law reads: 'With the teaching of suitable and useful knowledge school instruction must be adapted to the development of the mental capacities of the pupils and to their training in all Christian and social virtues. The teacher must abstain from teaching, doing or allowing anything not in accordance with the respect due to the belief of those of other persuasions.'¹

In Canada, 'there is widespread conviction that the principles of religion and morality are essential parts of education and should characterize all the practices of the school. This is reflected not only in definite prescriptions in the regulations but in the directions for the daily work of the teachers.'²

In the United States, 'the total number of those who are Church members in their own right . . . is more than one half of the population of the country'.³ But Church and State are, in law, separate. The first amendment of the Constitution of the United States declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' The separation of Church and State does not prevent religious observances of an official kind, such as the opening of Congress with prayer, or the prayers said at the inauguration of a new President, or the services held in the lovely chapel at West Point. Nor does it stand in the way of official pronouncements taking for granted the Christian background of American life.⁴ But it is commonly supposed to follow from the separation of Church and State that the public school system in America must not be used for religious instruction.⁵ Recent English experience of agreed syllabuses suggests

¹ See an article by P. A. Diels, *loc. cit.*, pp. 266, 269.

² *Canada*, by W. E. Macpherson, B.A., LL.B., *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

³ Luther A. Weigle, Divinity School, Yale University, *Educational Progress and School Administration*, p. 336.

⁴ For example, President Roosevelt ended his broadcast from Washington on 27 October, 1941 with the words: 'We stand ready in the defence of our nation and the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty.'

⁵ See a judgement delivered in Iowa in 1918: 'If there is any one thing which is well settled in the policies and purposes of the American people as a whole,

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that this view may be the result of confusing a faith with a church.

In practice, however, religious instruction is not excluded from the public school system of the United States,¹ nor may the States forbid it in private schools, whether primary or secondary. An Oregon law wiping out all private (religious) primary schools was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States on 1 June, 1925. The Court held that 'The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the States to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.'²

It would be equally unconstitutional to forbid private (religious) secondary schools; and, in fact, secondary schools outside the public system are as free as all secondary schools are in England to give a Christian education. In particular, the Christian faith is as much the basis and inspiration of the American 'Preparatory Schools'—the great boarding schools, particularly of New England—from one of which came Franklin Roosevelt, as it is of the English 'Public Schools'³ from one of which came Winston Churchill.

The English Christian who looks upon the Great Republic with admiration and affection, and who is confident of the leading part it will play in the next chapter of human history, would feel yet more sure of the future if the public school system of the United States were less separate in law from the churches and other religious agencies already at work to preserve and extend the influence of the Christian faith upon American life. The same idea has found expression inside that country. For instance, Dr. Weigle of the Divinity School in Yale University lately

it is the fixed and unalterable determination that there shall be an absolute and unequivocal separation of church and state, and that our public school system, supported by the taxation of all alike—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Gentile, believer and infidel—shall not be used directly or indirectly for religious instruction, and above all that it shall not be made an instrument of proselyting (*sic*) influence in favour of any religious organization, sect, creed, or belief.' (1918, Knowlton, v. Baumhover, 182 Iowa 691, 166, N.W. 202, 5 L.R.A. 841, 843, quoted by Professor Karl Zollmann, *Studies in Religious Education* (1931), Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn., p. 424.)

¹ For particulars see Appendix B on p. 244, below.

² *Pierce v. Society of the Holy Names*, 17L, Ed. 688, quoted by Zollmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 431.

³ See below, p. 126.

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wrote that 'The common religious faith of America is non-sectarian. It has a right place in our schools.' In his view, 'To divest the public schools completely of religious faith, to meet the scruples of the pagan few, is to coerce the conscience of the many for whom religion is an essential part of education.'¹

Meanwhile, there can be no question that the Christian religion has been and still is of the very essence of the American Commonwealth. Here is Lord Bryce's account of the matter :

'Sometimes, standing in the midst of a great American city, and watching the throngs of eager figures streaming hither and thither . . . one is startled by the thought of what might befall this huge yet delicate fabric of laws and commerce and social institutions were the foundations it has rested on to crumble away. Suppose that all these men ceased to believe that there was any power above them, any future before them, anything in heaven or earth but what their sense told them of; suppose that their consciousness of individual force and responsibility, already dwarfed by the overwhelming power of the multitude, and the fatalistic submission it engenders, were further weakened by the feeling that their swiftly fleeting life was rounded by a perpetual sleep—

Soles occidere et redire possunt :
Nobis, quum semel occidit brevis lux
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

Would the moral code stand unshaken, and with it the reverence for law, the sense of duty towards the community, and even towards the generations yet to come? Would men say "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"? Or would custom, and sympathy, and a perception of the advantages which stable government offers to the citizens as a whole, and which orderly self-restraint offers to each one, replace supernatural sanction, and hold in check the violence of masses and the self-indulgent impulses of the individual? History, if she cannot give a complete answer to this question, tells us that hitherto civilized society has rested on religion, and that free government has prospered best among religious peoples.²

'America is no doubt the country in which intellectual movements work most swiftly upon the masses, and the country in which loss of faith in the invisible might produce the completest revolution, because it is the country where men have been least wont to revere anything in the visible world. Yet America seems as unlikely to drift from her

¹ Weigle, *loc. cit.*, pp. 344, 342.

² These last two lines were quoted above on p. 68.

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ancient moorings as any country in the Old World. It was religious zeal and the religious conscience which led to the founding of the New England colonies—those colonies whose spirit has in such large measure passed into the whole nation. Religion and conscience have been a constantly active force in the American Commonwealth ever since, not indeed strong enough to avert many moral and political evils, yet at the worst times inspiring a minority with a courage and ardour by which moral and political evils have been held at bay, and in the long run generally overcome.

‘It is an old saying that monarchists live by honour and republics by virtue. The more democratic republics become, the more the masses grow conscious of their own power, the more do they need to live, not only by patriotism, but by reverence and self-control, and the more essential to their well-being are those sources whence reverence and self-control flow.’¹

A note on the schools of the Third Reich is printed below.² But in the several *Länder* of pre-Nazi Germany most children received a Christian education in the community schools. Important regulations concerning religious instruction were discussed by the Minister of Education—in Prussia, for example—with the highest church authorities before being published, thus acquiring some resemblance to an ‘agreed syllabus’³ in England. Denominational and secular schools were exceptions which had to be proposed by the parents.⁴ But, where they existed, the Weimar Republic caused them to be maintained by the State or by municipalities. In either case, they were under the supervision of the State. Their teachers were public officials appointed for life and responsible to the State. In selecting candidates for teaching positions, the State took their denominational affiliations into account. Supervision of the schools was in the hands of State officials, and the districts into which a territory was sub-divided for purposes of State supervision were based on regional, not denominational, lines of demarcation.

4. *A Religious Outlook*

The essential substance of direct religious instruction, or divinity

¹ *The American Commonwealth*, 2nd edition, 1889, Vol. II, pp. 598, 599.

² See Appendix C on p. 247, below.

³ See below, p. 148.

⁴ Cf. an article by Erich Hylla, Ph.D., on the *Legal Status of Religious Education in Germany*, p. 214, of the *Educational Year Book 1939* (International Institute of Teachers’ College, Columbia University).

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teaching, must, we said,¹ be a guess or 'divine revelation' or working hypothesis concerning the deepest truths of science and philosophy. If it is suggested to a boy by a master whom he trusts, honours and perhaps loves, and who knows him well, it will have a far better chance of being experimentally accepted and acted upon, as a great adventure, than if it comes from a comparative stranger, however formidable his qualifications as a teacher of divinity.² But it will be useless for this teaching to be given by anyone who lacks a sincere conviction of its vital importance. Form-masters who possess this indispensable qualification would not be deterred from giving religious instruction because they have had no special training as teachers of divinity. Training of this sort should be offered to them in vacation courses.³

¹ See above, p. 59.

² Sir Cyril Norwood, when Headmaster of Harrow, wrote: 'Once the Scripture teaching is in the hands of one person who visits form after form for that purpose only, the boys begin to smell a rat, and to think that the Reverend A is set to teach them what their form-masters B, C and D know too much to believe. It cuts at the root of the old form-master system, which is one of the best of the methods handed down from the old schools: the form-master, if anyone, ought to know the boys well, and he can best teach them the Bible well. I hold very strongly to the opinion, that Scripture and all English subjects can most properly be taught by the form-master, and that if he is adequately prepared to teach History and English, he can with no great trouble make himself adequately prepared to teach the Scriptures.' *The English Tradition of Education* (1929), p. 42. The Headmaster of Harrow could choose his assistant masters with this function of form-masters in mind. Cf. also the *Spens Report*: 'We hold that form-masters and form-mistresses provided they desire to do so should take part in a kind of instruction which may mean so much to their pupils'. (p. 210.) See also the *Norwood Report* (1943), p. 88.

³ 'The Board' of Education for England and Wales 'announced in Circular 1566 that they had decided to conduct courses of instruction in religious knowledge for teachers and others and to encourage other bodies to do likewise. The Board are actively engaged in planning their own courses, and in this matter they hope to secure the co-operation of the Institute of Christian Education. . . . The courses will be undenominational in character, and will probably centre in one or other of the agreed syllabuses now in operation in many schools.' (Statement by Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board, in the House of Commons on 27 November, 1941.) On 17 February, 1942, Lord Hankey, speaking in the House of Lords for the Government said that 'The Board themselves are arranging three short courses, to take place between April and August, for teachers and others concerned in the education of young people'. Other courses are being planned by local education authorities and universities.

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The divinity lesson gives the school its best chance to implant the seed of religion in its pupils, or, at least, to offer each pupil an outlook on life as a whole. If then he choose to adopt this outlook (by a change of mind, or *μετάνοια*¹) and to *act* upon it, then this act of his free-will, this spiritual act,² may be the act of faith which begins his religious life. If the form-master gives these lessons they will doubtless provide him with his finest opportunities for pointing to the oneness of the world and for linking up all the subjects studied by his pupils.

But religious education is not to be confused with religious instruction: it does not consist only or chiefly of some one series of lessons based on an agreed syllabus, or directly upon the Bible, the Koran or other Scriptures. 'The teacher who is religious will give religious help to his students as occasions arise, whatever he is teaching, but especially in history, literature, social studies, science and the arts. By the breadth of his religious interest and the depth of his insight, he will increase the range and richness of the classroom experience. . . . Such an incidental teaching of religion will help mightily to convey to our children the impression that religion is a major factor in our culture.'³

Religion, however, involves feelings and desires as well as understanding and reasoning. It must be practised in school and out. It is a way of life as well as an outlook on life.⁴ Religious education cannot, therefore, be confined to classroom teaching. It ought to extend to every activity at school, at home, and everywhere else. Many a good teacher will contribute more to the religious education of his pupils by what he does and how he behaves out of school than by anything he says in class.

While the State schools throughout The Commonwealth⁵ should assume and, subject to a conscience clause, teach that God exists, that religion is a vital factor in the life of men, and that good citizenship is most likely to flourish among religious peoples, it should be no part of the duty of teachers in schools provided by the State to persuade their pupils to accept all the tenets of any particular church.⁶ That is, however, no reason why the State should not permit religious or other communities of its citizens to provide their own schools so long as the educa-

¹ Translated 'repentance' in the English Bible.

² See above, p. 43.

³ Robert Seneca Smith in a collection of essays entitled *Educational Progress and School Administration* (Yale, 1936), p. 361. Cf. also the *Spens Report*, quoted above on p. 79.

⁴ See above, p. 67.

⁵ As regards Soviet Russia, see above, pp. 21, 22.

⁶ See above, pp. 69 and 79 to 81.

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tion they give satisfies the State's requirements, and on condition that no public money is spent for sectarian purposes. Nor is it any reason why the State schools throughout The Commonwealth should not advise those of their pupils who do not belong to any religious body to join one or other of them.

Indeed, it would be well if teachers, and particularly the form-masters and form-mistresses, in State-provided schools throughout The Commonwealth were to tell their pupils how much companionship and sharing and sense of community may contribute to the religious life.¹ If then, their pupils chose to enter into communion with some church, it might give them what they sorely need but what the school as such cannot always supply. Schoolmasters are not pastors. Yet many of them are ready to invite the boys in their form to come along, out of school, and talk over difficulties. Why should not the topics of these private talks include what is ultimately significant as well as the intellectual perplexities and social dilemmas of school life?

There can, of course, be no question of the schools provided by a democratic State trying to give to its young people an outlook on life which, however true it may be, is opposed to views strongly held by a mass of citizens. The dictator of a totalitarian State may use the State schools to inculcate a new point of view to which most of the parents would object if they were free to do so. But, if the teachers share the parents' opinions, they will then have to give their pupils, not some simplified version of the truth suited to immature age and understanding, but misleading statements which they themselves know to be false. That will mean that the teachers are engaged, not in education, but in propaganda.

From 1622 until 1914 this word 'propaganda' was highly respectable, associated chiefly with a committee of Cardinals in Rome. Thereafter it acquired, in English at least, a disreputable connotation. To-day it suggests the Devil rather than the Church. But the difference between education and propaganda, as now understood, is not simply that the former deals with truth and the latter with falsehood. Educators must sometimes present the truth to their pupils otherwise than they themselves conceive it. If, for instance, the pupils are young children learning about God, or young men studying the law of gravity for a pass degree, the teacher's idea of the truth will have to be simplified before the pupils can grasp it. The essential distinction between propaganda and education should rather be sought in the different aims of the two processes. Professor Bartlett has lately defined 'public propaganda' as 'an attempt

¹ Cf. John Macmurray, *A Challenge to the Churches* (1941), p. 24.

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to shape common opinion, feeling and action without regard for reasons'.¹ Education, on the other hand, seeks to link up opinions, feelings and actions in organized interests by means of reasoned thought. It should even try, as we have said, to form a single wide interest, a single system of organized thought and feeling about the whole world.

To sum up, religious education has to provide an outlook on life that makes one's inner world a single whole. Every lesson in school and every out-of-school activity can contribute something to this result. Perhaps the greatest contribution may come from leisure, from having time to think about first and last things, about God and man and nature, in relation to oneself. To some boys and girls such thoughts will present themselves most vividly and impressively in the dim light of their school chapel on a Sabbath evening. To others they will come more readily in broad daylight and when least expected.

For most people religion is essentially social. They need the 'daily companionship with understanding friends with whom there may be the interchange of sympathy, affection, and faith';² and they cannot do without the religious community and its ministers. But there are others whose religious life draws most of its sustenance from direct communion with God.

5. *John or Latin?*

Form-masters and form-mistresses have been mentioned more than

¹ *Political Propaganda* by F. C. Bartlett, F.R.S. (Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 21.

² These words are quoted from an article by Hugh Hartshorne (of the Divinity School, Yale University) upon whose *Program of Religious Education* I have freely drawn in this paragraph and on p. 78, above. Hartshorne ends the outline of his 'Program' as follows:

'... There should be frequent opportunity to worship, both alone and with others in order that life's meaning may be deepened and renewed through quiet reflection and the revaluation of experience, and that there may recur those moments of self-knowledge and the sense of an infinite presence through which one's will is directed afresh toward ever moving ideals and one's highest self is re-identified with that which is most real and final in all experience.

'... there must above all else be daily companionship with understanding friends with whom there may be the interchange of sympathy, affection, and faith. This is at once the centre and circumference of the whole program to which all the rest is secondary and supplemental, and in terms of which the whole is lifted from the level of mere method to that of the gentle partnership of those who put their trust in God, who seek the adventure of faith, and who believe in the unfailing power of love.' *Studies in Religious Education* (Yale University Press, 1935).

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once in this discussion. That is because the good citizen needs to have an integrated mind, a single wide interest,¹ and because the singleness of his mind largely depends upon the coherence and continuity of his education after the onset of adolescence. Continuity will be studied later in this chapter.² Meanwhile we shall look further into coherence as a principle of education.

Coherence implies that all who are teaching the same boy or girl in the same term know what each of the others is doing and try to make as many links as possible in their pupils' minds between the lessons they themselves are giving and those given by their colleagues.³ In this way they can help their pupils to catch glimpses of the unity of knowledge.⁴ If, for example, a class is studying the history of a country under one specialist, and the language and literature of the same country under another specialist, the two series of lessons should aid and abet each other. How far they do so chiefly depends, not upon the careful drafting of the syllabuses, but upon the teachers.⁵

¹ See above, pp. 50 and 56. Cf. Sir Richard Livingstone: 'Perhaps our grandchildren, amazed at abuses and errors which we do not notice, may say of us . . . "Their education did little to help them. It was like a half-assembled motor-car; most of the parts were there, but they were not put together".'
Education for a World Adrift (1943), pp. xii, xiii.

² See below, pp. 94 *et seq.*

³ The Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926) suggests 'conferences of the whole staff (such as are already held in many schools from time to time) at which the schemes of work in the various subjects can be thoroughly discussed' (p. 103). Cf. *Knowledge and Character*: 'Another subdivision of knowledge . . . is unhappily called a "subject". Perhaps the name will serve as a reminder that the more we restrict our study to one "subject" in isolation from others, the less "objective" our knowledge of it is likely to be' (p. 211).

⁴ 'The sixth form pupil must catch a glimpse of the unity of knowledge and the reality underlying that unity; subjects must be to him aspects of man's collective experience.' *Suggestions for the Teaching of Classics*, Board of Education Pamphlet No. 116 (1939), p. 65.

⁵ Cf. *The Organization and Curriculum of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools*, Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114 (1938), p. 16. His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in England and Wales who prepared this report go on to record 'such instances of waste of time as the following . . . a group of pupils in the Sixth Form are studying French literature of the seventeenth century and in their European history are covering the same period. The history teacher is unaware that the class in their French lessons are reading the letters of Madame de Sévigné at the very time when the subject matter of those letters might be used with great effect to reinforce certain points in the history syllabus.'

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The form-master can be of great assistance here. His form, or the group of boys for whose work in school he is chiefly responsible, may be broken up into 'sets' for the study of this or that subject under specialist teachers; but—like a Director of Studies at Cambridge or a College tutor at Oxford—he 'should know what subjects his pupils are taking and how they are taking them; his responsibility extends to the growth of their minds as a whole, not merely to the one subject . . . he happens to take. He should know what is being done in the other subjects during a given half-term and should himself know something of the scope and content of those subjects. . . . In other words, the pupil must be regarded as an individuality, not as something which can be divided into three or four parts and distributed to three or four specialists.'¹

It is indeed the form-master who most needs to realize the truth of the moral drawn by Sir John Adams from the fact that, in Latin, verbs of teaching take two accusatives, one of the person and the other of the subject taught. *Magister Johannem Latinam docet*; and the master, said Adams, must know both John and Latin.

If we have rightly estimated the extreme importance of developing a single wide interest in the minds of adolescents, we may safely assert that, so long as John is studying the elements of Latin, and until he separates from other pupils who never intend to make a special study of the subject, he had better learn Latin from his form-master who knows him than from a specialist who may know more Latin but hardly knows John at all. 'If single wide interests are to begin growing in early adolescence, the pupil's teachers at each stage should be the fewest who can teach him what he needs to know in the way he needs to know it.'² 'From the educational point of view, it is not the subject, but the methods of teaching that matter.'³ If the form-master is to know his boys, to become their friend, to link up the knowledge he passes on to his pupils with their growing interest in him and his teaching, and so to foster in each of them an interest that is both single and wide, he must not only see life clearly and see it whole but he ought also to have his boys studying with him, or for him, during half at least of their working week.

But the strongest reason why form-masters and form-mistresses

¹ Board of Education Educational Pamphlet No. 116, p. 67. The passage quoted refers to 'a sixth form master', but is equally applicable all the way up a secondary school. See the *Norwood Report*, p. 64.

² *Knowledge and Character*, p. 309.

³ *Spens Report*, p. 173.

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should never be supplanted, although they may have to be supplemented, by specialist teachers, touches the most valuable part of the pupil's single wide interest. This is the region of the central links between his various studies. It is here that his organized system of reasoned thought is most closely bound up with his feelings and desires to make a single whole in which the supreme reality is identified with the supreme good.

To the fashioning of this central region of the single wide interests in his pupils' minds every teacher should make some contribution. But the largest should come from the form-master.¹ If he is to lead his pupils to the point where many studies meet,² must he use his own philosophy of life as his sole guide? Many schoolmasters and schoolmistresses would welcome suggestions to help them across the gap between 'Divinity' and the other subjects they have to teach. These suggestions might usefully include the outline of a course of lessons to be given once a week for a year to pupils aged about sixteen. They would provide a rough and ready review of the world as conceived by, or the outlook common to, most educated people in The Commonwealth whatever their race, religion, or nationality.³ The course might treat of *The World We Live In* under such heads as:

Astronomy. The nebular hypothesis. The origin of the solar system. The birth of the moon. The cooling of the earth.

Geology. The age of the earth. The Geological Record, or order of succession of the stratified formation of the earth's crust. Fossils.

Biology. The origin of life. Lowly forms of life. Vertebrates: Fishes, Amphibia (Batrachia and Reptiles), Birds, Mammals. The ancestry of Man.

Anthropology. Man, a single species. The recency of man: if the age of the earth be represented by the great obelisk in London known as Cleopatra's Needle, man has existed for no more than the thickness of a penny on top of it and the period of history is less than the thickness of a

¹ Cf. an article in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 28 November, 1942, on Character Building in California. After describing 'a series of progressive lessons in wise living to which they gave the name of "Human Relations" '—the aim of which was to prepare each child for life; 'the life of the house, the school, the State and the world'—the writer adds: 'the subject is best taught by the class master or mistress; nevertheless, it is far from impossible to have some "Human Relations" lessons taught by visiting experts.'

² See the second footnote on p. 75, above.

³ A course in philosophy is already provided in every French *lycée* for pupils who have passed the first part of their *baccalauréat*.

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postage stamp.¹ The answers of the seven great religions, and so of the mass of mankind, to the questions: Is Man merely a material being; or does he possess, besides his animal body, a 'spirit', something from outside space and time? If he does, is there a Spirit apart from Man, greater than Man, but related to Man?

Psychology. The integrative action of man's mind, linking up concrete facts of direct experience by means of hypothetical abstractions into groups of facts, subjects, branches of knowledge. The final links needed to make of all knowledge a whole. 'Theology, queen of the sciences'.

Sociology. Politics, economics and citizenship. Ethics. Since men differ from one another, the ethics of a democracy will not reach the standard set by its best citizens. No political society can exist without loyalty or last without power. The Society of Nations. The Unity of Civilization. The advantage to the individual and to society of integrating moral science with natural science, or identifying the supreme good with the supreme reality.

Religion. How this integration, or identification, is effected by different religions.

Such a programme may, at first sight, appear impossibly ambitious; and so it would be if it proposed the successive study of scientific textbooks of each topic touched upon. The object is, however, much more modest: it is to introduce acquaintance with the whole rather than the deep study of any part. And now that Professor Hogben has proved that it is possible to write a popular account of Mathematics for the Million, it would need a bold man to assert the impracticability of sketching *The World We Live In* against a background of natural science so as to be understood by, and even to thrill, the average boy or girl of sixteen.

The purpose of some such outline of our outer world is not, of course, to supply the pupils with yet another string of facts to be learnt by rote. Rather is it intended as an incentive to them to turn over in their minds facts they already know and to see how these facts link up with one another. It should help to form single wide interests out of several separate interests in as many disconnected subjects.

6. *Equality of Opportunity*

One powerful factor in the integration of a pupil's mind as he ap-

¹ Sir James Jeans, F.R.S. He gives the following round-number estimates: Age of earth, about 2,000,000,000 years. Age of life on earth, about 300,000,000 years. Age of man on earth, about 300,000 years.

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proaches the top of his secondary school is the interest he takes in the career that lies ahead of him.¹ If he is looking forward to the university as the next stage of that career, this interest will embrace his feeling for his form-master who doubtless achieved academic distinction of one kind or another. For a similar reason, the boy who is going on from Dartmouth to the Royal Navy, or from West Point to the United States Army, is most influenced, other things being equal, by those among his instructors who belong to the service on which his hopes are fixed. This principle might well be applied more generally. Wherever many of the pupils are about to leave school for the same sort of employment, the influence of their form-master—and the same is true in a less degree of each of their other teachers—will be much enhanced if he has had personal experience of the kind of life and work to which his pupils are looking forward.

Here is an example of the need for continuity in education.² The education of every pupil ought to proceed smoothly and without a break, not only from term to term and from year to year but also when he moves on from one school to another or from his last school or college to his first public service in a paid job.

At this point we have to face the fact that good citizens never are, and fortunately never will be, all alike. Differing in their native qualities, they have different work to do in the world, and need different kinds of education to fit them for it.

After making sure that there are enough nursery schools or classes for all the little children, between two and five or six years old, who are not getting equally good nursery education at home, and after providing, or encouraging other bodies to provide, enough efficient primary schools for the great mass of normal or supernormal children,³ between five or six and eleven or twelve, who do not get their elementary education in private schools or from governesses or tutors at home, the State must begin to pick and choose among the pupils of the primary schools. At one extreme are those whose innate qualities, acquired ambitions and other characteristics, will eventually justify their whole-time education being continued, if need be at the public expense, up to, through, and perhaps even beyond, the university. At the other end of the scale are

¹ Cf. *The Organization and Curriculum of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools*. For pupils who spend only one year in the sixth form 'the unifying or integrating factor is often the career to be adopted' (p. 17).

² See above, p. 90.

³ We are not here concerned with the indispensable provision of special schools for mentally or physically defective children.

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those whose nature and nurture are such that their lives will be happiest and most useful if they leave school and go to work as soon as the law allows.

The first selection may be made as early as the twelfth year of age. If so, a second, to check the results and put right the mistakes of the first, should follow two years later. These selections will be succeeded by others. All of them should be guided by two principles:¹ first, that the number of young people trained for each particular walk in life is just so many as there seems likely to be room for in that kind of occupation; and, second, that there must be the utmost possible equality of opportunity for all young people of equal ability whatever may be the means of their parents² and wherever they may happen to live.³ We say 'the utmost possible' instead of 'absolute' equality because it is only in the case of children whose qualities of character and intellect are outstanding that any system of education can ensure equality of opportunity for otherwise equal children from unequal homes. But 'no one who can take advantage of a higher education should be denied this chance'.⁴

It is sometimes said that this second principle—of equality of opportunity—implies the abolition of all schools and colleges which do not belong to the State system or are not strictly controlled by the State. The State must indeed be satisfied that each of them is training good citizens. It may from time to time regulate their conduct by legislation.⁵ But, without making exacting demands or exercising close control over the provision of education outside the State system, the State should

¹ The next chapter discusses how these general principles may be applied to the particular case of England.

² The amount of a state scholarship or maintenance allowance must always be sufficient, along with the scholar's other resources, to cover his fees, if any, and all the other expenses he must incur if he is to get the full benefit from membership of his school or college or university. 'The aim of a national policy must be to ensure that high ability is not handicapped by the accidents of place of residence or lack of means in securing a university education' (White Paper on *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmd. 6458, Section 98).

³ It may, for example, be in the best interest of the pupil or of the State that he should go to a boarding school, or reside in a university, far from his home.

⁴ Mr. Churchill, in his broadcast speech on 21 March, 1943.

⁵ In England, for example, Parliament has passed a Public Schools Act and has more than once given new Statutes to Oxford and Cambridge. The new Education Act outlined in *Educational Reconstruction* (July, 1943) will 'require that every independent school shall be open to inspection by the Board and registered on a list kept by them' (Section 110).

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ensure that schools which it provides, maintains or aids give at least as good a training for any walk in life as the best that is offered by any other institution, however rich its endowments or however high its fees¹—unless indeed a very few schools possess an inevitable advantage because of their ancient traditions, their definite religious background, or their freedom from official interference in minor matters.² If they do, it would be the height of folly to insist so much upon equality and uniformity as to level down instead of levelling up. Suppose, for instance, that boarding schools have the advantage over day schools for boys or girls whose homes do not, for one reason or another, work in with the schools and their programmes of games or other out-of-school activities. That is not a reason for abolishing the boarding schools which exist outside the State system. Rather is it a reason why the State should provide boarding schools for such children as well as for any whose homes are remote from day schools of the right kind. And, in any case, the co-existence of schools inside and outside the State system serves as a stimulus to both to do the best work of which they are capable. Moreover, it means that the number of young people whom the State must educate, so far as need be at the public expense, for any particular calling is reduced by the number who have been equally well prepared for it outside the State system.

It has been usual in the past, for a national system of schools, colleges and universities, intended for the training of good citizens, to be planned as a ladder which each pupil may climb until he either reaches the top or, as happens to the vast majority, tumbles off at some lower level to which the ladder was not meant to lead.³ Perhaps he never sought a university

¹ Some changes needed to this end in England are outlined below in Chapter 5.

² An account of a typical English 'Public School'—Sherborne in the 1870's—is printed below as Appendix A. It forms part of an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1926, by Professor A. N. Whitehead, F.R.S.

³ In England, for instance, according to the *Spens Report*, 'The statutes of Grammar Schools founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate clearly that the Grammar School was an institution primarily designed to prepare scholars to proceed to the Universities' (p. 6). 'The Regulations for Secondary Schools issued by the Board of Education in 1904-5 . . . took the existing Public Schools and Grammar Schools as their general *cadre* or archetype for secondary schools of all kinds' (p. 72). 'We cannot but deplore the fact that the Board did little or nothing after the passing of the Education Act of 1902 to foster the development of secondary schools of quasi-vocational type designed to meet the needs of boys and girls who desired to enter industry and commerce at the age of 16' (pp. 72, 73).

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career ; or maybe he found himself outpaced by his contemporaries and so gave up ; or haply he could not get the help he needed to meet the growing cost of climbing higher. Such an experience is apt to leave him discomfited and disappointed when he eventually finds himself in an occupation very different from that to which his education was designed to lead. The injury done him may even be so great that he will never quite recover.

If these accidents, so frequent in the past, are to be avoided in the future the educational systems designed to train good citizens of The Commonwealth should resemble neither a ladder up which the fortunate few may climb precariously to the goal of their ambitions, nor yet a State-owned mountain railway which conveys the tougher and more adventurous to the highest places but deposits the others, who cannot stand more of the journey or are made sick by the rarefied air, at intermediate points whence they must find their own way as best they can. The model plan should rather be the roads and railways whereby immigrants into a new world may go up from a seaport to many different levels of a vast hinterland.

These roads and railways branch and branch again. Where corners have to be turned, the curves are smooth and continuous. When the road forks, it often happens that the two prongs are shown on a flat map as if they continued close together. In fact, however, one is rising steeply up the side of a valley while the other runs nearly level along its floor. Some miles further on, the high road turns away from the low road to cross the mountain wall into regions far away.

So it is with a properly planned system of education. A group of pupils who have been studying together reaches a point—the fork in the road—where it appears that some of them are marked out by their abilities, ambitions, and other qualities of character, to pursue their study of certain subjects for many more years while the remaining members of the group ought soon to drop those particular studies. From that point on, the two sections should study those subjects in two different ways. One takes the high road and the other takes the low road. One is more concerned with abstract principles and generalizations, the other with concrete instances and practical applications.

To change the metaphor, one way of studying is more intensive, more *deep* ; the other is more extensive, more *wide*. For example, pupils of fifteen or sixteen 'for whom further systematic and continuous courses of study in' history 'will be unlikely after school days' need 'a suitable historical training for citizenship in the modern world, together with a special stimulus to read and enjoy the works of the more literary his-

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torians, good biographies and memoirs, or illustrated surveys of ancient arts and crafts'. But for those 'who have chosen history as a subject for further systematic study, more emphasis is required on the initial equipment of an historical specialist'.¹ Or take the teaching of science to fifteen-year-old boys in a secondary school. Most of them 'are not preparing to be professional scientists and science will have only an indirect bearing on their future career. If the study of science is to have any permanent reaction on their lives, it is desirable to draw their experience from a wide² field, both physical and biological, and include material from which the traditional course'—the high road—'modelled on University lines, of intensive study of a narrow range, debars them.'³ Or again, in the teaching of Classics, 'it is very desirable that sixth form masters should draw a distinction between books which are to be read extensively and those to be read intensively.'⁴ The latter are not suitable for pupils on the low road.

7. *Young People's Colleges*

We have been discussing how to avoid discontinuity in the education of a pupil as he travels up his school and as he passes from one school to another or on to the university. By far the most dangerous discontinuity occurs when pupils leave school, go to work, and sever all connection with the national system of education at or soon after the earliest age permitted by the law. It is more serious than any other because it affects most of the people and because it happens in the middle of adolescence.

Except perhaps for the years from two to five, adolescence is the most critical period in the education of future citizens. But nowhere in the world, not even in the United States, does more than a small proportion of boys and girls remain at school for the whole of this period nor yet for half of it. And even if, under the new economic policy of The Commonwealth, any part of the world were to become rich enough to keep all its young people at school during all their working hours until the age of eighteen, it is by no means certain that the interests of many

¹ *The Organization and Curriculum of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools*, p. 31.

² For further examples of the two contrasted ways—the 'deep' way and the 'wide' way—of studying the same subject see *Knowledge and Character*, pp. 303-8.

³ *The Organization and Curriculum of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools*, p. 55.

⁴ *Suggestions for the Teaching of Classics*, p. 71.

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boys and girls, or of the community, would best be served in this way. Those whose qualities of mind and body fit them rather for manual than for intellectual labour would find such prolonged schooling irksome. Not to be doing an adult's job, and earning a large fraction of an adult's pay, at the age of seventeen or even earlier, would seem to them a waste of time. When they feel like that, they may be better educated by going to work except on one working day a week which they devote to further schooling. Part-time day classes for all young people under eighteen who are no longer at whole-time schools thus form an indispensable part of the proper provision for training future citizens.¹

Where many of these pupils are engaged in the same industry or group of trades—agriculture, for example, or cotton—their studies will be made much more interesting by being related to the work they do on other days. When for instance, mathematics or mechanics are taught to young wood-workers, it is a simple matter to illustrate the teaching by examples drawn from carpentry and joinery. To link up other subjects with wood-work may not be so easy, but it is not impossible. History may describe the development through the ages of woodcraft and the timber trade, as well as of buildings, furniture and ships; it may treat of economic and social changes; and it may tell of the growth of trade unions and other industrial bodies including the International Labour Organization. And the young wood-workers may learn much of their geography by discovering where the various woods are grown and how they come from overseas or overland.

Often, however, the diversity of local employments or the sparsity of population will prevent a sufficient number of young people who are of the same age and following the same, or nearly the same, walk in life, from studying together. Then the knowledge imparted and the skill developed in the school will be designed for the training of citizens with-

¹ The Director of the Oxford University Department of Education would go much further, even now, than is proposed in the text. Mr. Jacks has been good enough to write: 'We mustn't ask industry to release employees for continued education: education must come first, and a boy must leave school at 14 or 15 or 16 for the factory *because he can best be educated there*: we must look upon industry as education, and the factory as a school, and the education authorities must have control and the last word up to 18. . . . I certainly should forbid young persons to enter employment where their work is not inspected and approved by the education authorities. This seems to me so obviously right as to need no argument. I think, moreover, that the education authorities ought to decide how much time such young persons are going to spend on their work and how much time at school or in *other occupations* . . . all the manifold occupations and activities which men enjoy.'

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out regard to their occupation. This intellectual training cannot be quite so valuable or so interesting as if it bore directly upon the particular work by which each boy or girl is serving, and intends to serve, the community.

Young people under eighteen who have gone to work have just as much need for physical, social and spiritual education as if they were still in whole-time attendance at school. These aspects of the education of a good citizen ought therefore to have more prominence, in comparison with class-teaching, in a part-time than in a whole-time school for adolescents. The work of young people's colleges—part-time schools, generally co-educational, for young people under eighteen years of age—must not be confined to formal lessons. It ought to include physical and social training. There should be buildings capable of meeting these wider needs, and they should be open in the evenings for recreation and for social intercourse. The colleges should have the use of playing fields and, if possible, of swimming baths. They might also provide, or join in providing, holiday camps for their pupils. Above all, young people's colleges will need teachers who have proved qualities of leadership.

The standard of physical fitness attained, and the young people's interest in it, may be enhanced by encouraging each of them to qualify for a medal or badge awarded by some national or local authority.¹ The tests of physical fitness will be different for different age-groups and for the two sexes. For boys between fourteen and sixteen or between sixteen and eighteen such tests may show that the required standard has been reached in, say, swimming and life-saving; in long-jump or high-jump; in putting the weight or throwing the javelin or discus; in a hundred yards' sprint or a half-mile run; and in a long distance run or walk. Before being tested, candidates should be required to have trained for the tests and to have played regularly in team games if they have had opportunities for doing so.²

Social education in a young people's college may include team games

¹ Such medals for swimming and life-saving are awarded in the United Kingdom by the Royal Life-Saving Society. Badges for all-round proficiency, measured by a series of tests of physical and practical ability, are offered by some county councils in Scotland and England, beginning with Morayshire, where the first County Badge Scheme was evolved under the inspiration of Mr. Kurt Hahn.

² These tests and conditions form part of the Hertfordshire Badge Scheme designed by the County Youth Committee 'to develop certain of the qualities which are necessary for adult citizens who wish to lead fuller lives themselves, and to play their full part in a democracy.' (February, 1941.)

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and other informal social activities in the student's own time—during holidays or half-holidays and in the evenings—as well as formal study of literature, history and social science in class and for home-work. And there is no reason why some team-work in social service¹ should not form part of the training given by these part-time colleges, as well as by whole-time secondary schools.² Care will however be needed to see that part-time students do not gain the impression that this unpaid social service is of greater value than their everyday work. They must learn to look upon their principal employment as, first and foremost, social service, or else as a training for the social service of which their main work in life will consist.

The last two paragraphs have touched upon two of the four 'achievements' required for the County Badge.³ Some young people's colleges would do well to experiment with the other two 'achievements' also. These are called 'the expedition' and 'the project'. They are designed to develop and to test purposefulness and other qualities⁴ of character. Thus the expedition 'should bring the boy up against the natural obstacles of weather, distance, danger and darkness'. It should require for its achievement 'a determination to hold one's course in face of hardship, discomfort and danger'. 'It may be a walking, riding, climbing, canoeing, sailing, ski-ing, bird-watching, geographical, historical,

¹ Such team work has been organized in Hertfordshire since 1940. The first 'Youth Service Squad' was formed in September, 1940. Five months later there were seventy in the county. Each Squad consists of young people between fourteen and twenty-one years old. The jobs they do include helping:

(a) the Civil Defence Services in fire-fighting, ambulance driving and the like;

(b) His Majesty's Forces, by entertaining them, mending their targets, darning for them;

(c) in food production;

(d) the sick and wounded, by learning first aid, rolling bandages, entertaining patients;

(e) charities, by making or collecting money for them;

(f) 'evacuees', by entertaining them, doing their mending, making or collecting toys for nursery schools;

(g) the community at large, by collecting salvage, filling their ration books, delivering pamphlets.

² See above, p. 77.

³ See *The County Badge or the Fourfold Achievement* (Oxford University Press, 1941). The quotations which follow are from pp. 12-15 of this pamphlet.

⁴ By means of factorial analysis of the data, an attempt is being made to discover more precisely what are the qualities tested in this way.

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or other carefully planned expedition. Thorough preparation is as important a part of the training as the expedition itself'. And the project 'should demand care and skill and should present difficulties which can be mastered only by patience and perseverance'. It may take the form of some constructive work, or of a collection, or of a systematic study, 'provided always that the boy pursues his undertaking to a planned conclusion'. 'It is an activity to be carried on for at least a year, or for two or three years, but it must lead up to an actual achievement by which the quality of the performance can be judged.'

Religious education in a young people's college presents a more difficult problem. It is hard to give such an outlook on life as we have called religious to pupils who spend no more than one day a week and some of their spare time in the college atmosphere. Just as the problem of religious education is more complex in a whole-time day school than in a boarding school which has a much larger claim upon its pupils' time, so it will be more difficult still in a part-time college. A brief act of corporate worship may begin the college day. But the college time-table will not very easily permit of any formal scripture lesson or other divinity teaching. Even so, a body of teachers who control most if not all of the formal education of young persons should be able to pass on to many of them their own outlook on life. Teachers in young-people's colleges may at least put their pupils in the way to find a religious faith, or to strengthen the faith they already possess. That way may be by joining a church and making friends with other young people of the same sort.

We have said that young people's colleges form an essential part of the provision needed for the training of good citizens. Every young person under the age of eighteen who is no longer in whole-time attendance at school or who is not receiving further education in some other approved way should have to attend a young people's college on at least one whole day (or two half-days) in every working week. The employers of these young persons should be required by law to release them for this purpose. Some employers will find it convenient to provide their own 'works school' as, *inter alia*, the part-time college of their adolescent work-people.

An alternative to part-time day classes might be tried in rural districts where the population is very sparsely scattered. If the provision of whole-day or half-day classes is exceptionally difficult, the local education authority might experiment with boarding schools in which the boys, or girls, would spend seven or eight successive weeks once in each year. The residential colleges would have some advantage over the day

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colleges because of their more ample opportunities for social and religious education. On the other hand, their gain might be more than offset by the young people from the former losing touch with their colleges for ten months at a time while the part-time day people maintained at least a weekly contact for nine months in the year. Many of the day students would have the further advantage of being able to use their college building in the evenings and at week-ends for social contacts, recreation and vocational classes; and some of these young people might spend their holidays under the auspices of their college.

If young people's colleges are to be a permanent and indispensable part of the means for training good citizens even where the State or Commonwealth becomes rich enough to provide whole-time education for every young person under eighteen,¹ they are now doubly necessary. At present whole-time schools are not available for many who would benefit by attending them. The whole-time schooling of a large majority of boys and girls ceases long before they reach the age of eighteen. After leaving school these young people receive no educational guidance except such as they may get from voluntary agencies—including churches, clubs, boy scouts, girl guides—or from books and periodicals, or from the cinema or the radio. To give all these young persons educational guidance of the right kind is even more urgent than to prolong by one year the whole-time school life of the least able among them.

8. Universities

About the age of nineteen, after a year of national or international service either civil or military,² a small but important section of future citizens will enter the universities. Scholarships and maintenance allowances should ensure that this group includes most of the young men and women of first-rate ability, or whose qualities of character including their intellectual gifts—and apart altogether from any question of their parents' wealth or social position—mark them out as the most promising of their year. In return for this outlay the community has a right to expect that this group will provide many of its leaders in politics and business; its principal civil servants; most of its teachers, preachers and doctors; its judges, counsel and the more eminent members of some of its other professions; its chief men of science and learning; and many

¹ In English law, a 'young person' is a boy or girl who is under eighteen, who is no longer obliged to receive a whole-time education, and who is not in fact a pupil of a public elementary school.

² See below, pp. 195 to 199.

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of its discoveries, inventions and technical advances. That is why the education of university men and women is of the utmost importance.

Nearly a century ago the first Principal of Owens College, Manchester, observed that students come to the university to drink the sparkling water from the flowing stream of truth and not the slimy liquid from some stagnant pool. The young people come to learn from men and women who are advancing knowledge rather than from those who only ladle out what they themselves imbibed twenty or thirty or forty years before. The research work of a university should never be wholly cut off from its teaching. Those teachers who are themselves doing original work in their subjects can best give to their students a sound apprehension of scientific method¹ and enlighten their minds about the tentative nature of even the surest of known facts. Again, students can only be trained for research by those who are already engaged upon it; and some students who might make valuable discoveries will never turn their minds in that direction unless they are moved to do so by professors and lecturers who have themselves discovered some of the facts they teach.

However many subjects it explores and teaches, no university should rest content with the study of several separate specialisms without making some attempt to bring the many together into one. A better integrating principle is needed than mere 'simultaneity and juxtaposition'.

In the intellectual sphere, first of all, every university should provide a suitable discipline for all those undergraduates who are not moved by their interest to work for a degree in some specialized branch of science or humane studies. The need might be met by the creation of an honours school, if the distinction between honours and pass schools is to continue (and perhaps a pass school also), in Philosophy, Natural and Social.

These new disciplines would provide an outlook on the modern world seen as an integrated whole against a background of natural science. While the course of study would include both the physical environment and the human environment, the exact sciences and the social sciences, the ultimate aim would be 'to construct a system of ideas which

¹ The method of discovery, for instance, should be understood as 'like the flight of an aeroplane. It starts from the ground of particular observation; it makes a flight in the thin air of imaginative generalization; and it again lands for renewed observation rendered acute by rational interpretation.' A. N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality* (1929), p. 5. Cf. *Knowledge and Character*, pp. 249-57.

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bring the aesthetic, moral and religious interests into relation with those concepts of the world which have their origin in natural science'.¹ Even if no final integration is possible without going into the realm of hypothesis, that is, after all, the way of discovery which has led to the substantial achievements of natural science.

The study of natural science in such a course must be wider than any of the specialist science schools: e.g., chemistry and physics should be taken together as part of 'physical science', and 'general biology' in place of the separate treatment of zoology, botany and physiology. It would not be possible to cover the whole subject matter of any major science. But such detailed knowledge is less important for the present purpose than a sound apprehension of scientific method. It is, however, essential that, within a selected group of topics, there should be opportunity for observational work in the field and for practice in experimental work, preparation and analysis of chemical substances, use of electrical instruments, and the like.

Along with an outline of the physical world as conceived by the exact sciences, the first two years of the course would include the history of discovery, whether in natural science or scholarship, studied in relation to social and political history, particularly of the periods of the greatest advances in scientific thought. The study of man and society, including the contemporary international community, should be begun in the first year and would extend throughout the second year of the course.

The last year would link together all the previous work, whether in natural science or the humanities, and bring it into relation with the best philosophic thought of the western world, begun by Plato and Aristotle and continued by the greatest modern thinkers from Descartes to Whitehead. For the purpose of the present proposals, the chief problem of philosophy is not so much to explore ultimate reality as to construct in men's minds a working model that fits all kinds of human experience, not only of space and time but also of aesthetics, morals and religion. This implies some study of psychology as an experimental science.

The success of such courses in 'Philosophy, Natural and Social' will

¹ These words are quoted from Professor Whitehead who goes on to say: 'Philosophy frees itself from the taint of ineffectiveness by its close relations with religion and with science, natural and sociological. It attains its chief importance by fusing the two, namely, religion and science, into one rational scheme of thought. Religion should connect the general rationality of philosophy with the emotions and purposes springing out of existence in a particular society, in a particular epoch, and conditioned by particular antecedents.' *Process and Reality* (1929), pp. vi and 21.

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depend upon the tutors or directors of studies. Makeshift arrangements may be inevitable at the start of some of the new schools. But little good can come of setting undergraduates to read 'Philosophy, Natural and Social' without the continuous guidance of a staff of tutors in whose minds the whole course had already taken shape as an organized unity. The difficulty of finding men willing and able to fit themselves for this task will be diminished when the war is over because the war work of many of the younger university teachers will have widened their experience of public affairs and deepened their interest in the question how the universities may best help to educate some of the leading citizens of the post-war world.¹

These new schools of 'Philosophy, Natural and Social'—or 'Science Greats' or, simply, 'Citizenship'—might well be commended to every student whose intended career or special aptitude does not mark him out for a more specialized course of study. Whoever looks forward to becoming a form-master or mistress, and whoever aims at entering a local, national or international civil service, would find these schools well suited to his or her needs. But any broad discipline can be made to meet these needs—and to encourage free and well-informed thought about great issues, religious, political, social and economic—provided that it is taught in such a way as to train students both to generalize from given data and to question the premises of their reasoning. The first caution, as Sir Alfred Zimmern has pointed out, applies especially to those 'modern subjects where the abundance of the available data tempts the student to heap up information rather than to exercise his intelligence and judgment. The second is a necessary corrective to the pseudo-Aristotelian rigidity which is the besetting sin of specialists in every branch of exact knowledge'. Without some training in scientific method it is easy to forget that the premises of an argument are never wholly true, so that correct deductions from those premises are apt to be much farther still from the truth unless they have been checked against experience.

At the same time, undergraduates taking any one of the existing specialized schools should acquire some knowledge of the history of

¹ The foregoing account of 'Philosophy, Natural and Social' forms part of an Interim Report, dated 22 September, 1942, by a Committee on 'Post-war University Education' appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. This interim report commends many of the other proposals made in the present section, including those that treat of age of entry into universities, entrance tests, residence, tutorial superintendence, and an auxiliary means of international communication.

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science and learning and become acquainted with the elements of sociology and political science in the closest possible relation to their own specialties. While this widening of their minds is, perhaps, most needed by students of natural science, applied science and technology, non-science students ought not to miss the thrill of wonder at the mighty achievements of the human intellect in physics and biology.

A university will not have fulfilled its synthetic function if it integrates knowledge alone. It must concern itself with equality and fraternity as well as with the truth that makes men free.¹ It must provide for the social and spiritual as well as for the intellectual needs of its students. This it may do in three ways.

Tradition is the first of these, and perhaps the only one that is not indispensable. Venerable buildings—chapels, halls, great courts and ‘dreaming spires’²—a long record of famous men, noble deeds and great discoveries: all these help to create in the minds of its students a sentiment of love and reverence for their university. The tradition, and the sentiment that goes with it, will embrace a host of precepts handed down from the past for the guidance of present and future behaviour. It is the driving power³ of this sentiment that compels obedience to these traditional precepts. Thus an ancient university (or college or school) may preserve ideals of high thinking, search for truth, and unselfish devotion to the service of God in Church and State when, all around, intellectual and moral standards are showing signs of collapse. Few people can spend several years in company with those who cherish such ideals without coming to share them. There is something catching about the ‘continuity, tradition, and the trustee-sense which you find in an Oxford college or an Inn of Court—the sense that you hold for those who come after you what was held for you by those who went before.’⁴

Esprit de corps is the second way. It does not depend upon the past history so much as upon the present activity and future plans of the body one belongs to. It is a sentiment for the community rather than for the institution. It binds the community together and turns a number of men into a team. It implies standards of conduct and good manners in everyday life. It may be a great help to the university in converting the best human material into the best citizens of State and Commonwealth. It may owe some of its power to material aids like beautiful buildings,

¹ See above, p. 58.

² Mr. Compton Mackenzie uses Arnold’s phrase as title for the third, or Oxford, section of his novel *Sinister Street*.

³ See above, pp. 41, 42.

⁴ *Midas and Son*, by Stephen McKenna, pp. 220, 221.

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or distinctive uniforms¹—academic dress, club colours, everyday clothes like the tweed coat and grey flannel trousers of English undergraduates, or the quaint caps of German students. But if a university is fully to develop the right kind of corporate spirit in its students it must give them experience of self-government; of social service within the university and outside it; of loyalty to a small society, preparing them for larger loyalties to their own nation and the United Nations; and of team-work in clubs and societies, whether secular or religious, as well as on the playing fields or the river, and perhaps, during vacations, in sailing, climbing, skiing, or exploring.

The third way by which the university may provide for the social and spiritual needs of its students is by affording them ample opportunities for personal intercourse. Intimate discussions between equals—especially, late talks in one another's rooms—lead to a sympathetic understanding of human nature. They help to fit the undergraduate for his social environment. More than that, they are often more effective than eloquent sermons, formal lectures or informal tutorials in making young people think about first and last things and in helping their interests to become single and wide. In particular, they help to widen the lesser loyalties to club or college or university into the wider loyalty to nation or Commonwealth or world.

The ancient universities of western and central Europe have always brought young men together from regions far apart. Before the Reformation, the unity of Christendom owed a great deal to this practice of its leading universities and to their use of Latin as the common language of learning. For two more centuries, until well on in the seventeen hundreds, the universities preserved much of their international character, their common outlook and their universal language.

That they no longer do so to-day is a misfortune for the post-war world. A large measure of common outlook can indeed be recovered, and we have been discussing how to do it. But there is no likelihood of the revival of Latin as a *lingua franca* among university men, or any immediate prospect of substituting for it any other language unless it be English. Yet there is no reason why every Commonwealth undergraduate should not acquire, as a matter of course, some simple means of communication with every other university-trained man or woman anywhere among the United Nations. There are few ways in which the

¹ Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes has described in *The Times* of 27 September, 1941, how, when he was 'raising and commanding the Royal Flying Corps (Military Wing)' in 1912 he became 'convinced that for practical utility and *esprit de corps* a distinctive uniform was essential'.

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universities of The Commonwealth could so effectively promote its unity as by insisting that every candidate for a first degree should be able to make himself understood, by speaking and writing, in one universal auxiliary means of communication such as Basic English.¹ There is here no question of learning a language or becoming acquainted with a literature but only of spending a single long vacation in acquiring an 'auxiliary means of communication'.² In the 1920's Esperanto or Ido might have been suitable. But any auxiliary means of communication in the post-war world will have to be closely related to the English lan-

¹ *Basic English*, produced by Mr. C. K. Ogden of the Orthological Institute, is a simple form of the English language which, with 850 words, is able to give the sense of anything which may be said in English. A translation of the New Testament into Basic English was published in 1941 by the Cambridge University Press. Experiments carried out by Dr. I. A. Richards with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation appear to show that Basic to-day has greater possibilities than any other method of international communication in a limited vocabulary. It could thus be of value to many who would never learn enough normal English to be of any use. But it is not intended as a substitute for the normal English of expert linguists.

² Foreign Office representatives are able to do their business in a common language. Once it was Latin, in later times it has been French, and in the future it will probably be English—the language (for example) of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek's talks with Mr. Gandhi, and with Russian, the language of the Anglo-Soviet agreement. But the last 100 years have seen a great increase in the number of international meetings to which representatives have been sent, not by governments or Foreign Offices, but by private bodies interested in some question to do with science, art, law, industry, trade, general well-being, or to give everyone an equal chance. Such private meetings will no doubt become even more frequent in the new order started by the United Nations. In addition, at meetings of government representatives, there are frequently present experts in some special field of knowledge who have not had the training in languages which has been undergone by those who have Foreign Office positions. For example, there are representatives of workers and owners taking part in discussions with government representatives in the International Labour Organization which will have a great part in building up the international Society of the future. In that work it may be helped by an International Education Organization and other such bodies of a like sort. At meetings of such bodies, there are special language experts who put what is said in the full meetings into the different languages of those present. But when the representatives see one another at other times, discussion between them may be impossible, though what they say privately might do more than their public statements to make their meeting turn out well, and to give their different nations a truer knowledge of one another. (The language of this note is 'Basic English'.)

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guage and to be such that the learning of it is a direct step towards learning English.¹

As time went on, the ancient European seats of learning became more and more national, but they never lost their non-local character. What they had formerly done to create and maintain the unity of Christendom and of the Catholic Church, they now did for their several nations. Of late years the movement towards greater equality of educational opportunity has brought to the ancient universities, particularly in England, a number of young men and a smaller number of young women who come not only (as the men have always come) from all parts of the country but also from all sorts of homes. National unity and the unity of The Commonwealth would suffer grievous injury, if, for the sake of uniformity or any other reason, these ancient universities were to lose their non-local character.

Thanks to the Rhodes Trust and the example which it set, the stream flowing to Oxford and Cambridge from the whole British Empire and from the United States, together with the counter-flow of British students to American universities, is multiplying the opportunities for many future leaders of the English-speaking world to get to know one another and to share one another's ideals.²

The part played by universities in welding together the different regions of a country, or the different peoples of the United Nations, would be made easier by a change in the universities' manner of testing the academic fitness of candidates for admission. These tests should consist of two parts. The first should be a test of general education, and the second of special knowledge. If all the universities of The Commonwealth, or some smaller group of universities among the United Nations, would agree to accept each other's tests of general education—or a 'School Certificate' given by any one or more of them on a candidate's school record supplemented by an internal examination conducted with the help of an external assessor appointed by the university or universities granting the Certificate—then a candidate who was qualified in this respect to enter a university in his own country or province would no

¹ Cf. the first Interim Report (1942) of the Committee on Post-war University Education appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

² The scholarships offered by the English-Speaking Union which, in the later 1930's, took annually some thirty boys from British Public Schools to spend the last year of their school life in one of the American Preparatory (Boarding) Schools, and brought some twenty Americans from these schools for a year in an English school, have been helping towards the same end.

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longer have to submit to another general examination in order to enter any other university within the group.¹ It would remain open to each department of every university to satisfy itself that a candidate's special knowledge was sufficient for the work he might wish to do in that department. If it were not, he would add to it without wasting the time he might spend in preparing for another general examination.

'During their more informal university life', said the Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University² in 1937, undergraduates 'should learn to be good mixers, to be tolerant of other standards and opinions, to form opinions themselves, and set them out clearly and dispassionately, to handle their fellow-men, to play their part as citizens of a complex and difficult world.' Such personal intercourse between university students is made much easier by the conditions of residence and tutorial superintendence under which men live in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and in many of the universities and colleges of North America. It is unfortunate that so many other universities, including most of those recently founded in England,³ give their degrees to men and women who have passed certain examinations or submitted satisfactory theses, and have attended prescribed courses of lectures⁴ or laboratory work, but who need have had little or no personal contact with their fellow-students or teachers. Universities in which a system of tutorial superintendence is not at present in being should work towards such a system as will ensure the personal direction and oversight of every undergraduate's studies.⁵ And many non-residential universities would find it well worth while to provide enough accommodation in their own or other approved hostels and then to require every undergraduate to

¹ The great benefit of this reform would not be much diminished if certain universities within the group differed from the others in requiring their students to know some Latin—or other additional subject—before matriculating. To have to pass in some one subject of general education would be far less burdensome than the requirements commonly made at the present time.

² R. E. Priestley, M.C., D.Sc., now Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham.

³ The University of Reading and Exeter University College are notable exceptions. In 1938-9 nearly three-quarters of the whole-time students lived in the Halls of Residence of Reading University; and 81 per cent of those at Exeter lived in college.

⁴ Lord Eustace Percy, Rector of King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, has complained that undergraduates 'do not come to the university to read for a degree but to be lectured into one'.

⁵ Cf. the first Interim Report (1942) of the British Association's Committee on Post-war University Education.

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spend at least one complete academic year in residence before taking his first degree. The cost would not be prohibitive.¹ Since the effect of this provision would be to increase the value of the training given to many of their future citizens, the States directly concerned would be well advised to contribute to the capital outlay as well as to the annual expenditure on this new development. Under suitable conditions The Commonwealth itself, through its International Education Organization,² might make grants to some of its poorer member States for this purpose, since the training of good citizens is a common interest of The Commonwealth as a whole.

There is one vital aspect of personal intercourse, or community life, among students to which the universities of the Western World were at one time more alive than most of them are to-day. The pious founders of many medieval universities and colleges designed them to be 'places of religious and useful learning'. There has been a tendency to forget the religious side. The college chapel, the university sermon and the study of theology no longer play the prominent parts formerly assigned to them. But the crowds of undergraduates who flock to hear a popular preacher, or who listen to lectures on religious topics, is evidence of their deep interest in spiritual matters. That this interest tends to grow when it is shared by friends who meet regularly and commune closely together is the universal experience of the churches. A residential university fosters this close communion between its younger students. Nor is the opportunity confined to undergraduates. Senior members of the university can, and often do, share the spiritual life and spiritual education of their juniors, realizing that it is not enough to leave this vital business entirely to the undergraduates with such outside help as they may get from the churches or from other bodies or persons. The recent appointment in Oxford of a university lecturer in religious education is evidence of this feeling; and in Columbia University 'there are full-time religious counsellors for Catholic, Protestant and Jew'.³ But it would be well if all universities, without returning to the dominance of any one church, were to recognize that all secular knowledge can only be integrated by means of a central hypothesis, personal and experimental, about the nature of God and man and their relation to one another. It is better to know God than to be acquainted with every science under the sun.

¹ See below, pp. 200, *et seq.*

² See above, p. 36.

³ R. E. Priestley, M.C., D.Sc., *Proceedings of the Conference of Australasian Universities* (Adelaide, 1937).

ADULT EDUCATION

9. *Adult Education*

Just a century ago, in 1843, an elderly Lutheran pastor, returned to Denmark from England where he had been studying Anglo-Saxon and spending some of his time in Trinity College, Cambridge.¹ He had been deeply impressed by the effect produced upon grown-up young men by prolonged residence and tutorial superintendence in a Christian atmosphere. N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) went home with his mind made up that every young Dane ought to be offered this sort of adult education. He hoped to see established in his native country residential colleges where young men, or young women, would enjoy a corporate life among gardens, pictures and music, with regular hours, ample physical exercise, and abundance of good appetizing food, and where the teachers should include (1) a master of his mother tongue,² (2) one who knows and loves his country's history and can tell it in lively fashion, (3) one who knows and loves the popular songs and can either lead the singing or get someone else to do it, (4) one who can give an orderly account of his country's condition, its business activities, and sources of wealth, and (5) some expert who can give a true and living representation of the national constitution and laws.

The first of the Danish People's High Schools was established in North Schleswig in the following year by the Professor of Danish in the University of Kiel. After the war of 1864 this college was moved to Askov, north of the new border. Meanwhile a second People's High School had been founded, with Grundtvig's help, in Fünen by Kristen Kold,³ the son of a poor shoemaker in North Jutland. By 1905 there

¹ So I was told in Denmark in 1936. But I have not been able to verify the statement from the College records. He may have lived in College as the guest of a Fellow without his name getting on to the books. Noël Davies tells of Grundtvig's visit to Cambridge in 1831 (*Education for Life: a Danish Pioneer*, London, 1931).

² In a letter written to the King of Denmark on 9 February, 1943, Grundtvig explained that he wanted one who was a master of the mother tongue, not merely as found in books, but as spoken by the people, and could help his pupils to understand what they hear, to think in an orderly way, and speak clearly and fluently of what they think and know. See the account of People's High Schools in Denmark by J. S. Thornton in Sir Michael Sadler's *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere* (Manchester University Press, 1907), p. 492.

³ Kold wanted at first to take pupils immediately on their leaving school at fourteen, fifteen or sixteen. But Grundtvig insisted that eighteen was the lowest age for the kind of education they had in view. Experience convinced

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were sixty-six People's High Schools in Denmark, eighteen of which included some technical work along with their other studies,¹ In 1937-8 the number was fifty-seven² and 30 per cent of the agricultural population of the country had been to such schools,³ for five months in the case of men and for three months in the case of women. By that time the movement had spread throughout Scandinavia. There were fifty-nine People's High Schools in Sweden, fifty-three in Finland and thirty-two in Norway.⁴

The need for non-vocational adult education⁵ arises from the fact that, even if every citizen attended a secondary school, whole-time or part-time, until the age of eighteen—and at present the great mass of the people even among the best educated nations give up school attendance from two to four years earlier—he would still lack some essential elements of a good citizen's education. For these elements he is not ripe before he is grown up. In particular, his education cannot deal adequately with such matters as history, economics and politics until he has felt these things touch him personally; and that seldom happens to boys and girls in their teens. When the young citizen is grown up, his everyday experience widens and deepens his interest in public affairs; in human welfare and social justice; in his fellow-workers, his trade union or professional association; in his local government, his State, his Commonwealth, and his world.

Most of these things have been of small moment to him in his early youth. Unless he were planning to become a historian or an economist, a politician or a trade union secretary, he would not then recognize public affairs as part of his work in life; and they would thus form no link with his sentiment⁶ for himself, his so-called 'self-regarding sentiment'. Nor would they be, for the most part, of such a nature as Kold that Grundtvig was right, and eighteen has been the minimum age in most of the People's High Schools since that time. Thornton, *loc. cit.*, p. 496.

¹ Thornton, *loc. cit.*, p. 500. The number of pupils in 1903-4 was 3,151 men and 3,186 women (p. 502). In the Danish Parliament of 1901, 30 per cent of the members had passed through People's High Schools (p. 510).

² Sir Richard Livingstone, *The Future in Education* (Cambridge University Press, 1941), p. 47. The number of students was 5,802, of whom 2,904 were men and 2,898 women.

³ Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

⁴ Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁵ This and the following five paragraphs are reproduced with minor changes in the Report on *Universities and Adult Education* by the British Association's Committee on Post-War University Education (September, 1943).

⁶ See above, p. 41.

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to evoke an immediate and spontaneous emotional response if he thought about them. Such thoughts would therefore be incapable of making any deep impression upon his mind or of leaving behind them a lasting trace in his brain. In short, these things would not interest him at that stage of his life. If he were then developing a single wide interest, these vital aspects of citizenship could have no place in it; or, at least, no close connection with its central elements.¹

The same is true, but in a different way, of literature, music, art, and some other studies which chiefly concern him as an individual rather than as a citizen. Both the spiritual and the social part of education are, for most people, non-vocational.

When, therefore, the young citizen is grown up; when he is no longer 'too immature to think about the problems of life';² when politics and economics, citizenship and social science, no longer seem to him to be abstract and academic but have become part of his personal experience of everyday life, fraught with feeling, rich in emotional tone; then is the time for him to order his thoughts on these topics and to bring them into relation with his other interests, and particularly with his interest in his work and his religion, so as to include them all in the single wide interest which should have been growing during his adolescence.

While, however, every good citizen needs education of this kind after he is grown up, many also require to extend their technical and professional knowledge, and from time to time to bring it up to date, in order that they may give to the community the best service of which they are capable. This vocational variety of adult education may, indeed, enable the student to get on in the world and to earn more money. But that is no reason why it should be regarded as mercenary or otherwise inferior to adult education of a non-vocational type. The services rendered to the State or The Commonwealth, to the nation or the United Nations, by the daily work of its inhabitants are no less essential than the political, social or other services which they ought to undertake as citizens in their spare time.

In England, as we shall see,³ the specific type of adult education which bears directly upon the citizen's principal employment has hitherto predominated over the religious, social, cultural and physical education of young men and women regarded simply as citizens and without reference to the particular daily work of each of them. The same is true of most countries in Europe or America, where, as in Great Britain, non-

¹ See above, p. 55; and *Knowledge and Character*, pp. 232, 233.

² Grundtvig quoted by Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

³ See below, pp. 206 *et seq.*, especially p. 210.

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vocational adult education for the mass of the people relies upon private reading, part-time classes, the radio and the cinema, supplemented here and there by short holiday courses or summer camps. Only in Scandinavia, and particularly in Denmark, has a successful attempt been made to provide non-vocational adult education for a large proportion of average citizens. It will therefore be convenient to resume here our brief account of the Danish method:¹ residential colleges where young men spend five winter months and young women three months in the spring.

These People's High Schools are privately owned, yet they receive a subsidy from the State.² The students pay the fees, amounting to about £1 a week, but the minority who need help receive it in the form of State bursaries covering half the fees. Most of the students come from the countryside: farmers, small-holders and some labourers. Only one in four of them has had more than an elementary education.³

The High Schools are not all alike. But they all bear Grundtvig's stamp.

The typical High School is a pleasant building standing in its own grounds far out in the country. 'The bell in the morning rings for prayers at 7.45 with the Principal and his family. The attendance is good, though entirely voluntary. After breakfast classes begin.' The first hour may be given to a lecture. The second hour, on four days a week, may be spent on the mother tongue. 'Here the students are broken up into smaller groups for class instruction.' Then comes a short break. Next, there may be a lecture on some aspect of history. 'The lecturer uses neither manuscript nor note. His whole object is to secure the intelligent interest of his hearers; and when that is secured, they give him both eyes and ears, and no question of note-taking arises. The use of text-books is reduced to a minimum; before the oral examination comes off next day, some short handbook or brief printed outline is read by the

¹ See above, pp. 113, 114.

² 'It is strange that when . . . the grant was doubled . . . in 1892, the State control was not increased at the same time, for the Minister of Education, in speaking against a proposed reduction of the grant in 1885, acknowledged that the schools, notwithstanding their great merits, had "many faults and defects", and declared that "the right way to improve them is to do all that can be done to put them somewhat more under State control than they hitherto have been, to lead them in a juster, less fantastic, more everyday and reasonable direction than many of them have yet followed". But, seven years later, it was acknowledged in Parliament that it was "no use feeding the birds if at the same time you tied them up with a string".' J. S. Thornton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 499, 500.

³ Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 45.

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student. Every such lecture begins and ends with a song . . . sung in unison; and both tunes and words seem familiar to all. The next hour is always given to gymnastics. . . . Then comes the midday meal.' The afternoon lessons, interrupted by a short break for coffee, cover a variety of subjects (Bible-interpretation, for example, on one day a week) and always including singing. 'The last hour, from 6 to 7, is given to a general lecture . . . on the history of the world, or some scientific subject. Then comes the evening meal. Lights out soon after ten.'¹

Sir Richard Livingstone's account of the People's High Schools includes the syllabus of a typical lecture. The subject is Alexander the Great. 'The lecturer contrasts the vigour of Alexander with the exhaustion of vital force in contemporary Greece; he shows how, unlike Goth and Hun, Alexander was civilizer as well as conqueror, and, attributing the idealist in him to his tutor Aristotle, urges that the true teacher develops the mind without weakening the character; next he describes a Danish poem on a meeting of a Brahman and the King, dealing with the corruption of Alexander's character by oriental influences, and ends with the moral that the greatness of men depends on their view of good and their desire to achieve it.'²

Livingstone adds the comment that 'we are here in a world of the pulpit rather than the lecture room, and the intellectual will say this is not education at all. Yet perhaps the Danes are right.'³ Indeed they are. The education in the People's High Schools aims at turning out good citizens; and, therefore, not the intellect alone, but feeling and desire must be called into play. In the People's High Schools 'the young people get mentally and emotionally roused'.⁴

In sum, students who have passed through a People's High School have, as a rule, widened their outlook on life in general and particularly on public affairs. They have made acquaintance with some abstract facts and general principles enabling them to order their thoughts on a number of political, economic, and social questions in which their everyday lives have already interested them. They have improved their physique and general health by regular hours, bodily exercise and wholesome food. And they have lived together, played together and worked together

¹ This account of a typical time-table is condensed from J. S. Thornton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 485-7.

² Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴ *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*, by Begtrup, Lund and Manniche, p. 38 (quoted by Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 56).

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in an atmosphere of Christian faith. After such an experience it is no wonder that they are ready to trust each other in private business and in public life. Here may lie the reason why in the last two generations, Denmark has become an example to the world in co-operative farming, having steadily forged ahead of all competitors since Grundtvig's experiment began. Such an effect upon the well-being of the community, or upon the minds and bodies of its citizens, is not to be expected from adult education that is confined to class teaching, however expert and skilful the teachers may be.

In Denmark the technical education of the agricultural community is linked up with the People's High Schools. 'The Danish agricultural school is the child of the Danish Folkehøjskole, and must, like this, have Christian faith and national life for its basis.' The close union between the two kinds of school has had the happiest effect. Already in 1890 the Principal of one of the agricultural schools, reviewing his work for the previous nineteen years, recommended that 'all the young men who intend to avail themselves of the instruction in an agricultural school should stay at least one winter at a high school'. By 1903-4 this advice was followed by almost half the students in the agricultural schools.¹ Although these schools have had a powerful influence in spreading the co-operative dairy throughout Denmark, and some of their dairy methods have had results far beyond the borders of Scandinavia, they are not concerned only with the productiveness of industry. They also seek to bring about 'progress in religious freedom' and 'a wider and deeper interest in the government of the country'.²

In other countries, and notably in England, the non-vocational training of mature citizens has been comparatively neglected. It has been left behind while technical education, both for adults and adolescents, has leapt ahead. In old days the apprentice was taught by his master, who was also his employer, all that he needed to know for the practice of his craft. But the changing character of industry made such teaching difficult and eventually impossible. This was first realized, not by public authorities, but, as is the English way, by private persons. When, as described below,³ private philanthropy added technical education to the programmes of the first Mechanics' Institutes and of the first London Polytechnic, students welcomed the opportunity to learn the principles underlying the daily practice of their vocation and so to make their work at once more comprehensible, more interesting, more effective, and

¹ See J. S. Thornton, *loc. cit.*, p. 501.

² J. S. Thornton, *loc. cit.*, p. 505.

³ See below, pp. 207-210.

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more lucrative. More and more employers came gradually to see the value of technical education for their work people and encouraged them to attend evening classes. Indeed, a famous firm of Manchester engineers—Messrs. Mather and Platt—maintained a technical school of their own from 1873 to 1905.

At last the growing demand for technical education created a rapidly expanding supply by public authorities.¹ The increase of technical education and the improvement in its quality have done a great deal to train good citizens, not only because it has made their work more effective but also because it has helped to integrate their minds. The study of principles underlying the daily practice of his work makes a man see his vocation as a whole and in relation to the larger whole which we called the realm of facts or the real world.² Indeed, it links up the real world with his main interest in life and so achieves, easily and naturally, what a more academic type of education is at great pains to accomplish, sometimes by highly artificial means. There is no clear-cut distinction between technical and cultural education.

But, however excellent the intellectual training given by the best kind of technical education, it cannot by itself provide for the social and spiritual needs of the good citizen. 'In matters relating to the higher life, demand does not always precede supply,' as was remarked by Sir Joshua Fitch and Dr. William Garnett in their account of the London Polytechnics in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.³ They went on to say: 'It is supply which is needed not only to satisfy the public demand but to create it. As new and well-devised opportunities for mental culture are placed within reach, they will be more and more appreciated, new and healthier appetites will be stimulated, the art of employing leisure wisely and happily will be more systematically studied, and the polytechnics will become still more important centres of civilizing and educating influence than they have hitherto been.'

For a long time this plea for offering non-vocational adult education

¹ Enrolments at the evening classes conducted by the School Boards of England and Wales increased sixfold between the years 1892-3 and 1899 (Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*, 1937, p. 192). In 1902-3 the number of students in respect of whom grant was paid by the Government was 440,718 (Lowndes, p. 191). In 1937-8 the number of students in evening classes in England and Wales had increased to 1,178,863; and, in addition, 58,441 students attended non-vocational courses under the Adult Education Regulations of the Board of Education (*Education in 1938*, pp. 165, 180).

² On p. 51, above.

³ Vol. 22, p. 41; article on *Polytechnic*.

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in the technical institutes and colleges, and so creating a demand for it, seemed to fall on deaf ears. Of late, however, to exert a 'civilizing and educating influence' upon adult men and women as well as upon adolescents who have left school has become a more conscious aim of local education authorities and of the governing bodies of local colleges in England. Examples of new developments in the inter-war years are afforded by the junior men's and junior women's institutes and the literary institutes in London and by the new village colleges in Cambridgeshire,¹ as well as by courses provided for the intellectual élite under the auspices of universities, the Workers' Educational Association, and a few residential colleges.

Much more must be done if non-vocational adult education in England and elsewhere among the United Nations is to reach the Scandinavian level. There is, of course, no question of sacrificing efficient technical training. It is, however, well worth noting that, while the technical education of adults will not of itself create a demand for adult education of the non-vocational type, Danish experience has shown that the training in citizenship given by a People's High School does make its students want to improve their technical knowledge and efficiency.

If, therefore, we are able to provide young men and women with adequate political, economic, social, and physical education, part of it in residential colleges on Grundtvig's lines, we shall not need to insist upon the inclusion of technical classes in their courses of study. Danish experience is again available. 'From the very first it had been the custom at some (People's High) Schools to offer some technical training as a side subject. . . . Mr. Alfred Povlsen, of Ryslinge, who has tried both ways, each for seven years, declares for the high school pure and simple. "If we are to exercise influence on a man's character", he says, "we require, first and foremost, stillness and quiet in the mind. Wherever there is bustle, the spoken word loses its power. But the technical school naturally brings bustle with it, and leaves the high school only the hours of rest. And therewith the latter is not content. It must have the whole attention if it is to exercise its full effect." But there is no authority that strives to force the schools in one direction or the other. Each school is left free to develop in its own way. But the fact that 38 out of the 66 schools are pure high schools shows that the balance of opinion goes with Mr. Povlsen.'²

In urban areas of The Commonwealth most of the vocational education needed by grown-up people will continue to be given in local col-

¹ See below, pp. 212, 213.

² J. S. Thornton, *loc. cit.*, p. 500.

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leges ; and these colleges should aim at becoming social centres offering to their students full opportunities for the widest kind of adult education. And, now that motor transport has brought large rural areas within easy reach of a single village centre there is no reason why a central Village College should not, like the new village colleges in Cambridgeshire, provide both a social centre and technical classes, particularly in agricultural and domestic subjects. Where, however, the population is very sparse, or where the local demands for a particular kind of technical training are few and far between, short intensive whole-time courses, particularly at holiday times, may be needed. Or, in some cases, it may be better to meet the need for technical education by means of whole-time residential colleges, such as the agricultural schools at Ladelund, Dalun and Tune which have done so much to increase the productiveness of co-operative dairy-farming in Denmark.

Chapter 4

A PLAN FOR ENGLAND

1. The Aim

From the general problem of educating good citizens of The Commonwealth of United Nations we turn to the particular case of English men and women. In Scotland the tradition and machinery of education are not the same as in England. In Wales and Monmouthshire the English law of education applies but with the addition of some local enactments. Wales and Monmouthshire also have some administrative regulations peculiar to themselves. Moreover, the use of the Welsh language in many parts of the Principality, as well as the social and religious traditions of the Welsh people, make Welsh education differ in many respects from English. The present chapter treats of education in England.

Our purpose is to study some aspects of the education of English people in order to see what changes are needed if future citizens of this country are to become good citizens of The Commonwealth without ceasing to be good Englishmen or Englishwomen. We need not knock at open doors, or insist upon the need for changes which are, in any case, likely to be made when the war ends with the defeat of Nazi Germany and of Nipponist Japan. But we have to inquire how the coming changes may be made to serve the purpose we have in view, and what further moves not yet foreshadowed in published documents or official pronouncements¹ are required for the same end.

We may first remind ourselves what that end is to be. We have seen² that most good citizens of The Commonwealth should possess a religious outlook on life. That is to say, they should have undivided minds centred in a religious faith and a common purpose to serve both God and man; and these undivided minds should combine the knowledge

¹ This chapter was being set up in type when the White Paper (Cmd. 6458) containing the Government's proposals for *Educational Reconstruction* was published on 16 July, 1943. Some references to that paper, as Cmd. 6458, have been added in footnotes and a few changes have been made in the text,

² See above, pp. 64-69.

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and skill required for their service with feelings and urges which, when backed by will, ensure consistent and effective lives. Part and parcel of each citizen's proper feeling for his fellows is his national patriotism and his Commonwealth loyalty.¹ An Englishman's patriotism is not confined to his love of England. It includes his sentiments for the United Kingdom and the British Empire as well as for his own country. And the religion of an Englishman, when he is religious, is almost always some form of Christianity; so that we shall not greatly err if, for the purposes of this chapter, we treat religion as synonymous with Christianity.

The mass of Englishmen who are to be good citizens of The Commonwealth—of which the British Commonwealth of Nations is to form an integral part²—ought therefore to combine Christian faith with political loyalty and economic efficiency. Their education would give them, as we said above,³ a strenuous intellectual discipline and aim at developing each of them so that he may realize his best self in the service of God and of his neighbours, particularly in his own country and throughout The Commonwealth. This means fostering the growth in each of them of a single wide interest integrating the spiritual, social (including political) and material aspects of the world as they see it. These single wide interests are not to be all alike.⁴ Education has to supply all sorts of persons for all kinds of service in the political, social, economic, intellectual and religious life of the people.

In so far as each of these persons possesses an integrated outlook on life and their outlook is broadly but definitely Christian their conduct will be at once consistent and Christian. But consistent Christian conduct is the hall-mark of Christian character.⁵ Education in England ought therefore to aim at creating, particularly by means of high ideals⁶ and hard work, Christian character of all the different kinds required by the division of labour among the peoples of The Commonwealth.

So much for the aim. The methods must conform to the general principles laid down in the last chapter. The education provided by the schools, colleges, and universities of England must be coherent.⁷ It must be continuous.⁸ It must not train for any particular walk in life, however

¹ See above, pp. 41, 57.

² See above, Chapter 1.

³ On p. 72.

⁴ See above, p. 94.

⁵ See above, p. 48.

⁶ See above, p. 71.

⁷ See above, p. 90 *et seq.*

⁸ See above, p. 94 *et seq.* In the Government's proposals for *Educational Reconstruction* 'the new layout is based on a recognition of the principle that education is a continuous process conducted in successive stages' (Cmd. 6458, p. 3).

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attractive, more individuals than the community can usefully employ in that kind of occupation. And it must give the utmost possible equality of opportunity to all its future citizens whose abilities are equal.¹

With this aim and these methods in mind, let us see where England stands to-day.

2. *The Christian Tradition*

Neither the Education Act of 1921 nor any other Act of Parliament prescribes the aim of State-controlled or State-aided education in England. That will not surprise us if we recall² that the law is sheep-dog rather than bell-wether: its function is not to lead the van but to see that the rear does not fall too far behind.

For many centuries the education of English boys and girls, outside their homes and their employment, had been, as elsewhere in Western Europe, the prerogative of the Christian Church. In the nineteenth century the foundation of nation-wide popular education was laid under the direction of two religious bodies, the National Society of the Church of England and the British and Foreign Schools Society of the Free Churches.

When, in 1833, Parliament began to legislate about education for the mass of English people, its purpose was to stimulate men of goodwill (who, as a rule, belonged either to the National Society or to the British and Foreign Schools Society) to build and maintain their own schools. After nearly forty years 'voluntary initiative had failed to provide a school place for more than one child in two in London or one in three to five elsewhere'.³ The Education Act of 1870 therefore created public authorities—School Boards—to provide elementary schools. What the Act had to say about giving the children a Christian outlook on life was purely negative. Parliament, no doubt, assumed that the new schools could be relied upon to follow the Christian tradition. But the law went no further than to ensure that no one church should benefit at the expense of any other: 'no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.'⁴ And in no public elementary school, new or old, 'provided'

¹ See above, p. 95.

² From p. 39, above.

³ *The Silent Social Revolution* (1937), by G. A. N. Lowndes, p. 3.

⁴ *Education Act*, 1921, Section 28 (2). The Act of 1921 consolidates the earlier enactments relating to education. The words quoted now apply (subject to exceptions) to all secondary or other schools, or colleges, or hostels, provided by local education authorities. The next two sentences of the text relate only to public elementary schools.

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by public authority or not so provided, might 'any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects' take place except at the beginning or end of morning or afternoon school, so that children might the more easily be withdrawn by their parents 'from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school'. Nor were His Majesty's Inspectors of schools to inquire into instruction in religious subjects.¹

In Scotland, as in England and Wales, a conscience clause safeguarded the rights of individual children and their parents. But the preamble to the Scottish Education Act of 1872 declared that 'whereas it has been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give instruction in religion to children whose parents did not object . . . it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom.' In England, however, the schools, even the provided schools, might be entirely secular so far as the law went. On the issue of Christian education the State was not even non-belligerent, but strictly neutral.²

Does that imply that England has been indifferent to the aim of schools provided or aided by public money? By no means; for the function of the law is merely to whip in the laggards as the community advances to new levels of human welfare and social justice. Perhaps the final goal may not be discerned even by the most farseeing among the prophets. But the next stage on the way to it is clearly in the minds of practical statesmen, administrators and other leaders of the people. So it has been with the progress of State-aided schools during the past two generations, from the turbulent days of dirty, ragged, conscripted children who were taught the 3 R's by 'specially trained inferior teachers who had no university quality'³ to the best of these schools to-day with their clean, well-cared-for boys and girls, their free milk and school meals, their medical inspection and treatment, their social and physical training, their wide range of studies, their skilled professional teachers (most of them, in the secondary schools, graduates, and a growing proportion in the primary schools),⁴ and their best pupils going right on to the university.

¹ For the changes in the law foreshadowed in the White Paper of 16 July, 1943 (Cmd. 6458), see below, p. 151. ² Cf. p. 80, above.

³ Mr. H. G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, quoted by Lowndes, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴ The percentage of graduates among certified teachers in public elementary schools in England and Wales increased, between 1921 and 1938, from 3.5 to 15.6 in the case of men and 0.8 to 5.6 in the case of women. *Education in 1938*, p. 104.

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Among the men and women who have pioneered and directed this advance, the great majority have come from Christian homes and Christian schools; and, as we are about to observe, many of them have had in the back of their minds something very like the aim outlined at the beginning of this chapter. They have sought, albeit often unconsciously, to form Christian characters, or to turn out boys and girls who would combine Christian faith with good citizenship¹ and economic efficiency.

Will the same be true of the statesmen, administrators and teachers who will control schools and colleges in England two generations hence? Not unless some present trends are reversed: Christian homes, family prayers, church-going, Bible-reading, and knowledge of the Greek and Roman sources of so much of our European civilization, are far less common than they used to be among the leaders of our people when Professor Whitehead was a boy at Sherborne in the 1870's.² But we still have the means of putting matters right before they go too far wrong.

To this end, schools, as well as churches and homes, must play a part. That will not happen of itself. A conscious effort is needed. English schools will not long continue to give Englishmen a Christian outlook on life unless they keep that aim ever before them. A century ago Dr. Arnold was able to transform the English Public Schools of his day. But then he held constantly and clearly in mind his ideal of the Christian Gentleman to be fashioned at Rugby.

How that ideal lived on in the Public Schools is illustrated by Whitehead's account of Sherborne forty years later. How vigorously alive it still is, the Headmasters' Conference showed at their meeting in Oxford in 1941. With the Headmaster of Winchester in the chair, the following resolution, proposed by the Headmaster of Sherborne, was carried by sixty-two votes to two:

'That the Headmasters' Conference, reaffirming their resolution of 1940, and pledging themselves to their resolve to make the Christian Faith the basis and inspiration of their work, appeal to the leaders of the Christian Churches in this country to find means of preparing a joint statement³ of our common Christian Faith which could be employed as a basis for the teaching in the schools.'

¹ It is true that the international implications of good citizenship were not generally understood; but that may be attributed to the suddenness with which the modern world has become interdependent.

² See below, Appendix A, p. 242.

³ Such a joint statement has since been issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council (Dr. J. S. Whale). It was published in *The Times* of 4 January, 1943.

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The Christian tradition in English education is, of course, much older than Dr. Arnold. He brought it back to life; and that can happen again, since it still survives. But it would be unsafe, we repeat, to rely upon the continuance of this tradition, or of its effect upon the schools and colleges of this country, unless both the tradition and its effect are revived and maintained by a carefully planned and fully conscious effort. Meanwhile, the following examples serve to show how widespread the tradition still is and how English education has been unconsciously guided by it towards an aim very close to, if not quite the same as, that which we have outlined.

3. *The Teaching Profession*

In 1927 the leading associations of teachers in Great Britain presented a memorandum¹ to the President of the Board of Education. In this document they described 'some of the chief purposes of education'. First came 'To build up the coherent body of knowledge—the "single wide interest"—on which strength of character largely depends.' Secondly, the facts taught must be 'practically useful'. Thirdly, the teaching must provide 'a strenuous intellectual discipline'.

Two years later this document, which had come to be known as the *Declaration of the Teaching Profession*, was endorsed by a joint Committee on which all three associations of local education authorities² were represented along with some of the teachers' associations.

4. *The Board of Education*

Turning from the teaching profession and the local education authorities to the central authority, we find the Board of Education bearing witness to the lack of any clear or conscious aim for public elementary

¹ The memorandum was entitled *The Schools of Britain and the Peace of the World*. Its original signatories included the National Union of Teachers; the Education Institute of Scotland; the Headmasters' Conference; the Incorporated Associations of Headmasters, Headmistresses, Assistant Masters and Assistant Mistresses; the Training College Association; and the Council of Principles of Training Colleges. Other bodies of teachers have since signed the document.

² The Association of Education Committees, the Association of Municipal Corporations, and the County Councils Associations. In their report the joint committee wrote (p. 8): 'We cordially commend this document'—the *Declaration*—'to the careful study of all teachers, Local Education Authorities and others interested in this subject.'

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schools as a whole. In their *Handbook of Suggestions* the Board write: 'In every Public Elementary School a definite course of work is mapped out for the children to follow. The time-table usually shows it as divided up into a number of subjects and activities. The curriculum thus represented has arisen in a somewhat haphazard way. It has, in most cases, no philosophic basis and cannot be said to have evolved organically.'¹

The Board do not merely suggest the need for a more clearly conceived aim to guide the work of elementary schools. They give some hint of what this aim ought to be. Their *Handbook* opens with 'an early example of the best English tradition'. It is 'a short account of what education embraces', written by Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) and ending: 'Last in order, but the principal in value, being that which must knit and consolidate all the rest, is the timely instilling of conscientious principles and the seeds of religion.'² 'An all-round training of character'³ is the aim indicated by the Board. They refer to 'the valuable training that is given through the social life and daily routine of the school, and the personal influence of the teachers' and make particular mention of 'the religious teaching which most people will agree has a powerful effect on life and character.'⁴

The Board's *Handbook* is chiefly concerned with intellectual aspects of the training of character. But the Board recognize 'that education should be thought of as a unity and not in terms of individual subjects', since 'subjects are no more than aspects of a many-sided training'.⁵ The pupil's mind must, however, be wide as well as single or undivided. In particular, he cannot, in the Board's view, do without 'social training',

¹ *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others engaged in the work of Public Elementary Schools* (1937 edition), p. 36.

² *Handbook of Suggestions*, p. 8.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 9. See also p. 87 on the development of character in the Infant School.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 157. The Board's interest in religious teaching is shown by the training course proposed for 1942 (see third footnote to p. 86, above); and by the fact that Lord Halifax, when President of the Board, was chairman of a conference on the Provision of Improved Opportunities for Teachers to equip themselves for giving Religious Instruction. The conference met in the Board's Office on 30 November, 1933 and 20 March, 1934. It reported that 'as regards secondary schools, the Conference have little doubt that . . . increasing interest in religious instruction is being shown by Local Education Authorities, by Governing Bodies and by the teachers themselves and that as a result the general level of teaching is being raised.' (Quoted in the *Spens Report*, p. 207.)

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

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'training for responsible citizenship',¹ including (if we may judge from the inclusion in the *Handbook* of an Appendix on the League of Nations) its international aspects.

All this, of course, falls far short of committing the Board to any clear definition of the aim of the education for which they share responsibility with the teaching profession and the local education authorities. The Board naturally wish to avoid making a plain statement for which they lack statutory sanction. Yet it does appear that they have in the back of their minds an aim not unlike that outlined at the beginning of this chapter for all kinds of English schools.² This impression is strengthened by a pamphlet 'prepared by His Majesty's Inspectors specially concerned with the work of secondary schools'. The pamphlet is published by the Board, but with a warning 'that any opinions expressed in it are those of the Inspectors concerned and should not be taken as expressing the policy of the Board'.³

The pamphlet suggests that it is 'part of the business of secondary education to lead the young some little distance along the road which leads to a unification of knowledge'.⁴ This is, in effect, our single wide interest, or integrated mind, on its intellectual side. But the inspectors recognize that integration of the mind must not be confined to knowledge alone. A single wide interest also embraces feelings and desires. The inspectors observe, for instance, that, among pupils who spend only one year in the sixth form, 'the unifying or integrating factor is often the career to be adopted'.⁵

We have, however, seen that a single wide interest which is to provide English boys and girls with an adequate philosophy of life had best be centred in a Christian faith. 'The aim', say the inspectors, of Divinity teaching in the sixth forms of secondary schools 'is to be an approach to the Christian philosophy of life made in company with a teacher who brings to the work a greater knowledge, a wider experience and a keener insight than his pupils can bring. . . . Divinity, far from standing in isolation—as in some schools it seems to stand—provides the point at which many studies meet.'⁶

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 130.

² The Board's latest proposals for *Educational Reconstruction* (Cmd. 6458) bear a close resemblance to many of those made below with this aim in view.

³ *The Organization and Curriculum of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools* (Board of Education Pamphlet, No. 114), p. 1.

⁴ Pamphlet No. 114, p. 14.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 23, 25. This last phrase is quoted in the second footnote on p. 75, above.

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5. *The Consultative Committee*

The Consultative Committee is a statutory body for advising the Board of Education on any matters referred to it by the Board. The Committee's advice is apt to be accepted: for instance, the reorganization of elementary schools recommended by the Committee in their report on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926) had, by 31 March, 1938, affected more than 70 per cent of the pupils.¹ It is therefore worth while to inquire what is the Committee's view of the aim of education.

'The general aim', according to their report of 1926, 'should be to offer the fullest possible scope to individuality, while keeping steadily in view the claims and needs of the society in which every individual citizen must live.'² That is the conception or aim from which we started to build up, in our second and third chapters, our own definition of the purpose of education. The Committee go with us most of the way towards the single wide interest that is the basis of Christian character. 'It is essential', they write, 'that children should be aided to regard the work which they undertake as a unity and to avoid the illusion that the world of knowledge consists of a series of separate and unrelated subjects.'³ Their report goes on to advocate coherence and continuity: 'coherence of the various branches of the curriculum' and 'continuity of the work from one promotion period to another'. They well understand, however, that the formation of character depends on much else besides knowledge.⁴ 'The wise teacher', they point out, 'will be anxious, in the various

¹ Only 29 per cent of the pupils in Council and Voluntary Public Elementary Schools remained in un-reorganized departments. See *Education in 1938* (Cmd. 6013), p. 109.

² *The Education of the Adolescent*, p. 101. The Report, known as the Hadow Report, explains that 'If, on the one hand, the education of older pupils be kept too general in the supposed interests of individual development, the pupil is apt to find himself ill-equipped on leaving school to cope with the demands of modern life. If, on the other hand, undue stress be laid in the school course on the needs of later life, and the training of the pupil be made too specific, the individual man or woman may be sacrificed to the workman or citizen. A well-balanced educational system must combine these two ideals in the single conception of social individuality. . . . The school is only one of many forces that go to mould the intellectual, moral and physical character. The home, the general social environment, the churches, the State and the voluntary organizations, all have a share in the process.' (pp. 101, 102.)

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 103.

⁴ See the passage quoted from p. 101 of the Committee's report in the last footnote but one.

THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

departments of school activity, to bring home to the pupils, as far as their capacity allows, the fundamental truths of religion and their bearing on human life and thought.¹

In a later report, on *The Primary School*, the Committee tell how 'The schools whose first intention was to teach children how to read have . . . been compelled to broaden their aims until it might now be said that they have to teach children how to live.' This report adds that 'The curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience'—including 'energies, impulses and emotions'—'rather than of knowledge to be acquired or facts to be stored.'²

The latest report of the Committee, known as the Spens Report,³ comes still closer to our definition of the aim of education. The Committee are clear about the need for a pupil to have a single wide interest, so far at least as his knowledge is concerned.⁴ And this single whole of his knowledge ought to include 'the existence of a religious interpretation of life'.⁵ But knowledge alone is not enough: 'It is not what a pupil knows but what he does and how he lives that really matters.'⁶ The integration of the pupil's mind should therefore extend beyond knowledge to feelings and desires: 'We have . . . learnt', say the Committee, 'the importance of interests or "sentiments"⁷ in education.'⁸

In the view of the Committee, the educative effects of religious teaching as of any other branch of study, consist—partly, at least—in its

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 189.

² *The Primary School* (1931), p. 93.

³ Sir Will Spens was chairman of the Committee during the preparation of this report on *Secondary Education with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools*. The report was published in 1938. Sir Henry Hadow was chairman when the Committee reported on *The Education of the Adolescent* and *The Primary School*.

⁴ 'It has been said that "the principal weakness of the secondary curriculum, taken as a whole, is that too often it is not centred round any core, or related to any one main stem of learning, or way of looking at life". We believe that this is true.' (Report, p. 173.)

⁵ 'No boy or girl can be counted as properly educated unless he or she has been made aware of the fact of the existence of a religious interpretation of life.' (Report, p. 208.) 'Christianity has played the most important part in the development of our civilization, and . . . without a study of the meaning of the Bible any adequate knowledge of what that civilization means is impossible.' (Report, p. 170.)

⁶ Report, p. 171.

⁷ See above, p. 41.

⁸ Report, p. 143.

A PLAN FOR ENGLAND

invitation to the pupil to form interests or sentiments';¹ and 'he learns best who learns with interest and with a purpose, or to put it in another way, he learns best who sees meaning and significance in what he learns.'² Indeed, religious teaching, more than any other, is bound to 'raise issues relating to the meaning of life';³ and it is 'inevitably associated with other influences bearing upon the thought and conduct of boys and girls'.⁴ Finally, 'some Head Masters and Head Mistresses will wish to amplify Scripture lessons of the kind which we have indicated'—that is, lessons designed 'to attach some significance to the idea of the Christian faith'⁵—'with religious education of a more general kind. . . . There is no need to emphasize how influential this side of religious education may be in its effect not only on the growth of individual character but on the whole life of a school'. It is but a short step from this conception of Christian education—influencing the growth of character and amplifying the unity of knowledge by taking account of interests and sentiments—to the aim of education set forth at the beginning of this chapter.

6. The Churches and the State

Our examples have shown how something very like this aim is in the minds of the teaching profession, the local education authorities, the Board of Education, and its Consultative Committee. That the churches and many Members of Parliament are also looking in much the same direction for the proper aim of education in England and Wales appears from a statement issued by the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Wales on 12 February, 1941 and from a subsequent declaration by 224 peers and Members of Parliament.

The Archbishops 'cordially welcome the recommendations of the Spens Report' concerning religious teaching in secondary schools. As regards elementary education the Archbishops urge that in 'all the schools a Christian education should be given to all the scholars (except in so far as any parents may wish to withdraw their children from it)'.

¹ Report, p. 173. See also p. 209: 'Not only is the Bible a unique record of one side of human experience, but its study provides a valuable intellectual discipline and quickens the interest of many young minds.'

² Report, p. 78.

³ Report, p. 206.

⁴ Report, p. 212.

⁵ Report, pp. 215, 216. The Committee mean 'by that phrase the belief that the person and teaching of Christ give an interpretation of life, and the will to act on the assumption that that interpretation is the true one.'

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

On this point, and on four other proposals designed to give effect to it, the Archbishops 'rejoice to know that we are in full agreement with leaders of the Free Churches. We know, too, that the teaching profession increasingly shares our convictions'.¹ And a letter printed in *The Times* of 21 December, 1940, over the signature of Cardinal Hinsley as well as of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council shows a still wider measure of agreement among Christians on the main issue.²

The declaration signed by 224 peers and Members of Parliament embodies suggestions made by a small committee of members of both Houses, including Free Churchmen and Anglicans and members of all political parties. The declaration states that 'the future citizen should be so moulded in character by Christian education that his citizenship shall become the expression' of truth, freedom and justice. 'Rightly understood, these are the elemental principles of the Christian philosophy of life'. 'The problem for Parliament, then, is how this is to be accomplished. It cannot be done by lessons in class only. Indeed it is not a problem whose solution is to be sought in elementary schools alone. What is required is a pervading spiritual influence which shall permeate the whole range of education and far beyond it.'³

All these examples of the aim of education as it is found to-day in the minds of teachers, administrators, and of leaders in Church and State show a large measure of agreement. In most respects this aim closely resembles that described in our third chapter and recalled on pages 122 and 123, above. In particular, the tradition that education in England should be broadly but definitely Christian still prevails over all opposing counsels. 'Here', said the Prime Minister,⁴ 'we have been the pioneers of

¹ See *The Times*, 13 February, 1941. The other four points are set out on p. 150, below.

² This letter declares that 'no permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life.' Christian education in all schools—subject, of course, to the conscience clause—is necessary to this end. See also the footnote to p. 34, above.

³ *The Times*, 4 August, 1941. The account from which these quotations are made includes the signatories' suggestions for Government action either by administration or legislation. Four of these five suggestions are in substance, the same as those made for elementary schools by the Archbishops on 12 February, 1941: see below, p. 150. The fifth suggestion is that 'text-books or syllabuses of Christian education shall be prepared by a united and representative body for use in schools wherever acceptable.'

⁴ In a speech broadcast on 21 March, 1943.

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religious toleration. But side by side with all this has been the fact that religion has been a rock in the life and character of the British people upon which they have built their hopes and cast their cares. This fundamental element must never be taken from our schools.'

7. *England and the World*

There is, however, one essential aspect of the aim of education, as we have defined it, which has not yet been generally recognized. Although the Spens Report has gone some way towards the standpoint of the teaching profession, and of the associations of local authorities who endorsed the *Teachers' Declaration*,¹ it is not yet common ground in England that the next generation of English people will not have been properly educated for the world they will help to make and have to live in unless they have learnt to think of their world as well as of their country. Writing of the schools of Britain, the *Declaration* said:

'Knowledge about the modern world in its political aspect . . . qualifies for a place in the curriculum. We do not, however, recommend a separate place in the time-table for it. We prefer to see it taught in connection with existing studies in schools of all types. The Universities and Training Colleges should prepare future teachers for this task. . . . Where teachers understand the facts in question, realize their importance, and are eager to teach them, most will be taught in history lessons. . . . After history, geography is the school subject to which most of this new body of knowledge naturally belongs. . . . The body of knowledge with which we are concerned extends . . . beyond history and geography to all the subjects taught in school. . . . (Yet) new knowledge alone, without some change of feeling and of purpose, will not suffice. . . . A sense of world citizenship has to be created. . . . Disloyalty to the whole involves disloyalty to every part, including one's own State. Along with the change of feeling towards this wider loyalty, we want to see a change of purpose: a will to seek first the welfare of the world-wide society of mankind.'²

The Spens Report writes as follows of the importance of education for citizenship:

'It is scarcely possible to exaggerate that importance, and it is not too much to say that all teaching should contribute to this end. On the extent to which the youth of this country can be fitted to fulfil later their duties, and to take advantage of their opportunities, as citizens of a

¹ See above, p. 127.

² *Declaration concerning the Schools of Britain and the Peace of the World* (1927), pp. 91-3.

ENGLAND AND THE WORLD

democratic State may well turn the whole future of democracy, and that not only in this island.¹

To the question how all teaching might contribute to this end, the Committee return more than once in the course of their Report. For instance, 'education for citizenship could be much assisted by careful planning of syllabuses which would, at suitable times, concentrate upon the relevant topics the light of several subjects.'² And again, 'There should be definite periods in the time-table in which no formal teaching is undertaken, in which all kinds of questions, at times relating to the formal work in hand, but more often to other matters of general interest—and among these we may include many of the problems of citizenship—may be informally discussed by the pupils themselves.'³

Reflection upon the stupendous political events of our time will probably convince most of those who, like the authorities cited in the last eight pages, are already so nearly agreed upon the quality of a good citizen's character. They will doubtless come to realize that world loyalty is an essential part of that character. But, for the aim of education to be attained, more is needed than that it should be present in the minds of teachers, education authorities, legislators and other leaders of public opinion. It must also have its outward and visible signs in the laws and regulations, in the buildings and equipment, in the time-tables and syllabuses, in the scholarships schemes, and especially in all the means employed for the selection and training of teachers. The national system of education as a whole must help rather than hinder these teachers who share the aim and are working towards it. Does it do so in England to-day? In what respect is the present position likely to be bettered by the reconstruction already planned for education after the war? And how might it be still further improved?

8. *Reading the Map*

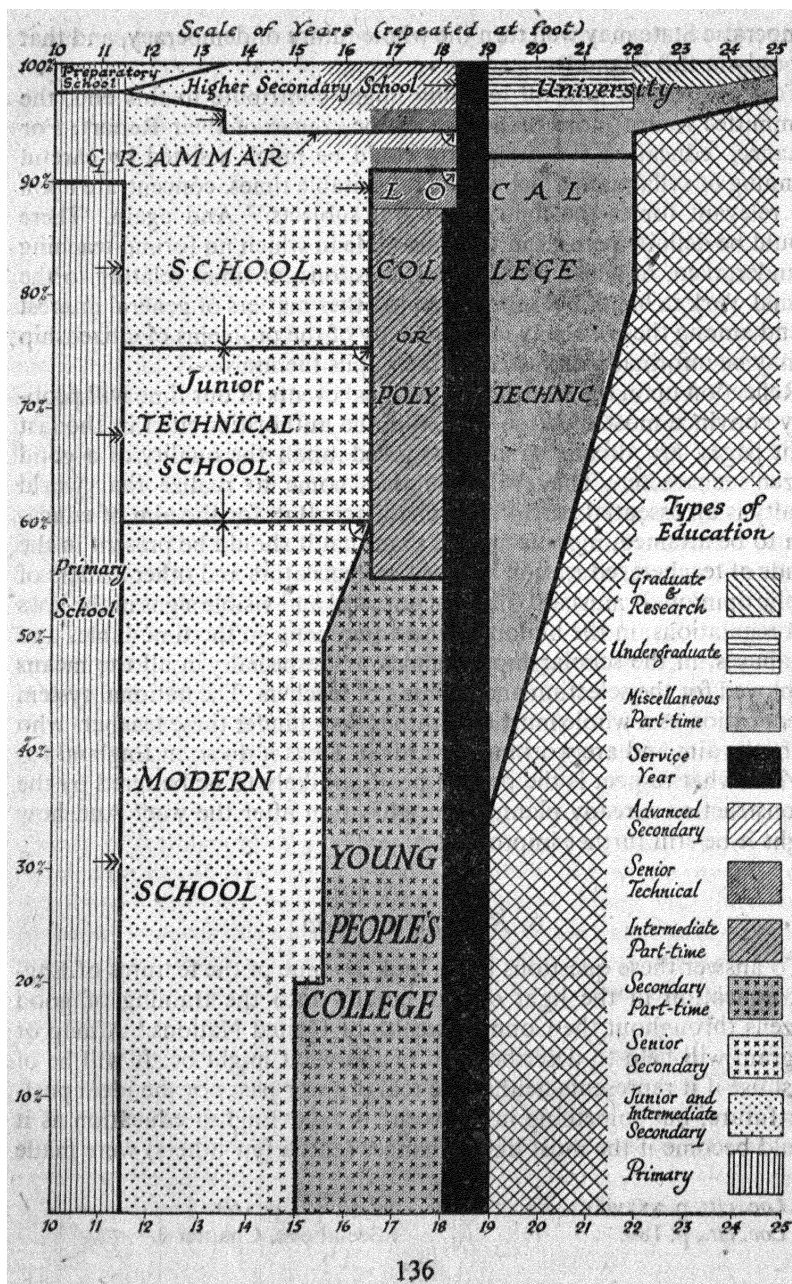
To answer these questions let us look at some of the features of English education in the light of our inquiry into the training of good citizens throughout the Commonwealth of United Nations.⁴ A map or diagram will help to describe what is and what might be. It will be of most use if it represents neither the real pre-war past nor the ideal post-war future, but something in between: in fact, English education as it would become if the most likely changes (and a few others) were made

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 160.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 189.

⁴ See above, Chapter 3.



READING THE MAP

in the present system. They include the principal alterations in elementary and secondary education proposed in the Hadow and Spens Reports¹ and in the latest plans of the Board of Education² as well as those recommended by Sir Cyril Norwood's Committee:³ for instance, the raising of the age for compulsory school attendance to fifteen, the provision of young people's colleges for those boys and girls who have left (whole-time) school but are still under eighteen years of age,⁴ a year or so of military or other national or international service for young people over eighteen, much more adult education of a non-vocational kind, and as much equality of educational opportunity as can be got by levelling up without levelling down.

The map⁵ shows the flow of children and young people between the ages of ten and twenty-five from school to school and on to a young people's college, if not to a local college or university. On it are marked many types of education as well as schools and colleges of several kinds.⁶

The national system represented in this plan is the same for girls as for boys when the pupils are young. But their needs differ as they grow older. The map is therefore confined to boys and young men. Moreover, it depicts only the education of normal and super-normal people: it does not show the special schools required for seriously defective children.

The stream of boys and men flows from left to right. The figures in the horizontal scale at the bottom and top of the diagram represent years of age. For instance, when the stream crosses the vertical 'age-line' at four-

¹ See above, pp. 192, 194.

² Cmd. 6458, 16 July, 1943.

³ *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*, 26 July, 1943.

⁴ These last two changes in the pre-war past are already embodied in statutes (1921 and 1936) although the Act of 1936 accepted the principle of beneficial employment as an alternative to full-time attendance at school. The Board propose to amend both of these Acts of Parliament to suit post-war conditions.

⁵ A somewhat similar diagram was drawn by the present writer in April, 1919. It was used to illustrate proposals made in 1920 by the Federal Council of Lancashire and Cheshire Teachers' Associations, for creating *A National System of Education* during the next ten years. These proposals were published with the diagram by the Manchester University Press. Forty of the 'Recommendations' are reprinted on pp. 338-46 of *Knowledge and Character* (1939). The diagram was included and fully described in *Education and World Citizenship* (1921).

⁶ These schools and colleges are described below on pp. 141 to 223.

A PLAN FOR ENGLAND

teen, fourteen is the age¹ of the boys in that section of the stream.

The figures in the vertical scale on the left margin of the drawing are percentages of all the boys or young men of each age. In this way, the eleven-year-olds are shown as attending primary schools (90 per cent), grammar schools (8 per cent), or preparatory schools (2 per cent). The vertical scale also shows what proportion of boys passes on from one school to another at each age of transfer: for instance, 15 per cent of all boys aged eleven-plus² are shown as passing from primary schools into grammar schools, 15 per cent into junior technical schools, and 60 per cent into modern schools;³ and 4 per cent of all young men are shown as passing at the age of nineteen into the university to become undergraduates.

Shading distinguishes the different types of education named on the right of the diagram. It marks, in particular, the difference between the deep and the wide ways of studying a subject.⁴ The black area in the centre of the drawing stands for a period of military or other national or international service, and the grey areas on either side of it show part-time colleges and classes, whether they meet in the day or evening or both.

¹ All the boys in any part of the stream as it flows past any age-line are not of exactly the same age. The age marked at any point of the horizontal scale at the foot of the diagram is that of the 'modal' boy—of most boys rather than of the average boy—anywhere on the vertical age-line drawn through that point. (In the precise language of mathematics, the age of the 'modal' boy at any point in the diagram is the abscissa of the 'mode', or highest point, of the age-distribution of boys attending the type of school and receiving the type of education represented by that position in the diagram.)

² I.e. something over the age of eleven. It is represented in the diagram by the age-line at $11\frac{1}{2}$. In the same way the ages of 13+, 14+, 15+, 16+ and 18+ are represented by the age-lines at $13\frac{1}{2}$, $14\frac{1}{2}$, $15\frac{1}{2}$, $16\frac{1}{2}$ and $18\frac{1}{2}$.

³ For the different types of secondary school see below, pp. 165 to 190.

⁴ See above, p. 97. In the coloured drawing printed in 1919 (see footnote to p. 137, above) lighter tints of each colour were used to mark the deep courses, while darker tints represented the wide ones. The distinction is not so clearly shown in the present diagram; but its shading still follows, in the convention of heraldry, the colours of the spectrum from red (primary) through yellow (secondary), green (advanced secondary and senior technical) and blue (undergraduate studies) to violet (graduate study and research). Examples of deeper types of education—more coherent but less comprehensive than the wider types—are the junior and advanced secondary courses which lead, directly or indirectly, to wider studies later on. Such wider studies, all coming at the end of whole-time education, are the senior secondary courses in modern, junior technical and grammar schools, and the senior technical courses in grammar schools, higher secondary schools, and local colleges.

READING THE MAP

The different types of school are separated by thick lines. Marking types of school by lettering inside these thick lines, and types of education by shading, the map is able to show how one type of school may provide more than one type of course of study for boys of the same age, and how one and the same type of course may be followed in more than one type of school. Thus, on the one hand, boys of sixteen in a grammar school may be already beginning three years of sixth form work¹ in preparation for the university; or they may be working² for the School Certificate with a view to further whole-time education³ after winning it; or they may be finishing off their whole-time education⁴ and intending to leave school in the near future but, if possible, with a School Certificate. On the other hand, boys of fourteen are shown as receiving junior secondary education whether they happen to be pupils of a modern school, a junior technical school, a grammar school or a higher secondary school.

The number of boys or young men in each kind of school, or who receive each kind of education, can be read off from the diagram when its scale is known. The number of boys between the ages of ten and twenty-five in England was roughly 4,500,000⁵ in 1940. Since the map relates to the education of all who are not seriously defective, some 3,000 boys or young men are represented by one per cent of a one-year column, a unit of area measuring 0.25" by 0.06".

The drawing shows ninety of these units between the ten and eleven age-lines in the space marked Primary School, or 270,000⁶ boys between these ages in primary schools. Again, 318,000⁷ boys over eleven-plus are

¹ Advanced secondary education (deep).

² Intermediate secondary education (deep) shown in the diagram as junior and intermediate secondary education.

³ Senior technical education (wide).

⁴ Senior secondary education (wide).

⁵ See Launcelot Hogben, *Political Arithmetic* (1938), pp. 86, 87. The number of persons in each of the three five-year age-groups in England and Wales in 1940 was approximately: 10-14, 3,000,000; 15-19, 3,600,000; 19-24, 3,000,000.

⁶ *Education in 1938* (Cmd. 6013), Table 4, p. 94, gives the actual number of ten-year-old pupils, boys and girls, on the registers of Public Elementary Schools in England on 31 March, 1938 as 506,149; or roughly, 253,000 boys.

⁷ The actual number of boys over eleven in full-time attendance at secondary schools receiving government grants in England was only 234,000 on 31 March, 1938. But the corresponding figure for Wales, increased in the ratio of English to Welsh population, was 367,000 (*Education in 1938*, Tables 41 and 33).

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shown in grammar schools. The number of men undergraduates shown is twelve units, or 36,000, nearly double the 1938 figure.¹

Arrow-heads in the map represent such scholarships and maintenance allowances as will bring every kind of education within the reach of all pupils of sufficient promise wherever they live in England and whatever their family incomes happen to be. The double-headed arrows show a constant stream of selected pupils passing on—at the public expense, so far as that is necessary—to other schools or colleges or to the universities. The single-headed arrows show comparatively small numbers of pupils moving, otherwise than in the main stream, from one school to another, as a rule because an earlier estimate of their abilities made at the time of the main choice has had to be revised in the light of their later development.²

The criss-cross shading on the right fringe of the plan represents the outflow of the stream of youth into adult life when men (or women) no longer attend regularly at any school or college. Their education ought not then to be at an end. *A Post-War Plan and Program for the United States of America*³ declares that 'both general and vocational adult education should be available to all adults . . . who wish to participate and who are qualified to benefit from additional education'; and, as the Chairman of the Adult Education Committee in England wrote⁴ in 1919, 'the opportunity of adult education should be spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community'.

The need for both vocational and non-vocational adult education has already been described.⁵ Men and women require the former in order to extend their technical and professional knowledge, to bring it up to date, and to modernize their outlook: to these ends many men and some women should attend part-time classes during their leisure, or refresher courses during their holidays, or longer courses for one or more terms

¹ The actual number of full-time men students in English Universities and University Colleges was 29,003 in the Academic year 1938-9 (University Grants to Committee's *Returns* for 1938-9); but the number of men undergraduates—i.e. full-time students reading for a first degree—including those of the London Medical Schools, was only 21,933.

² Some of these single arrows are ringed because, unlike the other arrows, they do not point at the particular higher institution to which the holders of these supplementary scholarships are most likely to be going.

³ Published in the U.S.A. by the Government Printing Office and reprinted by H.M. Stationery Office, London, in June, 1943. The quotations is from p. 89.

⁴ In the covering letter to the final report of the Committee.

⁵ See above, pp. 113-121.

READING THE MAP

of a sabbatical year. For the supply of non-vocational adult education—and, for most people, both the spiritual and social aspects of education are non-vocational—the community cannot rest content with the press, the radio and the cinema supplemented, here and there, by occasional lectures or by serious books borrowed from a public library. The available provision of non-vocational adult education ought also to include part-time classes in literary institutes or local colleges, classes that follow university extension lectures, three-year and advanced tutorial classes, and, as in Denmark,¹ courses lasting for some months in residential colleges.

9. Primary Schools and Private Schools

UNDER TEN

Now let us use this map to describe what is and what might be if the changes which now seem likely are made in the English system of education after the war, and if, here and there, something more is done to train Englishmen to be good citizens of the United Kingdom, the British Empire and the potentially world-wide Commonwealth of United Nations.

Nursery schools and classes, infant schools, pre-preparatory and other schools confined to children under ten years old are not shown on the plan. To the few words already said about the education of these little children,² we must add that in England the supply of nursery schools and classes for babies between two and five falls far short of the need.³ The Board of Education began to pay grants in aid of nursery schools in 1918. No more than thirty schools were earning these grants in 1930. The number had increased to over one hundred by 1938⁴; and it has grown much more quickly since the war began. But the successful efforts of the Ministry of Health to foster this growth have resulted in some confusion. Reorganization after the war should leave this field to the Board of Education.⁵ This change would simplify the work of the

¹ See above, pp. 113–118.

² See above, pp. 73, 74, 94.

³ The Board of Education now (July, 1943) propose that the next Education Act shall make it part of the duty of local education authorities to provide, or aid the supply of, such nursery schools as in the opinion of the Board may be necessary (Cmd. 6458, Section 25).

⁴ *Education in 1938* (Cmd. 6013), pp. 41, 120.

⁵ The Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education, in a pamphlet published in May, 1942, advocate 'the establishment of the Board of Education as the Government Department responsible for the supervision of all educational work'. (*Education, a Plan for the Future*, O.U.P., p. 32.)

PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

local authorities. It would also bring the teachers and nurses in the new institutions under the influence of the fine tradition built up by the skilful and devoted women whose teaching of infants in the primary schools is one of the best features of English education.

TEN YEARS OLD

Our map begins with boys of ten years old. At that age 90 per cent¹ of English children attend public elementary schools: primary schools maintained by local education authorities. Only 2 per cent of ten-year-olds, boys or girls, attended secondary schools earning government grants in 1938.² The remaining 8 per cent of normal children in their eleventh year were being educated privately.³

The education given to all boys between the ages of ten and eleven plus is shown as 'primary'. They are not of course all being taught the same subjects. In the primary schools none are learning Latin or Greek, while preparatory school boys may begin Latin at nine and Greek at eleven or earlier. Since, however, all that is learnt by boys, or girls, at this age is to be followed by further study of the same subject for some years afterwards, the education given in all the schools should be of essentially the same type. The work of the primary schools is not to be separated from that of the preparatory schools by any such sharp cleavage as is needed (and is shown on the map by a change of shading) between wide and deep studies in the later stages of schooling.⁴ The whole curriculum, in primary and other schools alike, is a direct preparation for the next stage of education which begins at eleven plus. The work is all elementary and preparatory.

Would it then be in the public interest that private preparatory

¹ See above, p. 188.

² *Education in 1938*, p. 139. The numbers of ten-year-old pupils in these schools on 31 March, 1938 were 5,957 boys and 5,917 girls.

³ But the diagram shows only 2 per cent in (private) 'preparatory schools' and describes the other private schools as well as the grant earning secondary schools as 'grammar schools'.

⁴ See above, p. 97. In the earlier diagram (made in 1919 as explained on p. 137, above) a distinction was drawn between 'elementary' and 'preparatory' education. But the first of the recommendations made in 1920 by the Federal Council of Lancashire and Cheshire Teachers Associations was 'That, by giving the fullest advantages to all children, an end should be made as soon as possible of the existing differences between the preparatory education given to boys and girls under 12 in Preparatory Schools or other Secondary Schools on the one hand, and the elementary education given in Primary Schools on the other.' See *Knowledge and Character*, p. 378.

TEN YEARS OLD

schools for children under twelve should be abolished by law and that every boy and girl should be compelled to attend the common primary school? In that way the children from all sorts of homes would be mixed together at an impressionable age when they might acquire such a sense of community as would assure them a life-long prophylactic against class-feeling. Every means short of compulsion should, no doubt, be used to make the common primary school win its way on its merits; and its attractiveness would be enhanced if its ex-pupils were privileged in later life beyond those who had not shared its advantages. But to make it compulsory would run counter to the principle of free choice of school which has hitherto been a cherished and valuable feature of English education.¹ Compulsion in this matter is not to be recommended. So long as they are inspected, found to be efficient, and registered by the Board of Education, private preparatory schools, and particularly the best of the boarding schools among them, have a valuable part to play in the education of English boys.

ENGLISH SPEECH

There is, at present, one sharp difference between the preparatory schools and most primary schools. Equality of opportunity will never be realized so long as one set of pupils can talk the King's English at will and the other cannot. This gulf between 'oligarchs'² and proletariat is seldom bridged in later life. It is wholly bad for the community. It would, of course, disappear if every primary school made the King's English the language of all its speech. More harm than good might, however, come from the children being forced by their teachers to speak English in one way at school while their parents compelled them to speak it in another way at home. They would either hate their teachers or despise their parents. Such a breach between home and school in early youth would do far more serious damage to the community than now comes of its varieties of speech.

There are other objections to so drastic a change in the ways of primary schools. Boys and girls who leave school and go to work so soon as the law allows would be handicapped if they could not talk in the vernacular: for instance, no small tradesman in certain parts of London or the provinces would wish to employ an assistant who addressed his customers in the voice of a B.B.C. announcer. And, were the schools to insist upon uniformity of diction, they might destroy dialects which have more in common than the King's English with the racy

¹ Cf. p. 96, above.

² Cf. *Eleutheron* by the Headmaster of Stowe.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

speech of our forefathers, or with the English spoken overseas. Perhaps the best way out of these difficulties would be to make the children bilingual, as they are throughout a large area of Wales and in many parts of Europe. They would then be at home in either way of talking without either hating the one or despising the other. This method is already used in some London primary schools where orthodox English is spoken from Monday to Thursday, but only the vernacular is allowed on Fridays.

HOMEWORK

There, are, of course, other differences between primary and preparatory schools, besides this important one of speech. All the primary schools are free, and all children who are not being properly educated in some other way are compelled to attend them. But the compulsion does not extend to homework or any other activities out of school. In practice, this makes little difference: where homework is asked for by the primary schools it is done, and where they offer opportunities for games or hobbies these are, as a rule, eagerly seized. There is, however, this distinction between the preparatory and the primary schools: that homework in the former is the rule and in the latter it is the exception.¹ Recent evidence of the misuse of homework in primary schools has convinced the Board of Education that 'no homework should be set to children under twelve'.² But, writing of secondary schools on the next page of the same report from which these words are quoted, the Board declare: 'It is clearly established that for training the intelligence, homework, judiciously regulated, is a most powerful instrument'. If then it is to be abolished, instead of being 'judiciously regulated', for ten and eleven year old children in the primary schools, care must be taken to ensure that, on five days a week, these children do some unaided private study before going home. Otherwise some of their parents will feel that the Board's decision must tend to diminish equality of opportunity.

¹ During the years 1934-7 the Board of Education inquired into the homework problem and published a report on *Homework* (1937: Educational Pamphlet No. 110). 'So far as infants and junior children are concerned the results of the inquiry show: (1) That homework is set to a good many junior children and to some infants. (2) That it consists generally of exercises in Arithmetic and English similar to those done in school. (3) That it is nearly always set with the requirements of a competitive examination in view. (4) That it is most prevalent between the ages of 9 and 12' (p. 16).

² Education Pamphlet No. 110, p. 65. In Scotland, outside Glasgow, homework is set to children over ten but is limited to a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, or, at most, half an hour in the 10-12 age group.

INSPECTION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

INSPECTION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the advantage always lies with the preparatory school when compared with the primary school. The classes in the latter are often far too large, and the process of levelling up must include the reduction of their size and, to this end, the training of many more teachers as well as the modernization of old-fashioned schoolhouses. Even so, the trained teachers in the primary schools do know how to handle their large classes; and a large class taught by an expert will do better work than a form of eight or twelve taught by an untrained youth who cares little for boys and less for learning. That can happen in private schools, and it is grossly unfair to the children who have to suffer from it.

It is time that the law was amended so as to require privately owned schools to be inspected by the Board of Education, or by the local education authority, and licensed by the Board after consulting the local authority.¹ This would ensure the closing of any private school in which the teaching is inefficient or which in other respects—such as buildings, equipment or playgrounds—falls short of the standard required by the Board in the case of primary schools or grant aided secondary schools for pupils of the same age.

For the sake of uniformity and equality of opportunity some people would abolish all the private schools in England. But, for the reasons already given,² we hold that the presence of public³ and private schools side by side may be to the advantage of both, as well as of the community served by both. In particular, schools which can do without grants of public money are free from the restrictions imposed, by law or by administrative rules, upon Christian education in State-aided schools.

10. Christian Education in Primary Schools

THE NEUTRALITY OF THE STATE

These restrictions in their present form date from 1870. As we have seen,⁴ the State, represented by Parliament, set out to ensure that no one

¹ Cf. the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education, *loc. cit.*, p. 15. The Board now propose 'that every independent school shall be open to inspection by the Board and registered on a list kept by them' (Cmd. 6458, Section 110).

² See above, pp. 96 and 143.

³ Here 'public' does not refer to those privately endowed institutions 'euphemistically' known in England as Public Schools. See below, p. 172.

⁴ See above, p. 124.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

church should obtain an advantage over any other by reason of the religious teaching in the provided schools. The State was content to keep the ring. It remained strictly neutral, not merely between the Christian churches but even between Christian and pagan education.

This position was defined in the Act of 1870¹ and remains the same under the present law, laid down in 1921. No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination may be taught in any public elementary school provided by any of the County, County Borough, Borough or Urban District Councils which took the place of the School Boards as local education authorities under the Act of 1902. And in every public elementary school, whether it be one of 9,019 'council' schools (with 3,236,737 pupils) provided by the local authorities or one of the 9,988 'voluntary' schools (with 1,486,307 pupils) not so provided or one of the 30 non-local schools (with 4,225 pupils),² the conscience clause³ is reinforced by further laws. They are laid down in the Act of 1921. The first one reads:

'The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be either at the beginning or at the end of such meeting. . . .'⁴

The second provides that:

'It shall be no part of the duties of [any of His Majesty's Inspectors] . . . to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book.'⁵

In the voluntary schools, the managers have the right to choose teachers who are willing and able to give 'instruction in religious subjects', although 'assistant teachers . . . may be appointed if it is thought fit, without reference to religious creed or denomination'.⁶ But the appointment of teachers in a council school is governed by the principle

¹ See above, p. 124.

² The figures are for England without Wales. They are taken from Tables 5 and 3 on pp. 95 and 93 of *Education in 1938* and relate to the year ended on 31 March, 1938. Under the Education Act a public elementary school must, except in the case of certain non-local schools attached to institutions, be maintained by the local education authority. If the buildings are also provided by the local education authority, the school is called a council school, or a 'provided' school; otherwise it is called a voluntary school, or a 'non-provided' school.

³ Section 27 (1) (a) of the Act of 1921.

⁴ Section 27 (1) (b) of the Act of 1921.

⁵ Section 27 (1) (c).

⁶ Section 29 (5) (a).

THE NEUTRALITY OF THE STATE

that their religious beliefs must not be allowed to influence their careers. The local education authority must, however, ensure that the teaching staff of each council school includes enough teachers who are qualified by their beliefs and their training to give whatever undenominational Christian teaching the authority may prescribe.

It would often be much easier to reconcile the two principles—of no religious tests for teachers and of an adequate staff for agreed Christian teaching—if the law were altered to allow specific religious instruction to be given at any period of morning or afternoon school.¹ Where the class teacher was unable or unwilling to give it, another member of the staff could then replace him without having to take two or more classes at the same time.

The second clause quoted above from the Act of 1921 ought also to disappear from the statute book because it harms Christian education more than it adds to liberty of conscience.² Its tendency is to set a lower standard for the teaching of divinity than of other subjects on the school time-table.

The Scripture lesson is also apt to suffer from the fact that competence in this field does not help a teacher towards the certificate which qualifies him to teach in a primary school.

THE ARCHBISHOPS' PROPOSALS

The Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Wales, in full agreement with the leaders of the Free Churches and knowing 'that the teaching profession increasingly shares our convictions', have appealed for a change in the negative attitude of the State towards Christian education in England and Wales. Their first and main point has already been quoted:³ as regards elementary education, the Archbishops would like to see Christian education given in all schools to all the scholars 'except in so far as any parents may wish to withdraw their children from it'. They would have the State, instead of remaining neutral, become posi-

¹ The Education Bill promised in July, 1943, is to make this change in the law and, at the same time, to allow H.M. Inspectors to inspect religious instruction given according to an agreed syllabus. See p. 151, below.

² We recall that all of President Roosevelt's four freedoms—freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of thought and expression, and freedom to worship God in one's own way—are relative, not absolute, goods. No member of the community, whether national or international, should have more of any one of these freedoms than is compatible with his neighbours having their fair shares of all four.

³ See above, p. 132.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

tively and openly in favour of Christian education for all its future citizens whose parents do not object. If we have judged this matter aright,¹ it would be in the interests of the world as a whole—themselves included—that the mass of English people should combine Christian faith with political loyalty and economic efficiency; and it follows that the State should drop its Olympian aloofness and cease treating Christian education as if it did not matter.

That is not to say that the average primary school is indifferent to Christian education. Quite the contrary is true, of council schools as well as of voluntary schools. All the local education authorities include religious instruction in the time-tables of their provided schools. And most of these schools begin their day with prayers, an act of worship on the part of the whole school.

‘During the past decade,’ according to the Report of the Consultative Committee on *The Primary School* (1931), ‘many education authorities have issued syllabuses of religious instruction, framed by persons representative of various denominations and of the teaching profession, and graded to suit the successive stages of the child’s mental growth and outlook. In these latter day syllabuses there is nothing perfunctory; they are inspired by a profound conviction of the place which religious teaching should occupy as an integral part of the national system of education. “The teaching of religion is at the heart of all teaching”: “An education which leaves this instinct without acknowledgement must be defective, starving a child on a most important side of his nature”: “The aim has been to give instruction in the Christian faith as a living thing with power over daily life”—such pronouncements as these are typical of the spirit and purpose of the syllabuses issued by the West Riding of Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire, Middlesex and other authorities, for use in council schools, and recommended for adoption as a common basis of religious education in other schools.’²

Yet it is true that the neutral attitude of the State tends to be reflected in the practice of the schools. Christian education is too often confused with ‘instruction in religious subjects’ and confined to the Scripture lesson. Instead of treating Divinity as the meeting point of secular studies,³ religious and secular instruction are apt to be kept apart. It

¹ See above, p. 123.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 154. The Preface to the 1940 edition of *The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools*, describes it as ‘expressly designed to be an agreed syllabus’.

³ See above, p. 75, second footnote.

THE ARCHBISHOPS' PROPOSALS

used to be said that the primary school pupil's answer to the question 'Who was the wisest man who ever lived' would be either Solomon or Solon according as the question was asked before or after the end of the Scripture lesson. In other countries even the 3 R's are related to moral teaching. The first sentence written by a Chinese infant is 'Man is born good'. The German child begins his copy book with 'Adolf Hitler is a good man.' But the little English boy or girl starts off with the morally neutral statement that 'The cat sat on the mat.'

The continuance of the State's present policy could be justified or understood if the only alternative would be bitterly resented by a substantial minority of English people, or if the majority believed this alternative to be seriously unfair to the non-Christian elements of the population: much more unfair than withholding from the children of Christian parents any account of their fathers' faith, or than teaching anarchists' children to be law-abiding citizens. It is true that, if Christian education were given in all the primary schools except such voluntary schools as might be established for the children of non-Christian parents who desired their children to have nothing whatever to do with Christianity,¹ the right of a parent to withdraw his child from religious observance or instruction would not ensure the child against every risk of acquiring a Christian outlook on life. The chance of this happening would be considerable wherever the primary schools were giving a really Christian education. But what if England became a Christian country, not merely in so far as it can be said to be so at present because it is nothing else in particular,² but actually because most English people regulated their behaviour by reference to Christian principles? What if the gain to each of these persons, and to the nation and the world, were such as we have described?³ Would it not far outweigh the risk that some people's children would get from the primary school something which their parents would prefer them not to have?

That, after all, happens at the present time. In some schools the out-

¹ But see above, p. 80.

² Cf. T. S. Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, p. 13. Mr. Eliot writes: 'It is my contention that we have to-day a culture which is mainly negative, but which, so far as it is positive, is still Christian. I do not think that it can remain negative, because a negative culture has ceased to be efficient in a world where economic as well as spiritual forces are proving the efficiency of cultures which, even when pagan, are positive; and I believe that the choice before us is between the formation of a new Christian culture and the acceptance of a pagan one.'

³ See above, pp. 67-69.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

look is far too secular to please Christian parents. On a different plane, the language used in some schools is not at all to the taste of some families whose children have to attend them. But no bitter or widespread resentment exists. There is no reason to suppose that anything of the kind would occur if Christian education, such as is already given according to an agreed syllabus in so many primary schools whether 'provided' or 'non-provided', were to be given in all the schools to all the children, subject to a conscience clause safeguarding a parent's right to withdraw his child from any religious observance (whether school prayers or even grace before a school meal) or from any lesson mainly concerned with religious subjects.

There is need, then, for a positive instead of a negative attitude on the part of the State towards Christian education in the primary schools of England and Wales. This was in substance¹ the first and main point of the Archbishops' programme. But there were four other points, ancillary to the first. They are as follows:²

'(2) We urge that religious knowledge and the imparting of it should be an "optional subject", not merely an "additional option", in the course of training for the Teachers' Certificate. This means that it should count in the gaining of the certificate.

'(3) Where only a few teachers in the school are duly qualified to give Christian teaching we urge that it should be made permissible to give this teaching at any period within the school hours, so that the same teachers may teach several classes at different periods.

'(4) In order that the importance of the religious teaching may be recognized, we urge that it should be inspected in respect of its methods by H.M. Inspectors, or by some other duly qualified persons.

'(5) We urge that in all schools the time-table should be so arranged as to provide for an act of worship on the part of the whole school at the beginning of the school day.'

The Archbishops believe that if their proposals are acted on 'grave hindrances to real Christian education will be removed and great progress will be achieved'. Their statement ends with an appeal:

'In the end it is the desire and purpose of the people that prevail. We therefore call on all Christian people in England and Wales, and not only on those of our own communion whom we are more particularly entitled to address, to rally to this great cause, to unite in promoting the reforms which we have outlined, and to make a sustained endeavour at this fateful time to secure that the education which is provided for the

¹ The Archbishops' words are quoted on p. 132, above.

² *The Times*, 13 February, 1941.

THE ARCHBISHOPS' PROPOSALS

youth of our country should be an effective training for Christian life and citizenship.'

All these five points of the Archbishops' programme are, in substance, included in the proposals for *Educational Reconstruction* set forth in the White Paper (Cmd. 6458) of 16 July, 1943. The next Education Bill is to provide for the school day to begin with a corporate act of worship (except where this is impracticable owing to the nature of the school premises) and for religious instruction to be given in all primary and secondary schools, subject always to a conscience clause; for this teaching to be permitted at any period of the school time-table; and for His Majesty's Inspectors to inspect it when it is given (as it generally will be in schools provided by the local education authority) according to an agreed syllabus (Sections 37, 38, 39, and 42). Religious teaching is also to be included among the subjects in which a student can obtain a pass in the teachers' certificate examination (Section 41).

HEAD TEACHERS

Thus the main lines of the Archbishops' programme are likely to be followed when the next changes are made in our national system of education. But, as they would be the first to admit, their first point goes far beyond the other four. A Christian education will not be given to all the scholars in primary or any other schools (subject, of course, to the conscience clause) merely because daily prayers are made compulsory or because the religious teaching given during certain set periods is made more efficient. The Scripture lessons¹ and acts of worship are indeed necessary, but not in themselves sufficient, to ensure a Christian education: an education which will give the future citizens of this country a Christian outlook and train them in a Christian way of life.² Such an education will have the best chance of creating consistent, effective and Christian citizens when the homes, schools and churches co-operate in the task. The school's proper part in it is that of linking together opinions, feelings and actions in a single reasoned whole, a rational conviction about life.³ Every teacher, every lesson and every out-of-school activity has something to contribute.⁴

¹ See the quotations from the *Spens Report* on pp. 131, 132, above.

² See the quotation from p. 23 of the Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114 on p. 129, above.

³ Cf. Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*, p. 91.

⁴ See above, p. 87. Cf. the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education: 'The ideal of genuine religious education requires not only that efficient religious instruction shall be an integral part of the curriculum, but

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

It follows that Christian education for all future citizens (subject always to the conscience clause) will only prove practicable in so far as headmasters and headmistresses are as eager to train the characters of their pupils as to increase their knowledge or to discipline their intellects.¹ Local education authorities or managers will have to choose the head teachers of their primary schools from among those members of the profession who are zealous for Christian education. This practice should not be enforced by law. This is eminently a case for Plato's 'victory of persuasion over force'.² Subject to regulations made by the Board of Education, the statutory right to choose the teachers in primary schools rests with the local authority or, in the case of voluntary schools, is divided between the local authority and the managers. This arrangement may have to be changed. But there is no need for the State to lessen the present freedom of local choice by legislation or administrative rule.

Suppose then that a new head teacher has to be appointed, whether for a council or a voluntary school. The selection committee meets to interview the best half-dozen candidates, each of whom possesses educational qualifications which satisfy the local authority. The committee puts to each candidate such questions as 'Do you share our convictions that every child in this school should learn to think of the world as one; to see in the subject of every lesson a part of the same whole; to bridge the gap between school and home, work and play, nature and God? In particular, would you wish the school to harmonize world loyalty—or loyalty to the cause of humanity—with national patriotism? Can you tell us something more about the outlook on life you try to give your pupils? How would you get your assistants to link up their lessons with this outlook?' A candidate who gave no adequate answers to these questions or to others of the same sort would not be appointed as head teacher.

also that each school shall be a Christian community manifesting in all its activities the Christian ideal and way of life.' (Pamphlet on *Education, a Plan for the Future*, 1942, p. 15.)

¹ Cf. The Hadow Report on *The Education of the Adolescent*: 'We have not ventured to make any detailed suggestions with regard to the teaching of religious knowledge. We feel that, in a matter which touches such profound issues, and in a subject which, while it will be approached by all with reverence, will also be treated differently from school to school and from teacher to teacher, it is the part of wisdom to rely on the initiative and the particular interests of head-masters and head-mistresses' (p. 190).

² Cf. the discussion of 'loyalty' and 'power' on pp. 40, 41 above.

ASSISTANT TEACHERS

ASSISTANT TEACHERS

The headmaster of a preparatory or other private school chooses his own assistants. He can thus ensure that those whom he appoints share his ideals for the school and will help him to realize them.¹ The headmasters of many grant-aided secondary schools are in like case. Although it is not at present practicable to allow the head teachers of primary schools to pick their own staffs, it is at least certain that they should have some say in every appointment to their schools.

The Archbishops rightly insist that 'no teacher should be prejudiced in his professional career by his unwillingness to give' specific religious instruction. But it will be better for all concerned, and especially for the pupils of a school, if a teacher whose outlook on life is in sharp conflict with that of the headmaster and most of his colleagues were to find employment elsewhere. It is especially important that class teachers and others who teach Scripture should be ready and eager not only to teach the outline of the Christian faith as they hold it but also to advise their pupils individually how they may come to hold the faith as well as know what it is. If the school helps the faith to be caught as well as taught, the pupils will be able, while ever learning, also to come to the knowledge of the truth, so that, while they all acquire a form of godliness, few will deny the power thereof.²

Teachers who are ready and eager to play their part in Christian education would, in many cases, be helped to do so if suggestions for their guidance were proposed by 'a united and representative body' such as drafted any of the agreed syllabuses already described.³ The proposed printed book might well be supplemented by holiday lectures and classes such as have already been offered by some local education authorities or such as the Board of Education helped to arrange in 1942.⁴

11. The Dual System

IS IT FAIR?

In respect of secular education, council and voluntary schools are

¹ See the second footnote on p. 86, above.

² Cf. St. Paul's second letter to Timothy, chapter 3, verses 5 and 7.

³ See above, p. 148. The words quoted come from the declaration by 224 peers and Members of Parliament mentioned above on p. 133. See also the resolution of the Headmasters' Conference quoted on p. 126, above.

⁴ See the Government's statements made in the House of Commons on 18 November, 1941 and in the House of Lords on 17 February, 1942. They are quoted in the third footnote to p. 86, above.

THE DUAL SYSTEM

equal before the law. The local education authorities are responsible for it in both alike. Since, however, the managers are charged with the upkeep of the buildings of voluntary schools while those of council schools are maintained at the public expense, it is no wonder that the premises of the former, more often than of the latter, fall below a reasonable standard of efficiency. Partly for this reason the average pupil in a voluntary school has less chance of success in the competitive examination for transfer to higher schools at the age of eleven plus. Children who are compelled to attend a voluntary school housed in an inferior building do not enjoy equality of opportunity with the pupils of council schools where the structure can be kept up to date at the cost of the public purse; and in many parts of the country there is no choice but a voluntary school in a bad old schoolhouse. That is unfair to the children. The existing dual system will have to be changed.

But managers as well as children should have fair play. In altering the dual system for the sake of the children, and of the nation and The Commonwealth whose citizens they will someday be, the utmost consideration must be shown to the managers and those whom they represent. They were the pioneers of elementary education; and the English people are deeply indebted to them for their initiative, their material gifts and their personal service.

A FAIR EXCHANGE

How to change the dual system needs to be worked out between representatives of the voluntary schools, the local education authorities, the teaching profession and the Board of Education. Then a bill will have to be laid before Parliament. It might perhaps provide, on the one hand, that positivesteps along the lines of the Archbishops' proposals, and in the direction of the further developments¹ we have proposed, should replace the negative attitude hitherto adopted by the State towards Christian education in primary schools. On the other hand, it could lay down that every voluntary school which is the only available public elementary school in its neighbourhood will become a council school. But the appointment of the head teacher (and, in the case of a large school, of some of his assistants) should be subject to the approval of the present managers or their successors.²

¹ In particular, head teachers would be chosen from those members of their profession who were zealous for Christian education (p. 152); and there would be enough class teachers in each school who were willing and able to teach the agreed syllabus (pp. 147, 153).

² The Education Act, 1936, gave local education authorities the power to

A FAIR EXCHANGE

Such a compromise would mean that the Church of England, as the denomination chiefly concerned with voluntary schools in single school areas, would be parting with the right to give nothing but distinctive Anglican teaching and to prescribe distinctively Anglican worship during the time set apart in these schools for religious instruction and observance. In its place the Church would secure Christian teaching according to an agreed syllabus¹ and Christian worship not only in the transferred schools but in every other council school as well, including—why not?—secondary schools provided by the local authorities.

Christian education would gain a great deal from such an exchange. Nor is there much reason to fear that the Church of England might suffer loss, either absolute or relative to the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed through the whole earth. It seems unlikely that children will be prevented from growing up into staunch churchmen simply by reason of the fact that, between the ages of five and twelve, their formal religious instruction in school follows an agreed syllabus instead of a denominational syllabus. But in case the Church of England, or any other denomination, wished to teach its own 'religious catechism or religious formulary' in addition to the agreed lessons, the altered law should remove whatever obstacle at present exists² to the local education authority allowing rooms in a council school to be used make grants for enlarging or improving the premises of voluntary schools. By Section 9 of the Act, an agreement to make such a grant might provide for the giving of religious instruction in the school according to an agreed syllabus as used in the council schools, and it might provide for the employment in certain positions in the school of a so-called 'reserved' teacher fit and competent to give denominational religious instruction. These 'reserved' teachers might include the head teacher.

Some members of an education committee set up by the Nuffield College Reconstruction Survey have suggested, in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 20 February, 1943, 'that there be boards of managers for all schools acquired from religious denominations consisting as to one-third of representatives of the denomination concerned and as to two-thirds of representatives of the local education authority, and that the boards be consulted by the local education authority as to the appointment of teachers'. This letter advocated that, under conditions closely resembling those here laid down with respect to religious teaching, *all* non-provided schools belonging to the Church of England and the Free Churches should be acquired by purchase by or for the local education authority.

¹ See above, p. 148.

² E.g. in Section 28 (2) of the Act of 1921: 'No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination shall be taught in the school.'

THE DUAL SYSTEM

out of school hours, for this purpose. Such lessons would be especially easy to arrange in the transferred schools because of the 'reserved teachers'.¹ And if the dual system were brought to an end, the Church would have more money to spend on training teachers. The essential thing is to have convinced and trained Christian teachers.

ANOTHER WAY OUT

The Board of Education's proposals for changing the dual system have been published since the foregoing paragraphs were in type. The Board's scheme is similar in principle to our own, but somewhat less drastic, more complete, and kinder to the voluntary schools. Both schemes bring the premises of the non-provided schools in single school areas up to standard; both give to parents of children in these schools the right, if they so desire, to have the religious instruction of their children given according to an agreed, instead of a denominational, syllabus; and both provide for Christian worship, and for Christian teaching according to an agreed syllabus in all schools, secondary as well as primary, provided by the local education authorities. But, instead of transforming all the non-provided primary schools in single-school areas into council schools, the Board intend that the next Education Act shall allow these and other existing voluntary schools to remain as non-provided schools in one or other of three categories called respectively 'Local Agreement Schools', 'Controlled Schools', and 'Aided Schools'.

Local Agreement Schools are, in the main, schools built or enlarged with the help of grants made by local education authorities under the Education Act of 1936. In these schools the religious instruction will be in accordance with the trust deed and will be under the control of the managers. At the same time, instruction according to an agreed syllabus will be available for children whose parents want them to receive it and cannot conveniently send them to a school where it is ordinarily given.²

Controlled Schools are those other voluntary schools whose managers find themselves unable or unwilling to meet half the cost of bringing their buildings up to standard. All financial obligations then pass to the local education authority, together with the power of appointing or dismissing teachers. This power will, however, be subject to the right of the managers to be consulted on the appointment of the head teacher and to the right of the Foundation managers to be satisfied about the qualifications of certain 'reserved' teachers to give denominational re-

¹ See the second footnote to p. 154, above.

² Cmd. 6458, Section 55.

ANOTHER WAY OUT

ligious instruction. It will be given by these teachers for not more than two periods a week to those children whose parents desire it. All the other religious instruction in these schools will follow an agreed syllabus.¹

The remaining voluntary schools will be Aided Schools. In order to come into that category, their managers will have to meet half the cost of alterations, improvements and repairs to the buildings, the other half coming from the Exchequer. The managers of these schools will retain their present powers and duties in regard to the appointment and dismissal of teachers and the giving of denominational religious instruction which will go on as at present, subject to the right of parents to have their children instructed according to an agreed syllabus.¹

12. Secondary Schools

MULTILATERAL SCHOOLS

Our plan shows children being transferred at the age² of eleven plus from their primary schools to secondary schools³ of three different sorts.

¹ Cmd. 6458, Section 56.

² I.e. the 'modal' age of eleven. See the first footnote on p. 138, above.

³ 'That transfer from primary schools to secondary schools should, for the most part, take place at eleven plus' was recommended twenty-two years ago in the report of the Federation of Lancashire and Cheshire Teachers Association on *A National System of Education* (see above, p. 137). This report proposed that all children should receive a different type of education after that age, that half of them should be given secondary education either in an ordinary secondary school or in a junior technical school, and that the other half should remain in public elementary schools, either their own local schools or 'central' ones. Six years later, in 1926, the Hadow Report on *The Education of the Adolescent* also proposed that 'primary education should be regarded as ending at about the age of eleven plus' (p. 173) and that 'at the age of eleven plus pupils from primary schools should normally be transferred to a different school, or, failing that, to a different type of education' (p. 174). The Hadow Report added, however, that all the post-primary education (instead of only half of it as the Lancashire and Cheshire Teachers had recommended) 'should be known . . . by the general name of secondary education' (p. 174). But the Hadow Report did not advise any immediate transfer of the administrative control of all post-primary education to the local authorities responsible for secondary and other higher education. It was not until 1938 that the Consultative Committee, in the *Spens Report*, recommended unequivocally that the post-primary education of all normal children over eleven plus, whether given in 'modern schools', technical schools, or 'grammar schools', should be administered under the same 'Code of Regulations for secondary schools' (p. 377).

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

They are grammar schools, junior technical schools¹ and modern schools. Our map shows them as separate and distinct. But they may be units within a larger unity: a modern school, a junior technical school and a grammar school may together form a so-called 'multilateral' school. Much may be said both for and against the multilateral school. But no convincing case has been made out against experimenting with multilateral schools. Such experiments certainly ought to be tried, both in town and country.

The multilateral school is, perhaps, most likely to succeed under conditions imagined by Sir Percy Nunn.² He sees the grammar school, the junior technical school and the modern school brought together on the same site. They occupy 'separate buildings, identical neither in size nor in design, but expressing in their diversity the unity of an architectural scheme that gives equal dignity to all. In these buildings each of the main types of schooling . . . possesses its own home and creates its distinctive atmosphere. But while diversity is emphasized within the buildings there is much outside them to foster unity. . . . Sports are managed by a committee on which boys from all three schools sit. . . . Apart from the separate school buildings there is another building whose position and architecture suggest that it fills a central place in the community's life. It contains a gymnasium . . . a spacious hall . . . club-rooms . . . library . . . kitchen and refectory. . . . Each school has its own teaching staff, serving under its own head. . . . The headmasters are not sovereign powers jealous of interference from without, but work

¹ The generic name, Junior Technical School, was, I believe, first applied to these schools in a paper printed in July, 1907. At that time there were thirteen of them recognized under Section 42 of the Board of Education's Regulations for Technical Schools, etc. The *Spens Report* urges 'that the word "Junior" should be abandoned' because this word 'as used in relation to schools at the present time is usually understood as describing a Primary School for pupils between the ages of 7+ and 11+'. The Consultative Committee recommended 'that those Junior Technical Schools which are accorded equality of status with secondary school of the grammar school type having an age of recruitment of 11+ and providing a five-year course shall be known as Technical High Schools', the name by which the technical colleges of university rank in Germany are known throughout the world. The original name seems to me preferable. It will continue to be used in this book. The *Norwood Report* of July, 1943, also uses it; and, although the White Paper (Cmd. 6458) refers to these schools as 'technical' schools, the President of the Board of Education, when commending the White Paper to the House of Commons on 29 July, 1943, spoke of the type as 'junior technical'.

² See *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 57 (February, 1943), pp. 56, 57.

MULTILATERAL SCHOOLS

rather as members of a cabinet whose duty is to further the welfare of the community as a whole. They meet regularly for the discussion of matters of common concern and, on fit occasions, call in to council members of the teaching staff. One of the three acts as Dean, but he need not be the headmaster of the grammar school nor hold office permanently.

Sir Percy Nunn's vision, if translated into fact, would go a long way towards ensuring equal status or parity of prestige among all three types of secondary school. It would foster a wide sense of citizenship and lessen the risk of class feeling, because the boys would have their school meals, games and many other out-of-school activities in common. It would make it easier to transfer¹ pupils who have got into the wrong type of school. And it would enable boys between eleven and thirteen in the junior technical and the modern schools to share their (junior-secondary²) education during those first two years wherever the number of boys did not justify the separate provision of two kinds of schooling which only differ slightly from one another.

Yet the multilateral school has its dangers, even under the most favourable conditions. For instance, unless the triumvirate of headmasters has a permanent chief—whether a prime-minister among the triumvirs or a president above them all—it would be difficult to ensure sufficient unity between the different intellectual aims of the three schools and the common social and spiritual aims of them all. Or again, the junior technical school, well equipped though it be with workshops and laboratories, while having many advantages over another junior technical school housed in a technical college, would suffer from one serious handicap in comparison with the latter school: the instructors who worked in the technical college would have far better opportunities than their opposite numbers in the multilateral school to keep up-to-date their knowledge of the trades and industries in which they had received an indispensable part of their training as junior technical school masters. Once more, there might be a tendency towards such a lowering of intellectual standards as occurs, under very different conditions, in the multilateral high schools of the United States. Professor Kandel has described how, in America:

‘ . . . the high school curriculum has too often become an extensive *à la carte* menu and educational values have become utterly confused.

¹ Particularly at the age of thirteen plus. See below, p. 171.

² See above, p. 139. The junior secondary education of the grammar school-boys of the same age would include more study of languages and less hand-work. It would have to be kept separate.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The analogy of the cafeteria or department store has been applied to the high school curriculum by more than one American writer, and the principle has been adopted that any subject competently taught for the same length of time is as good as any other. . . . The American high school graduate is scholastically some two years behind boys and girls who take the Higher Certificate [in England]. . . . To herd all pupils into one and the same school does not solve the problem of equal opportunity. The problem of finding the right education for the right pupil is no simpler in the multilateral school than it is where separate schools, functionally organized, are provided with teachers trained to be always on the alert to see that pupils do get into the right school. It leads, as American experience has shown, to a confusion of educational values, lowering of standards, and inadequate adaptation to individual abilities and aptitudes.¹

In England also a lower level of attainment may be expected from the multilateral school than from the grammar school or junior technical school which is a wholly separate entity. A fifteen-year-old boy in a grammar school or junior technical school which forms part of a multilateral school will be apt to measure hard work, and particularly the amount of time and effort he should spend on homework, by the lower standards suited to his schoolfellows in the modern school than by the standards obtaining among the more intellectual or more skilful pupils of independent grammar schools or junior technical schools.

But whether the advantages of the multilateral school outweigh the disadvantages can only be discovered by experiment. May there be many of them!

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Grammar schools, junior technical schools and modern schools—whether autonomous institutions or units within the larger unity of a multilateral school—are all equally concerned with the education of adolescents. The principles laid down in Chapter 3 are equally applicable to them all.

There is no need to repeat here, for the particular case of English secondary schools, what has already been said about adolescent education in Chapter 3. The aim in England as elsewhere is to create single mindedness in each future citizen so that his life may be consistent, and like-mindedness in all the future citizens so that they may live together.

¹ From an article in *The Journal of Education* for February, 1943, by I. I. Kandel, M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor of Education, Teachers' Colleges Columbia University, New York.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

in harmony guided by common ideals and a common purpose. Thus will every boy and girl realize his or her best self in and through the life of the community. In England as elsewhere this aim implies religious education, and a religious outlook on life, for as many as possible of the future citizens. It also means fitting each boy and girl for his or her particular walk in life as well as to perform the general duties of a citizen.¹ And, in England as in other countries, this aim will hardly be attained unless education is coherent and continuous, unless it offers equal opportunities to pupils of equal promise, and unless approximately the right number of young people are trained for each walk in life.²

Form-masters³ who know their boys as well as their subjects will help the coherence of the curriculum here as anywhere else. And the discontinuities of education will be lessened if, as pupils move from one school to another and from their last school or college into employment, their form-masters and other teachers have inside knowledge of the schools from which their pupils have lately come or of the colleges or universities or occupation to which they will soon go on.⁴

Even more important, in the interests of continuity, is the distinction we have drawn between the deep and the wide ways in which a subject ought to be studied according as the study of it will go on for some years or will soon cease.⁵ In our map of English schools and colleges this distinction is shown by the shading.⁶

If we are to see clearly how these general principles are to be applied to the education of an Englishman, we shall have to take account of certain special features of the English scene. Two preliminary notes are called for.

CHRISTIAN TEACHING

The attitude of the State towards Christian education is, as we have

¹ See above, pp. 73, 74.

² See above, p. 95.

³ See above, pp. 89 to 92. 'We believe', Sir Cyril Norwood's committee report, 'that the reinstatement of the form-master, in the old sense of the word, would prove of incalculable benefit to real education. . . . We believe that it will help the schools generally, and the teaching of Scripture particularly, if a teacher of the type of the old form-master can be reintroduced into the schools' (*Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*, July, 1943, pp. 63, 88).

⁴ See above, p. 94.

⁵ See above, p. 97.

⁶ The principal subjects taken in the course of junior, intermediate or advanced secondary, or of intermediate part-time, education are studied in the deep way; but the study undertaken in the course of senior or part-time secondary, or of senior technical, education is all of it wide rather than deep.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

seen, at present neutral. Christian education in English secondary schools is, however, free from the chief restriction imposed by English law on primary schools. The conscience clause applies, of course, to all grant-aided schools; and no unfair preference must be shown to any religious denomination in any school, college or hostel provided by a local authority for higher education. But denominational religious instruction or observances, which are not permitted in primary schools provided by local authorities, are allowed in secondary schools and other institutions for higher education whether a local authority provides them or not. If then all normal children over eleven plus are to receive secondary education, as recommended in the Spens Report and as shown in our map, there will be no legal obstacle to the inclusion of denominational religious instruction for those children whose parents wish them to have it. Appreciation of this fact should make it easier for the managers of Church of England primary schools in single school areas to hand them over to the local authority in return for the State adopting the Archbishops' proposals and the further changes proposed in the preceding pages.¹ It will be easier still if, as there is reason to expect, the State ceases to be neutral towards Christian education in grant-aided schools. Then an act of Christian worship and some Christian teaching² will become by law, as they already are in fact, part of the everyday life of English secondary schools, or, at least, of those which are maintained by local authorities.³

POLITICAL LOYALTIES

Our second note touches the widening of national patriotism until love of country has become part and parcel of loyalty to the United Nations as a whole and to the world. Here Englishmen, in common with other British citizens and with Americans, start with a big advantage over most other peoples. They already feel themselves to belong to more than one political community. The Englishman, along with Scotsmen, Welshmen and Northern Irishmen, is a citizen of the United Kingdom. He also shares British citizenship and British loyalty with Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans and many other peoples of the Empire. The American is a citizen of his own State as well as of

¹ See above, pp. 133, 150, and the first footnote on p. 154.

² I.e. the presentation of a point of view, or the offer of an hypothesis; but no direct emotional appeal or 'indoctrination'. See above, pp. 79, 80, 87.

³ This and many of the other changes contemplated in this paragraph are, as we have seen, part of the programme of *Educational Reconstruction* set out in the White Paper of July, 1943 (Cmd. 6458).

POLITICAL LOYALTIES

the United States. Britons and Americans are also bound together by common ideals, by a common purpose to win the war and the peace, and by many common traditions. The English-speaking peoples are therefore in a position, along with the Russians and Chinese,¹ to give the world a lead towards the world loyalty which is the true goal of political education.

13. Selection at Eleven

We have said that the children leaving their primary schools at the age of eleven plus will go on to the secondary schools which are to continue the training of the right numbers of young people for each walk in life and, in so far as they are able to do so despite the inequalities of the children's homes, to give equal opportunities to all whose qualities of character and intellect are equal. A first rough measurement of these qualities has therefore to be made at the age of eleven. 'For this purpose,' said the Hadow Report, 'a written examination should be held, and also, wherever possible, an oral examination. A written psychological test might also be specially employed in dealing with borderline cases, or where a discrepancy has been observed between the result of the written examination and the teacher's estimate of proficiency.' That was seventeen years ago. Since then the written examination at the age of eleven—known as the Special Place Examination—has done a good deal of harm to many children who have been unduly pressed by parents and teachers to prepare for it by very hard work and sometimes by double doses of homework.² It is to be hoped that in future the selection at eleven plus will be based upon the children's school records, checked by mental tests; and also, of course, upon the children's inclinations and the wishes of their parents.³ Care must, however, be taken not to overweight the value of the usual quick 'psychological' tests in comparison

¹ Russia and China, like the British and American Commonwealths, are made up of many racial and political groups which have their local loyalties to the parts as well as a larger loyalty to the whole.

² 'Many cases were noted of children doing "double" homework, i.e. work set by some members of the family in addition to the work set by the school. In one area . . . it was found that over 33½ per cent of the children in the "scholarship" classes were doing such double homework.' *Board of Education Pamphlet No. 110* (1937), p. 12.

³ 'In the future, children of the age of about eleven should be classified, not on the results of a competitive test, but on an assessment of their individual aptitudes largely by such means as school records, supplemented, if necessary, by intelligence tests, due regard being had to their parents' wishes and the careers they have in mind' (Cmd. 6458, Section 27).

SELECTION AT ELEVEN

with long records of school achievement. Recent research tends to show that the usual quick tests, completed in a few minutes, overlook qualities of character which count for more in the long run, both in school and in later life, than those intellectual factors which are measured by the tests.¹

Our plan shows all the children moving on after this first sifting—each with as much as, but no more than, he needs by way of scholarship or maintenance allowance²—to grammar schools or to junior technical schools or to modern schools.

Many people (including the Labour Party,³ the Trades Union Congress,⁴ the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education⁵) are asking for free secondary education after the war. No question of principle is involved because an extension of the present plan of giving up to 100 per cent of special places⁶ would ensure that inability to pay fees excluded no boy or girl of sufficient promise from any secondary school provided, maintained or aided by public money. It is clear, however, that modern schools, junior technical schools and grammar schools must all be free, or all be fee-paying, unless every hope of establishing equality of status for secondary schools of these three types is to be extinguished. If they were all fee-paying (with 100 per cent of special places) a means test would have to be applied to most of the children transferred from primary to secondary schools at the age of eleven plus, and this would be politically inexpedient as well as administratively troublesome. Moreover, in the same case, fees would have to be introduced for pupils, or for new pupils, in the present free senior schools from the moment when an Act of Parliament transforms them into secondary schools. On the other hand, if all the local education authorities' schools and the other grant-aided schools were free and all the independent schools charged fees, as they must do in order to pay their way, a new class distinction would separate the two categories of secondary schools more widely than ever. Besides, to abolish fees in every kind of secondary school which receives grants from public funds would place an

¹ See *Knowledge and Character* (1939), Chap. 7, particularly p. 114.

² For the scale on which these payments or allowances should be made see the second footnote on p. 95, above.

³ *The Times*, 27 February, 1943.

⁴ 'Fees in secondary schools should be abolished': *T.U.C. Memorandum on Education after the War* (1942).

⁵ *Education, a Plan for the Future* (1942) advocates 'the abolition of fees in all form of . . . post-primary education provided or aided from public funds'.

⁶ A 'special place' is either a free place or a place with fees reduced to what the parent can afford.

SELECTION AT ELEVEN

unnecessary burden upon the tax-payer. Perhaps the best solution would be for the local education authorities to provide free modern schools, free junior technical schools and free grammar schools,¹ but to charge substantial fees (with 100 per cent of special places) in their Higher Secondary Schools,² open to all boys and girls whose promise and ability at thirteen or later justifies the hope that they will eventually deserve a university education.

14. Eleven to Thirteen

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The grammar schools comprise most of the secondary schools which were receiving government grants in 1938. Many of them are of recent foundation. In 1904 the amount of State-aided secondary education in England and Wales was less than one-fifth³ of what it had become in 1938. When Mr. Balfour's Education Act of 1902 created local education authorities for higher education, it required them to 'take such steps as seem to them desirable, after consulting the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary'. The Act brought into being a large number of new secondary schools. Their nature and purpose were in many cases determined by the Regulations for Secondary Schools made by the Board in 1904. These Regulations, the Spens Report tells us, were 'based wholly on the tradition of the Grammar Schools and the Public Schools'.⁴

¹ In July, 1943, the Board of Education proposed that all the schools aided or maintained by local education authorities shall be free (Cmd. 6458, Section 34 and Mr. Ede in Parliament on 29 July).

² See below, pp. 171 to 181.

³ In 1904 the number of pupils was 85,973 (Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*, Graph B, opposite p. 97). On 31 March, 1938 the number of full-time pupils of secondary schools on the Grant List was 470,003 (*Education in 1938*, Table 33, p. 130).

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 66, 67. The Public School Commission which reported in 1864 recognized nine Public Schools: Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors, Rugby, St. Paul's, Shrewsbury, Westminster and Winchester. Except Winchester and Eton they all began as day schools not yet different from the smaller grammar schools. In the year 1937 there were 173 schools in England and Wales which were known as Public Schools because their headmasters were eligible for membership of the Headmasters' Conference. Many of these schools received grants of public money from the Board of Education, and some were also aided or maintained by local education authorities. But none of them was provided or wholly controlled by a local education authority; none of them was conducted for private profit; and all sent a fair number of boys to the universities, particularly to Oxford and Cambridge.

ELEVEN TO THIRTEEN

The Public Schools had sought to make 'Christian gentlemen'.¹ To most of their pupils they had given a classical education. For more than four centuries, several of these schools had been accumulating experience of sharpening youthful wits by teaching the classical languages, literature and history. Boys in the Public Schools at the end of the nineteenth century were the heirs of all this. Some of them learned enough Greek and Latin for their culture and their politics to be steeped in the thought of democratic Athens and republican Rome.² The new secondary schools, guided by the Board's Regulations, tried to follow in the old ways, but too often mistook the shadow for the substance and followed the appearance rather than the reality.

The reality lay in the religious background of the best of the Public Schools, in their tough social discipline—an incomparable school of citizenship in which boys learn to be citizens by practising citizenship all the day long³—and, on the intellectual side, in the deep study⁴ of a central core of learning. When, as generally happened, this central core comprised the languages, literature and history of Greece and Rome, it combined with the reading of the Bible to ensure that the pupils were well grounded in the basic principles of English political life and thought. Around the central core, the form-masters⁵ could begin to cultivate a single wide interest which went on growing when essentially the same course of study was continued in the university. Another aspect of the reality was the vocational training provided for many of the boys by their classical learning: a technical education which was none the less actual for not being acknowledged.⁶ But the new schools swamped the form-masters with specialist teachers of separate subjects.⁷

¹ See above, p. 126.

² See Appendix A, below.

³ Dr. Lang, speaking for the last time as Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords on 17 February, 1942.

⁴ See above, p. 97.

⁵ Cf. Lord Braye at Eton: 'We touched our hats most deferentially to our "tutors"; that is to say to the purveyors of Latin and Greek instruction, but never to the mathematical masters.' (*Fewness of My Days*.)

⁶ See Professor Whitehead's account of Sherborne in the 1870's, quoted in Appendix A, below.

⁷ For instance, the history specialist on the staff of a certain secondary school in 1913 was called the form-master of the third form. The boys in that form kept their books in his classroom. He taught them the history of Queen Elizabeth, but might not teach them English of the same period. Instead, they would go to another room for a lesson from the English specialist on the literature of the reign of Queen Anne.

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

In the early days of these schools they neither sought nor found a central core.¹ They scouted the very idea of a vocational aim² and they never expected to send any large proportion of their pupils to the university.³

The appearance presented by the older schools was that of training their boys, not for any particular walk in life, but for life in general. Such an education was most easily explained by supposing that it trained certain (imaginary) faculties⁴ and that it provided a broad foundation on which any sort of superstructure might afterwards be built. This appearance the newer schools set out to copy: the Regulations defined their aim as 'a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction'.

The Spens Report describes how 'the vocational motive, even in its mildest form, is excluded'⁵ from this 'general education', but how, after 1913, there set in a reaction against the doctrine of formal training by means of an education for nothing in particular, an education *in vacuo*. The reaction was, no doubt, stimulated by Professor Adams's account of *The Evolution of Educational Theory*. 'The whole evolution of educational theory', he wrote in 1912, 'may be said to be a great sweep from specific education back again to specific education, through a long period during which formal training held the field.'⁶ As the reaction spread, the Board, the local authorities and the teachers came to see how faulty was the metaphor of a broad foundation of general education. The doctrines of 1904 were fast losing their hold when the Spens Report restated the proper aim and function of the grammar schools.

¹ See the fourth footnote on p. 131, above.

² Cf. the *Spens Report*: 'The concept of a general education which underlies these Regulations [of 1904] was divorced from the idea of technical or quasi-technical education. . . . An unreal and unnecessary division was introduced between secondary education and technical education' (p. 67).

³ 'Only 5·7 per cent of the pupils who left school during the year ended 31 July, 1937 after attaining the age of 16 proceeded direct to a university.' (*Spens Report*, p. 165.)

⁴ 'A careful perusal of paragraph (a) of the Prefatory Memorandum to these Regulations'—the Board's Regulations for Secondary Schools, 1904—'shows that it was chiefly influenced by the now discarded "faculty" psychology, according to which every normal individual was supposed to possess certain faculties of mind which could be exercised and disciplined by appropriate studies, irrespective of the intrinsic value of the studies themselves.' (*Spens Report*, p. 70.)

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 69.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 225.

ELEVEN TO THIRTEEN

The Report is, as we have seen,¹ in close accord with the principles we set forth to govern the training of good citizens.

To the grammar schools, thus redirected, will be transferred from the primary schools those boys and girls who, at the age of eleven plus, seem most likely to deserve being educated up to and through the university, so far as need be at the public expense. To the grammar schools will also go those less outstanding children who, while of more than average promise, yet show no special aptitude or inclination for skilled trades or other kinds of craftsmanship. Unless they develop unexpected gifts later on, they will probably find their way into minor professions or into clerical or other commercial employment. The whole number of children to be transferred every year from the primary schools to grammar schools is shown in our map as 15 per cent of the eleven-year-old children. That is the percentage recommended in the *Spens Report*.² It is the same percentage as was shown in the diagram published with the recommendations of the Lancashire and Cheshire teachers³ twenty-three years ago.

JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

The junior technical schools will take, from the same age group, boys who seem to be specially fitted by nature and inclination for skilled manual work in engineering, building and other industries. These are the schools called 'Technical High Schools' in the *Spens Report*⁴ where the large part they ought to play in English education is fully explained. They will offer a five years' course⁵ beginning at eleven plus. Their

¹ Above, p. 132.

² On pp. 322 and xxxiii. The actual percentage in 1938 was 14·3 for boys and girls together (*Education in 1938*, p. 135). But this figure and the 15 per cent in the Report relate to the secondary school age-group, i.e. the age-group '10 to 11 years' in the primary schools; and this age-group is 90 per cent of the whole number of children. Thus the 15 per cent in the Report is 13·5 per cent of all eleven-year-old children.

³ See above, p. 137.

⁴ On pp. 272, 273. But see the first footnote on p. 158, above.

⁵ The small number of Junior Technical Schools—143 for boys, 35 for girls, and 46 for boys and girls—at work in 1938 provided two or three year courses for pupils aged, normally, 13 or 14 on admission to the schools. Unless this were altered when all children are transferred from primary to secondary schools at 11+, all the junior technical school pupils would have to change their schools again two years later. It is better, as the *Spens Report* proposes (p. 272) and as the Lancashire and Cheshire Teachers recommended in 1920, that the junior technical schools should take their pupils at 11+ and keep

JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

general aim is 'the provision of a liberal education for those who intend to enter industrial occupations'; but 'their curriculum, and the method of its treatment, will also develop best the ability of certain types of pupil, whatever occupation they may subsequently adopt'.¹ That is because the education provided in a junior technical school is designed to form a single whole with a central core of interest in the probable future vocation of boys who enjoy handling materials and doing constructive work.² 'In these schools, no less than in others, the speaking and writing of English, and an understanding of the essential character and institutions of society, should form an integral and important part of the whole course'.³

The Spens Report does not venture an estimate of the number of junior technical schools that will be needed. How many boys of eleven ought to enter these schools must depend in part upon the nature of the local industries. The number varies from one area to another. Our map shows the number entering the junior technical schools of the whole country as 15 per cent of eleven-year-old boys, so that equal numbers of selected boys go on every year from the primary schools to the

them, subject to a review of 13+ (see below, p. 171) until their whole-time schooling is complete.

¹ *Spens Report*, p. 269: 'There can be no doubt', wrote Dr. A. P. M. Fleming in a paper presented to the Institution of Electrical Engineers on 1 January, 1942, 'that the introduction of the junior technical type of school into the system of general education has been advantageous to the engineering industry.'

² That schools which linked up the usual secondary school subjects with a central core of interest in practical work was better suited to the needs of large numbers of English boys, and would make them into better citizens, than the more academic curriculum of most secondary schools, was urged by the present writer in a paper printed in July, 1907. This pamphlet gave the following account of one of the junior technical schools of that day: 'In the Bootle School the subjects dealt with in the lessons on Manufacturing Processes and Workshop practice have so improved the English composition that . . . "some of the essays were on a totally different plane from those usually met with at their age". Further, the practical work is not primarily intended to develop skill in trade processes but is rather used to illustrate the theoretical teaching and to awaken the interest of adolescent boys; and, once awakened, the interest can be extended to other subjects.' See *Education and World Citizenship* (1921), p. 419.

³ *Industry and Education: A Statement* (Oxford University Press, 1943). This statement was the outcome of a private conference held under the auspices of Nuffield College in September, 1942.

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grammar schools on the one hand and to the junior technical schools on the other.

MODERN SCHOOLS

Four times as many—60 per cent—should go on to the ‘modern’ schools. These schools take the place of the present senior departments of public elementary schools as well as of central (elementary) schools. The Spens Report proposes that the modern schools shall have equal status with other secondary schools whether grammar schools or junior technical schools. For instance, their premises should be on the same scale ‘apart from the fuller provision in Grammar Schools for certain branches of the curriculum, and the addition of smaller classrooms for Sixth Form use’.¹ ‘Amenities which Grammar Schools have long possessed, such as gymnasiums, laboratories and playing fields, are now requisite in the planning of Modern Schools, though it should be remembered that a more generous provision of playing fields (and therefore larger sites) is still required in the planning of Grammar Schools.’²

What has already been said about the spiritual and social aspects of secondary education applies to the modern schools no less than to the grammar schools and junior technical schools. On the intellectual side also the education given during the first two or three years after eleven plus should be on the same lines in all three types of secondary school:³ it is shown on the map as junior secondary education. Indeed the Spens Report proposes that in sparsely populated rural areas a grammar school and a modern school should be combined.⁴

And we have already urged that, in other areas also, experiments should be made with multilateral schools combining a grammar school, a junior technical school and a modern school on the same site and with the same governing body.⁵ But whether the modern school is thus linked with a grammar school and a junior technical school or whether it stands entirely alone, its older boys and girls should be doing very different work from that of pupils of the same age in junior technical schools or grammar schools. The nature of this difference will appear when we have traced the stream of youth a little further across our map.⁶

¹ *Spens Report*, p. 301.

² *Spens Report*, p. 302.

³ See second footnote on p. 159, above. The *Norwood Report* of July, 1943, makes the same proposal. It says that during the two years after 11+ ‘a generally common curriculum would be pursued, though within limits there would be some variation’, in all three types of secondary school (p. 15).

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 292.

⁵ See above, pp. 158–160.

⁶ See below, pp. 182, 183.

RE-SELECTION AT THIRTEEN

15. Re-selection at Thirteen

The next point to be noticed occurs at the age of thirteen plus when the selection of primary school children made two years before has to be reviewed.¹ The need for this review was urged by the Lancashire and Cheshire teachers in 1920. The Spens Report of 1938 comes back to it. The Consultative Committee write:

'There should be another age point, namely 13+, in all schools at which transfers should, if desirable, be made from one type of school to another. . . . The establishment of a more or less common curriculum for pupils between the ages of 11+ and 13+ in all types of secondary schools would render it comparatively easy to effect mutual transfers at the age of 13. . . . Indeed, if an approximately common curriculum were provided for children between the ages of 11+ and 13+ the disadvantage of a possible break at 13 would be almost wholly confined to matters associated with the corporate life of the school. We do not attempt in any way to minimize this disadvantage but we feel strongly that if a child be transferred to a school which makes an immediate appeal to his interests and aptitudes he will necessarily be happier, will do better work and will rapidly develop in his new environment, thus falling automatically into line with the corporate life of the new school.'²

This risk of damage to the corporate life of the school would be reduced if, as the Norwood Report proposes,³ the two years from 11 + to 13 + were spent in the 'Lower School' of one of the three types of secondary school. The Report adds: 'During these years the special interests of the child would be studied and, if desirable, transfer would be recommended. After two years a review of all pupils in the Lower School of all types of school would be made; promotion into the higher forms of the school in which a pupil found himself at 11+ would not be automatic, unless that were the right school for him.'

Accordingly our map shows transfers of thirteen-year-old children in both directions between modern schools, junior technical schools and grammar schools. The use of single, instead of double-headed, arrows for these transfers marks the fact that they are subsidiary to the main selection at eleven plus. They enable misfits to be corrected.

16. Higher Secondary Schools

THE NEED

The map also shows, by means of a double-headed arrow, part of the

¹ See *Knowledge and Character*, p. 340: Recommendations 7, 8, 9.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 273.

³ *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*, p. 15.

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main stream diverted to Higher Secondary Schools at thirteen plus. These schools are needed because the ablest boys and girls cannot rely upon obtaining in the average grammar school the advanced secondary education that will prepare them to enter upon undergraduate studies on equal terms with pupils from the best Public Schools. In this respect, Comenius's ideal of 'equality of educational opportunity where there is equality of capacity to profit by it' is far from being realized at the present time.

The average grammar school is quite unable—while Higher Secondary Schools like Eton, Rugby, Marlborough, St. Paul's or the Manchester Grammar School are able—to educate some of their most promising pupils up to university scholarship standard in whichever they prefer of four or five branches of study: Classics, Mathematics, Natural Science, History or Modern Languages. That is why in 1933-4, out of 558 open scholarships, including exhibitions, awarded by Oxford and Cambridge colleges to schoolboy candidates, 274 (or 49·10 per cent) were won by boys from those Public Schools where over 50 per cent of the pupils were boarders or, where this was not the case, in which the tuition fees exceeded ten guineas a term; and only 58 (or 10·39 per cent) by boys from those grammar schools which were not Public Schools but were largely self-governing although they received grants in aid either direct from the Board of Education or from the local education authorities. Yet there were twice as many boys in these grammar schools as in these Public Schools at that time.¹ These figures will not surprise us when we observe that the average grammar school was spending less than £29² a year on educating each of its pupils while the annual cost per head of educating the day boys in St. Paul's School exceeded £70.

Here then is evidence of the fact that, despite much first-rate work done in their sixth forms, the average grammar school is not capable of supplying all the advanced secondary education needed by the ablest ex-pupils of the primary schools. The fact is confirmed by His Majesty's Inspectors in their report on *The Organization of Sixth Forms in Secondary Schools*:³ that is, in the grammar schools of the Spens Report

¹ Lancelot Hogben, F.R.S., *Political Arithmetic*, pp. 423, 425, 431. The remaining 40 per cent of the 558 open scholars and exhibitioners came from Public (Day) Schools with fees below thirty guineas a year or from secondary schools wholly or largely maintained by local education authorities.

² The gross cost per pupil in secondary schools on the grant list in 1936-7 was £28 16s.

³ *Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114* (1938). The quotations are from pp. 11, 19, 20, 31, 50.

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and of our map. 'In many schools', say the Inspectors, 'it has been difficult to provide the necessary staff to deal with the many groups of' Sixth Form 'pupils all working with different subjects in view. Or again accommodation has been unsuitable or inadequate or equipment has not been available'. 'In a certain number of schools . . . there are not in all a dozen people in the Sixth Form. In other schools where the total number runs as high as twenty, these twenty are split up into Science Sixth, Modern Sixth, Commercial Sixth, for example, and each of these again into first and second year groups.' Of sixth form work in history the Inspectors report that 'Apart from the scholarship pupil, three distinct groups, each deserving separate treatment, are commonly found in the Sixth Form—one year course pupils with no examination in view, first year Higher School Certificate pupils, and second year Higher School Certificate pupils'. In regard to mathematics, 'Except in the largest schools the number of pupils in any one group will be small, and groups cannot be taken alone for the requisite number of periods unless the rate of staffing is extravagant.'

It is precisely this kind of staffing—'extravagant' though it be, from the point of view of an average grammar school, both in quantity and quality—which is indispensable if the most promising boys and girls from the primary schools are to get an advanced secondary education as good as the best Public Schools give to their ablest pupils. Since it would be prohibitively and unnecessarily costly to staff the average grammar school on this scale, Higher Secondary Schools are needed for a few of the ablest and most promising pupils, of thirteen years and over, who are now in the grammar schools. 'What a lack it is', commented *The Times Educational Supplement*,¹ 'that we have no sort of educational machinery to deal with the child of highly superior ability.'

Many grammar schools should continue to prepare for university scholarships a few able pupils whose taste in studies happens to coincide with that of some brilliant teacher who can be spared to make this advanced teaching his main job. Their other kinds of sixth form work will be done all the better when these schools no longer try to provide advanced secondary education in several different groups of subjects.

In the Higher Secondary Schools most of the sixth form masters or mistresses will be preparing their pupils for further study in the universities. Such men or women need to be of the calibre of university teachers. Some of them will already have taught university students. They should all be encouraged to go on with original work in their subjects. Many of them may look forward to returning, later on, to academic life. Their

¹ 'Comment in Brief', 3 October, 1942.

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salaries should be commensurate with their exceptional qualifications. The Spens Report has already proposed that there should be two scales of salary applicable in secondary schools.¹ Why should there not be a third and higher scale which, coupled with opportunities for research, will attract young graduates possessing the highest academic distinctions to teach sixth forms in some grammar schools and in all Higher Secondary Schools?

Chiefly because of their 'extravagant' staffing, the Higher Secondary Schools would cost double, or more than double, the average cost, per pupil per annum, of the grammar schools. But they need not begin below thirteen. They should, however, admit their pupils not later than the age of fourteen lest they fail to offer opportunities equal to those afforded by the Public Schools which most pupils enter at thirteen plus. As our map shows, practically all the pupils of Higher Secondary Schools would remain to eighteen; and an undertaking by parents that their children would not leave before that age, as well as the outstanding quality of the children themselves, would be a condition of their admission to a school of this type.

LATE TRANSFERS

A subsidiary stream, marked on the map by the single-arrow at fifteen plus, would have to be admitted two years later. The smaller this intake of sixth form boys, the less harm will it do to the spirit of their new school. The same boys, admitted at thirteen, would have had time, before reaching positions of responsibility, to become loyal members of the school and to pass on its traditions to their juniors.

It may be thought that, by including Higher Secondary Schools as a fourth type of secondary schools, our map has gone beyond the changes most likely² to be made in the education of Englishmen after the war. It is true that the Spens Report is loath to draw any sharp line between grammar schools and Higher Secondary Schools. Yet the average grammar school pupil, on the one hand, leaves at the age of sixteen years and seven months³ and only 6.6 per cent of boys and 3.6 per cent of girls go direct to universities or their departments for training

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 299.

² See above, p. 135. Neither the White Paper (Cmd. 6458) nor the *Norwood Report* suggests the need for more Higher Secondary Schools so as to take, say, three per cent of the thirteen-year-old ex-pupils of primary schools.

³ For boys, and 16 years 6 months for girls, in England in 1937-8 (*Education in 1938*, p. 142).

LATE TRANSFERS

teachers.¹ On the other hand most pupils remain until at least eighteen at their Higher Secondary Schools and more than half the pupils from some of these schools go straight on to college.

The Spens Report, however, observes that 'In some county areas a precedent already exists for recognizing certain large schools as affording special facilities for highly qualified pupils whose parents express the desire that their children should remain until eighteen years of age, with a view to obtaining the Higher School Certificate and perhaps to competition for a University Scholarship'. And the Report concludes that 'circumstances very often arise in which pupils preparing for the University, or for the Higher School Certificate, should not be retained in a small Grammar School, because they cannot be provided in that school with teaching in their best subject. In such cases we consider that transfer is important.'² Even so, the transfer contemplated by the Spens Report takes place when the pupil is about to enter the sixth form, instead of at thirteen plus as shown in our map and as recommended by the Lancashire and Cheshire teachers in 1920. The Spens Report would prefer that cases for transfer at the later age should not arise. The way to prevent them from arising is to provide a sufficient number of Higher Secondary Schools as part of the national system of education.

The case against transfer at the later age—fifteen plus or sixteen, instead of thirteen plus—would be just as strong if the school receiving the transferred boys or girls or both were confined to sixth form pupils: a 'junior college', as it would then be called in America. The junior college experiment should perhaps be tried in England; but only on a small scale, for the chance of success would seem remote. Such a collection of sixth forms would give its pupils little of that responsibility which they would probably bear as the senior members of a complete secondary school. It would give them little or no training in leadership. It would be likely to lack tradition and *esprit de corps*, since its personnel would change so quickly. And it is very doubtful whether a solution would be found for the problem of providing adequate religious and social education in a two-years' junior college.

BOARDING SCHOOLS

Our map shows 90,000 boys between thirteen plus and eighteen plus in Higher Secondary Schools.³ Many of these schools are, and some of

¹ Figures for England and Wales for the year ended 31 July, 1938 (*Education in 1938*, p. 143).

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 336.

³ See above, p. 139, for the scale of the map.

HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

the new ones will have to be, boarding schools. In 1933-4 there were 154 schools whose head masters were members of the Headmasters' Conference. In this sense they were all 'Public Schools'.¹ Perhaps half of them deserve to be classed as Higher Secondary Schools. If we over-estimate the number of Higher Secondary School places thus provided and reckon that number at 45,000—or, say, 600 places for each of 75 Public Schools—as many more will still be needed, or one Higher Secondary School for 600 boys in every half million of the population. But more than half the counties of England have under half a million inhabitants.² Some of these counties would therefore have to join in providing the new schools, one for boys and another for girls, needed by their people. And wherever a Higher Secondary School served the whole population of more than one county (and often when it served only one, or even part of one, county) many of its pupils would have to be boarders.

The size and number of the new boarding schools should not depend only upon how many conspicuously able and promising boys, or girls, could not attend Higher Secondary Schools as day pupils if they lived at home. Even the best of the Public Schools include many boys who do not belong to the intellectual élite. The suitability of the new boarding schools as Higher Secondary Schools would hardly be impaired if they made room for some of the less outstanding grammar school pupils who need to be removed to boarding schools because they are not properly looked after at home or in order to escape from home influence of the wrong kind. Home influence may indeed be in such conflict with that of the schools as to deprive the boys or girls of a fair chance in life.

Of the Higher Secondary Schools, boarding or day, still to be provided, by no means all will need to be new creations. Some independent schools which we have reckoned as Higher Secondary Schools will continue as before the war. Other independent Public Schools, including a good many that could not now be counted as Higher Secondary Schools, will only be able to carry on if they become an integral part of the national system of education. The local authorities may thus acquire control of many fine buildings. But the schools count for much more than their premises and equipment; and most local authorities could be trusted, even without the help of the statutory provision suggested be-

¹ See above, p. 165. Whitaker's Almanac for 1938 names 173 'Public Schools' in England and Wales, but states that the number of members of the Headmasters' Conference is limited to 150.

² The population of 30 out of 50 administrative counties, including the County Boroughs, within their geographical boundaries, is less than 500,000.

BOARDING SCHOOLS

low,¹ to do all in their power to preserve what is best in the tradition and personnel of the schools coming under their influence.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

With the best will in the world, the schools euphemistically called 'Public' could not meet the whole need for education in Higher Secondary Schools. We reckoned, in the last section, that the existing Public Schools, however widely they opened their doors to promising boys whose parents could not pay the fees and other costs of sending their sons to a Public School, could not take more than half of those who are shown on our map as entering Higher Secondary Schools from grammar schools at the age of thirteen plus. They are, indeed, unlikely to supply more than a quarter of the places required by this three per cent of the age-group. If, for instance, every boarding school among the Public Schools—and by no means all of these schools can be reckoned as Higher Secondary Schools—were to admit up to 25 per cent of 'free places' or 'special place'² boys, mostly from grammar schools but some of them from junior technical and modern schools, this intake would only amount to 0.5 per cent of the age group,³ or one-sixth of the figure in our map.

But there is difficulty in the way of the Public Schools meeting even this fraction of the need. The London County Council has resolved, on the recommendation⁴ of its Education Committee:

'The Council considers that the independent "public" day and boarding schools are, in the widest sense, educationally undesirable while the present principles guiding their management and recruitment continue; in these conditions, therefore, the Council as local education authority does not wish to be associated with any scheme of collaboration with them.'

Perhaps the Public Schools are only 'educationally undesirable' because the best of them give an education which, taking it all round—intellectually, socially and spiritually—is so very desirable. It gives an unfair advantage to those boys whose parents can pay the fees and whom the schools are willing to accept as pupils. Since, however, the unfair

¹ On p. 180, below.

² See above, p. 164.

³ The number of boarders in English Public Schools in July 1942 was roughly 25,000; or, say, 6,000 boys in each year of their age, or 2 per cent (see above, p. 139) of all English boys of the same age; so that 25 per cent of free or 'special' places would mean 0.5 per cent of the age group.

⁴ Dated 27 January, 1943.

HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

advantage can be removed, in the case of all the most promising boys and girls, by the local education authorities or groups of authorities providing enough Higher Secondary Schools, it is unlikely that Parliament will be willing to abolish independent Public Schools.¹ Equality of opportunity must be sought, as we said, by levelling up and not by levelling down. To destroy the schools that have educated many of the best and greatest Englishmen is a fantastic proposal unlikely to commend itself to English common sense.

The provision of more Higher Secondary Schools, together with some free or special places in the best of the existing Public Schools (where the local education authorities are willing to accept the Public Schools' offer of them) will solve the problem of equality of opportunity only for the ablest and most promising children. It would, for instance, assure equality of opportunity for the outstanding sons of the squire and the village carpenter and give them equal chances of becoming ambassadors or bishops. But, for the average sons of the squire and the carpenter, no mere change in our system of schooling—indeed, nothing less than a major social revolution—could ensure equal opportunities in later life. No educational system can provide equal opportunities for mediocre equal sons of unequal homes.

The best Public Schools serve a double purpose. In the first place, they offer to an intellectual élite diverse kinds of advanced secondary education, or sixth form work, in preparation for high honours of the university and then for a life of distinguished service in Church or State. Secondly they, and especially the boarding schools among them, provide a social education for those average boys who, by family tradition and the inheritance of wealth, will share the social life of most of the outstanding men of their time. Both disciplines are hard, the intellectual and the social. Life on the lower deck of a battleship has nothing new of hardship to teach 'old boys' from some English Public Schools or from the similar 'Preparatory Schools' in the United States.

It would be no kindness to compel the carpenter's undistinguished son to submit to these disciplines in order to prepare him for the life he is likely to lead. But if the squire considers it worth while to pay for his undistinguished son to have this experience in order to become fit for the life of a country gentleman, then he should be free to spend his money in this way. Indeed, the report of the London County Council's education committee, already quoted, observes that 'So long as a school by reason of its income from fees and from endowments is able to stand

¹ Neither the White Paper (Cmd. 6458) nor the *Norwood Report* suggests the abolition of independent Public Schools.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

alone, there is no reason in equity, however strong would be the social desirability, for requiring it to collaborate with the local education authority.' If, however, the inheritance of wealth, instead of being curtailed, were to cease altogether, then at last the sensible rich man would say of his average handy son: 'This boy is meant by nature for some kind of manual work and will best be educated for it, and for the social life of his leisure hours, if I send him to a junior technical school.'

Meanwhile those Public Schools, boarding or day, which can maintain themselves by fees and benefactions, past or present, are likely to continue independent of any control by a local education authority so long as Parliament is satisfied that they are educating good citizens. This condition would cease to be fulfilled if it could be shown that Public School boys were generally class-conscious and unwilling or unable to mix on equal terms with boys from other schools, or with people from other countries. The superiority-complex of some (but they are not the best)¹ Englishmen must not be allowed to handicap close co-operation between the United Nations.

The danger of class-consciousness, or of a national superiority-complex, may be lessened, or perhaps avoided altogether, by means of summer camps, holiday tours, international summer schools and the like, where boys and girls from all types of school at home and abroad would meet on equal terms. Moreover, every Higher Secondary School should offer as many special places, and as many scholarships² for boys from overseas, as can be managed without lowering the standards or undermining the finances of the school. The Governors must, of course, be the judges of the numbers which their school can take without harm. But this is eminently a case for doubling the number first thought of, and doubling it again, as the advantages unfold themselves.

The best of the independent Public Schools would rank as Higher Secondary Schools. All of them would continue to charge fees.

Another group of Public Schools should be allowed to remain outside the control of the local education authorities. They are the boarding schools which draw their pupils from the country as a whole, but cannot maintain themselves without the grants of public money paid to them direct by the Board of Education. Their service is not confined to the area of any one local education authority, or even to any one region or province. They would continue to receive direct grants so long as they

¹ The best are not 'superior'. They are, in Harold Nicolson's phrase, 'calm, confident and unassuming men'.

² Such, for example, as the English-speaking Union's scholarships. See above, p. 110.

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satisfy the Board. And, like the independent schools, they would continue to charge fees.

Other Public Schools, boarding or day, now receiving direct grants from the Board of Education but drawing the great majority of their pupils from the area of a single County or County Borough (or from a single region or province¹) should work in future under the general direction and administration of the local education authority (or of the provincial committee of local education authorities, as the case may be). But a measure of autonomy should be preserved for each of them by means of a statutory guarantee that every secondary school aided, maintained or provided by public funds must be managed by its own governing body to whom alone the headmaster, or headmistress, shall be responsible and who will ensure that the school is conducted in accordance with any trust deed or other instrument of government.² Government grants to the Public Schools thus brought under the influence of a local education authority (or of a joint committee of authorities) could, with this safeguard, safely be paid through the authorities concerned. These authorities would contribute what further sums they considered necessary for the maintenance of the schools. Fees would continue to be charged by those schools which the Board recognized as Higher Secondary Schools, but not by the others.

The statutory guarantees of the rights of governing bodies would ensure, *inter alia*, that, in the case of transferred schools on religious foundations, representatives of the church or churches concerned were included among the new governors. They would also provide for the representation of the local education authority or of the provincial committee concerned, as well as for that of the local university. As a

¹ The creation of statutory joint committees (representative of the local education authorities, the teachers, and the universities and including co-opted persons) for each of some ten or twelve English provinces is recommended on p. 223, below.

² Cf. a letter from the Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference (Canon Spencer Leeson) in *The Times Educational Supplement*: 'One method which we would like to see considered would be the framing of certain statutory guarantees, to be administered by the Board of Education, that would preserve for all schools, no matter what their status, the rights of the governing body or managers in their sphere, the teaching staff in theirs, and the aiding or maintaining authority in theirs, and all in due combination and balance.' (23 January, 1943). The White Paper (Cmd. 6458) contemplates legislation prescribing the status of the local education authority in relation to all types of secondary school, and proposes steps being taken to define the status and powers of the governing body (Section 61).

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

rule the governing body should also include other persons chosen for their knowledge and experience of education and its administration. In every case, the governing body would appoint the headmaster and allow him to exercise most of the freedom guaranteed to them as regards choice of staff, admission of pupils, curriculum and organization of the school.

PREPARATORY SCHOOLING

If the fullest use is to be made of Higher Secondary Schools, the most promising boys and girls who enter grammar schools from primary schools at the age of eleven plus should receive separate teaching during the next two years. In this way, where it can be managed, they will avoid being kept back by less intelligent children, and they will be able to work at subjects outside the ordinary curriculum. For instance, those whose qualities encourage the hope that they may become classical scholars should learn Latin throughout these two years and Greek for at least one of them. Then they will be ready to pass on at thirteen plus to a Higher Secondary School—assuming that this course is justified, not only by an examination test, including an interview, but also by their school record, their personal qualities including their inclinations and ambitions, and their parents' readiness to allow them to remain at school until eighteen and, if given the chance, to go on afterwards to a university.

In cases where the local grammar school cannot make special provision for any pupils between eleven and thirteen, and where the local Higher Secondary School is a boarding school, the two years before entering it might well be spent in a preparatory boarding school maintained, if need be, by a group of neighbouring local authorities.

The provision of these special two-year courses is not the only purpose that might be served by boarding schools for boys and girls between eleven plus and thirteen plus. Many who will pass at thirteen plus into a secondary day school of whatever kind would be all the better for having spent a short time at a boarding school of the right sort. Most boys would always remain better mixers after such an experience. To some it would give that Christian education which they need but cannot get at a day school whose efforts are not backed up by home and church.

The special two years' course here suggested for the ablest of the children leaving primary schools at eleven plus will enable them, at the end of it, to meet on equal intellectual terms the best of the boys or girls who have come up to Higher Secondary Schools through private pre-

HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

paratory schools.¹ The two groups will know the same things and will be equally well able to use their knowledge whether by words or deeds.

These special courses may cover the ground more quickly than those followed by the ordinary pupils of the grammar schools, or they may, as in the case of Latin and Greek, include subjects of their own. But all these studies belong to the same type of education whether they are pursued in private preparatory schools, in grammar schools, in junior technical schools, or in modern schools.² This junior secondary education prepares for further study of the same subjects in the following years. It is essentially 'deep' rather than 'wide'.³

17. Fourteen to Eighteen

SENIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

For another year at least after the transfer at thirteen plus, every boy and girl will continue to receive secondary education of the 'deep' or abstract kind. Then comes a change for the pupils of the modern and junior technical schools and for most⁴ of those in the grammar schools. Until they leave school sometime within the next two years all their work will be of the sort that we have called 'wide' rather than 'deep', extensive rather than intensive. The content of this 'senior secondary' education will, however, be different, and it will have a different centre of interest, in each of the three types of school.

In the modern school the central core of interest⁵ should consist in the common citizenship of all the pupils rather than in their many and various future occupations. Their geography lessons will then teach how all the different parts and peoples of the earth have their several contributions to make to the happiness and prosperity of every country. History will tell how the world came to be the political and economic complex which it is to-day. Political arithmetic will employ elementary mathematics to throw light upon problems of human welfare and social justice. English, including the reading of some masterpieces of English literature, will make for clear and precise expression of ideas both orally and in writing.⁶ Lessons, including practical work, in general elementary science—physics, chemistry and biology—should lead up to the study of man's place in nature, or *The World We Live In*, treated during the

¹ On the question whether all the private preparatory schools ought to be abolished, see above, p. 143.

² See above, p. 159.

⁴ Shown in the map as two-thirds.

⁶ Cf. *Spens Report*, pp. 173, 174.

³ See above, pp. 97, 161.

⁵ See above, p. 131.

SENIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

final year on the lines sketched in Chapter 3.¹ Of Divinity we have already spoken;² but we may repeat here a sentence already quoted from the Spens Report: 'Christianity has played the most important part in the development of our civilization, and . . . without a study of the meaning of the Bible any adequate knowledge of what that civilization means is impossible.'³

The junior technical school will train its pupils to be good and useful citizens by focusing their interest upon their future vocations as skilled craftsmen of diverse kinds. But the fact that they look forward to serving their fellow men by some particular kind of daily work will not prevent them from also preparing at school to make good use of their leisure in other duties of a citizen. To pupils who do well in their junior technical schools, School Certificates should be given; and the scope of the School Certificate examination should be further widened with this end in view.⁴

Those grammar school pupils who will be leaving school—with School Certificates as they hope—at the age of sixteen plus in order to enter minor professions or clerical employment have hitherto lacked a common core of interest in the several subjects they have studied with the School Certificate examination in view. The Spens Report suggests that in future their interest might be centred in the study of English;⁵ or, perhaps, the unifying principle might be found in citizenship as we have proposed for modern school pupils. But it will be difficult to plan any integral course of study, in which every subject is linked with a central dominant interest, unless the conditions for the award of School Certificates are altered to encourage a curriculum of this kind. Such a reform is overdue. As was suggested on p. 110 above, School Certificates should be given on candidates' school records supplemented by an internal examination conducted by the school staff with the help of assessors appointed by the local university or universities. Much the same suggestion is now (July, 1943) made in the Norwood Report, to take effect after a transitional period of seven years.

INTERMEDIATE SECONDARY EDUCATION

Beyond the age of fourteen plus, the education of the other pupils in grammar schools and of all the boys, or girls, in Higher Secondary

¹ See above, pp. 92, 93.

² On pp. 78 to 89, above.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 170, quoted on p. 131, above.

⁴ This repeats a recommendation—No. 12 on p. 341 of *Knowledge and Character*—made by the Lancashire and Cheshire teachers in 1920.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 175.

FOURTEEN TO EIGHTEEN

Schools, should differ increasingly, on the intellectual side, from that described in the three preceding paragraphs. For the next two years at least the education of these young people will remain of the 'deep' sort.¹ It should concentrate upon, but not be confined to, some particular group of subjects which will provide the central core of interest for these abler pupils.

Mathematics, for example, may be studied, at this stage, as at others, in either the deep or the wide way. The latter is now represented by the syllabus of the School Certificate examination in arithmetic, geometry, algebra and numerical trigonometry; and this may be as much as many pupils can manage or as need be attempted in a 'wide' course of senior secondary education. But a considerable number of those who are studying mathematics in the deep way, and this would include future specialists in the subject, 'would be wasting their time in confining their work within these limits. Those who have the ability to do so should proceed to more advanced work and obtain a better idea of the nature of the subject. The specialists would be laying the foundation of their Sixth Form work'.²

The Inspectors, whose report on sixth form work in secondary schools is here quoted, point out, on the other hand, how the traditional course of study in natural science is 'modelled on University lines'. It is deep rather than wide. It is suited to pupils who may someday become 'professional scientists'. But most of the pupils who are studying natural science as part of their 'intermediate secondary' education in a grammar school or Higher Secondary School do not intend to specialize in the subject. They ought to be studying it in the wide way in which it is treated in modern schools and junior technical schools. 'If the study of science is to have any permanent reaction in their lives, it is desirable to draw their experiences from a wide field, both physical and biological'.³

ADVANCED SECONDARY EDUCATION

After obtaining their School Certificates at fifteen plus, most of the pupils of a Higher Secondary School will begin their advanced secondary education leading to honours courses in the university. They may be joined in their several sixth forms by a very few transferred at this late age from grammar schools.⁴ Other pupils will remain in the grammar schools for their sixth form work. If some first-rate member of the staff

¹ It is shown on the map as 'intermediate' or as 'advanced' secondary education.

² *Board of Education Pamphlet, No. 114*, p. 51.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 55.

⁴ See above, p. 174.

ADVANCED SECONDARY EDUCATION

can be spared to bring their principal subjects up to university scholarship standards, they too will enter upon advanced secondary education in time to have three years of it before they leave.

The specialization of all these sixth form boys and girls—whether in classics, mathematics, natural science, modern languages, or history—is none the less a specialization when their chief study concerns the languages, literature and history or ancient Greece and Rome leading up to Oxford ‘Greats’ than when it prepares for the Mathematical Tripos at Cambridge. In the case of each of these able young people, it is this speciality which, like the junior technical school boy’s craftsmanship or the modern school pupil’s training in citizenship, should combine with his feeling for God and man, and for The Commonwealth of United Nations, to provide the central region of his single wide interest.¹

All this advanced secondary education is designed to lead to the university. It is inevitably and deeply affected by the conditions under which the State, the local education authorities and the universities (or their constituent colleges) award scholarships and maintenance allowances. The chief qualities to be looked for in undergraduate scholars are perhaps these three:

(1) Intellectual ability, and particularly high general ability;² so that power to use knowledge has to be tested rather than knowledge itself. For instance, in mathematics and science, most marks should be given for problems, not for bookwork; in languages, essay writing and translation should be preferred to knowledge of set books; in history, an intelligent appreciation of problems facing the peoples of former times and the application of past experience to present problems matter much more than an accurate memory for words or dates.

(2) Other qualities of character; so that account should be taken of school records as evidence of such things as persistence and initiative which cannot yet be measured in a scholarship examination, and of

(3) Social qualities, since good mixers are to be preferred when other things are nearly equal; so that every candidate should be interviewed.

In regard to the first of these—valuing the capacity to use knowledge above the mere possession of that knowledge, although knowledge is of course indispensable³ and one cannot use it if one hasn’t got it—there is a notable difference between most of the examinations for open scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge (and some, but not all, other English universities) on the one hand, and, on the other, most of the Higher School Certificate examinations on which State scholarships and many

¹ See above, pp. 55, 92.

² See *Knowledge and Character*, Ch. VII.

³ See above, p. 75.

FOURTEEN TO EIGHTEEN

local education authorities' awards are based. In the former, the examiners are looking for promise; in the latter, they are measuring performance. The former examinations want to test ability in the use of knowledge; the latter try to find out how much the candidates have learnt in the two years since they won their School Certificates. There is this further difference: that the open scholarship examinations at Cambridge and most of those at Oxford test deep knowledge of one subject, or group of subjects, rather than a shallower knowledge of two or more quite different subjects, while most of the Higher School Certificate examinations are satisfied by an equal knowledge of any three specialities—even mathematics, music and Russian. A candidate who has to divide his mind between three such separate domains of thought is unlikely, at eighteen, to have had the practice in hard thinking which will make him a promising scholar in any one of his three branches of learning. Yet he appears to have as good a chance of winning a State scholarship as the classical candidate who combines Greek, Latin and ancient history, or as the mathematician who takes pure, applied and advanced mathematics, together with some subsidiary subject.

The northern universities—Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham—recently decided that their School Certificate examination, because it is planned to test work done in school, does not, by itself, provide a suitable test of fitness for further study in the university. They have therefore ceased to accept their own School Certificates, however creditably a candidate may have acquitted himself in however many subjects, as qualifying for matriculation. The time has come for the Board of Education and the local education authorities to realize that the Higher School Certificate examination, however well it measures school achievement, does not, in its present form, provide the best means of testing a candidate's intellectual ability to make the most of a university education.¹

Intellect is not, however, the sole consideration. The English universities in the future as in the past will need to educate a number of young men and women whose intellectual gifts are not of the highest order. They will not get first class honours degrees.² Their subsequent service

¹ The *Norwood Report* proposes to replace the present Higher School Certificate examination by a new test for scholarship candidates. The new examination 'would take the form of "scholarship papers", that is to say, papers free from prescribed books or detailed syllabuses of work'; all candidates would be interviewed; and their school records would be taken into account (pp. 39, 40).

² Only 14 per cent of candidates for honours degrees obtained first classes at Oxford, and at Cambridge, in 1938.

ADVANCED SECONDARY EDUCATION

to the State and The Commonwealth will not consist mainly in original contributions to knowledge. But many of them, despite their seconds or thirds in Triposes or Honours Schools, are well able, because of their other qualities of character combined with sufficient intelligence, to render invaluable service to their country and mankind. Among these, a large proportion¹ came up to their universities with entrance scholarships of one kind or another. But most of them have to win their scholarships through the same examination tests as serve, very well indeed, to pick out the few candidates of outstanding intellectual quality.

That is surely a mistake. It would be wiser in future to pick first, from among candidates for university entrance scholarships, all those whose intellectual promise is outstanding: this is perhaps most likely to be shown by their excellence in a single field of closely connected (deep) study. Then there should be chosen from among the others those who combine good ability with such a wide interest in things and people (in science and humanities), and such social and civic qualities, as seem to mark capabilities for other service than the advancement of knowledge. It is to this end that every candidate should be interviewed (not only about his examination subjects), and that his school record of work, and of out-of-school activities, should be considered. All examinations for entrance scholarships should also attach real weight to English essays and to wide knowledge as revealed in answers to General Papers.

At the present time candidates for the open scholarships offered by Oxford or Cambridge colleges are generally interviewed, however informally; and, other things being equal, the electors prefer boys who display most character; but no school records are taken into account. On the other hand, the examiners for Higher School Certificates do not attempt to estimate the moral or social qualities of the candidates whom they recommend to the Board of Education for State Scholarships² or to many³ of the local education authorities for their grants. The candidates for State scholarships are not interviewed; and, while schools sending candidates to the examinations are invited by the examining

¹ At least one-third at Oxford and Cambridge.

² 360 of these were awarded annually before the war. The Board allowed a State scholar to receive, in addition to his fees, a maximum income of £175 for his maintenance at college and, if he needed it, a further £25 to cover his board and lodging at home during the vacations.

³ 118 out of 146 authorities in England and Wales took account of results in Higher School Certificate examinations (*The Higher School Certificate Examination*, 1937, p. 43.)

FOURTEEN TO EIGHTEEN

bodies¹ to submit the school records of their candidates, those records are not expected to go beyond the relative merits of each boy or girl in each subject offered for the examination, and they are only taken into account in doubtful or 'borderline' cases.² But some local education authorities attach considerable importance to interviews and to school records when making their own awards.³ Most of the provincial universities—notably Birmingham and Leeds—make a practice of interviewing State scholars and holders of local education authorities awards before admitting them as undergraduates.

As regards English essays and general knowledge, the present practice of the selectors for open scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge again differs from that of the examiners for State scholarships. Both at Oxford and at Cambridge candidates for open scholarships are required to answer one or more General Papers including passages for translation from Greek, Latin, French and German. At both universities most candidates have to write an English essay, although many colleges pay little attention to the essays and general knowledge of mathematical and science candidates. But candidates taking the Higher School Certificate examination of some of the approved examining bodies, answer no General Paper, need write no English essay, and, in the case of candidates in mathematics and general science, are not required to show any knowledge of foreign languages (although most of them have passed the School Certificate examination in at least one foreign language two years earlier).

The changes here suggested⁴ in the present ways of choosing entrance

¹ The eight examining bodies, with the numbers they examined in 1937, are :

Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board	Boys	Girls	Total
	2,690	1,660	4,350
Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board	2,482	145	2,627
London University	1,598	877	2,475
Central Welsh Board	670	353	1,023
Cambridge Syndicate of Local Examinations	448	250	698
Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations	345	236	581
Durham University	125	109	234
Bristol University	137	72	209

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 29.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴ Methods of selecting candidates for university entrance scholarship have been considered by a Committee on Post-war University Education appointed in 1942 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. One suggestion made by that Committee and not mentioned here is repeated on p. 218, below.

ADVANCED SECONDARY EDUCATION

scholars imply some innovations in the sixth form work that prepares boys and girls for the universities. It should link up the deep study of an undivided specialty with the wide study of much else. In this way it may hope to develop integrated minds : to educate men and women with an outlook on the whole of life including, but not confined to, the vocation by which they mean 'to serve God in Church and State' and Commonwealth. Not less than half the time spent by these pupils *in class* should be given to studies other than their specialty with which, however, most of their *private study* (and therefore their hardest work) should be concerned.

OTHER SIXTH FORM WORK

Side by side with these reforms in advanced secondary education, all sixth form work, including that of the wide type called 'senior technical' in our map, should encourage extra-curricular activities of the 'society' type, together with art, music, and drawing, and a wider incidence of those duties and privileges of school life which give expression to, and cause the cultivation of, powers of leadership and other social and spiritual qualities of character.

Our map shows some grammar school pupils leaving at sixteen or soon after for two years more of further whole-time education in a local college. But education of the same general type—'senior technical'—should be given in Higher Secondary Schools and in grammar schools to pupils between sixteen plus and eighteen plus who are not receiving advanced secondary education in preparation for the universities.

While the main studies of pupils receiving advanced secondary education should concentrate upon the principles and abstractions needed for reasoned thought by those who would understand, and later on perhaps extend, existing knowledge of their special subject, the function of senior technical education is to be 'wide' rather than 'deep'. It does not seek to probe the essential nature of the wide range of subjects of which it teaches the practical uses. It serves the needs of pupils who have as a rule obtained their School Certificates but should not be encouraged to take the Higher School Certificate examination as it is at present conducted. 'For such pupils', in the view of the Inspectors who recently reported upon sixth form work in secondary schools, 'the incentive to remain at school should be sought in an immediate and intimate contact between their studies and life as they know it outside the school premises and as they themselves seem likely to live it. A course suitable for them will probably—but not necessarily—be very general in character so that a distinction between main and additional subjects might hardly be

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maintainable. In other words, specialization here will be at its lowest, almost at zero point.¹ All the subjects are studied in the wide way and none in the deep way. We have seen² how different is the deep way of studying history, for example, when it is a main subject in a deep course from the wide way of studying the same subject whether as part of a wide course or as a subsidiary or additional subject in a deep one.

Such wide—senior technical—courses are often provided for boys or girls who look forward to beginning commercial careers as soon as possible after leaving school at eighteen.³ Since ‘employers who have studied the problem desire that employees should come to them with a general training, with perhaps some slight emphasis upon the principles rather than the detailed practice of commerce’,⁴ the sixth form of a secondary school is the best place for this work. Where, however, such a demand is not met by the schools, their place may be taken by the local college.

LOCAL COLLEGES

For ‘senior technical’ courses in engineering the local college rather than a secondary school is, as a rule, the proper place; and the same is true of two-year courses designed for young people who wish to enter other industries about the age of eighteen. But, where some branch of engineering welcomes a limited recruitment at this age and no local college is able to give the preliminary training needed, a senior technical course in engineering subjects may usefully be provided for day pupils in a grammar school or Higher Secondary School.

These courses, like those belonging to the last two years of a junior technical school, will have to include a considerable amount of properly organized workshop practice. The school will therefore need to have well-equipped workshops for wood and metal. And, as a particular case of the general principle laid down on page 94, ‘the staff should include a suitably trained and experienced workshop instructor and in addition a teacher properly qualified academically and by industrial experience to teach the applied science and machine drawing’.⁵ The Inspectors here quoted go on to suggest that, when a secondary school is within reach of a technical school or local college at which no diploma course is held, it may be possible for a suitable course to be arranged which would employ the resources of both institutions.

¹ *Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114*, p. 13.

² See above, pp. 97, 98.

³ This means after the service year shown on the map.

⁴ *Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114*, p. 13.

⁵ *Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114*, p. 63.

LOCAL COLLEGES

Senior technical courses in domestic subjects or in preparation for hospital nursing are offered in many Higher Secondary Schools for girls, and in some grammar schools.¹ They ought to be a regular feature, alternative to advanced secondary education, in every girls' school which aims at carrying a considerable number of its pupils beyond the School Certificate. They should, as a rule, extend over two full years. But girls who are going on to a Domestic Science training college may be content with one year of preparatory work at school.

18. Young People's Colleges

THE NEED

We have now completed our brief review of whole-time secondary education as it might be, and in most respects is likely to be, in England within a few years from the end of the war.

Our map shows eighteen plus as the leaving age from Higher Secondary Schools and for one-sixth of the grammar school pupils. An equal number, another sixth, are shown as passing on at sixteen plus for a two years' diploma course in local colleges. The remaining two-thirds of the boys and girls in grammar schools also leave at sixteen plus, but their whole-time education is then at an end. For that reason their last two years have been spent on the wider, or senior secondary, type of education.

The same is true of junior technical school pupils: they leave and enter employment at sixteen plus after two years of senior secondary studies, although a very few pupils who have developed late, or who missed an earlier selection on account of illness or accident, may go on to senior technical courses in a local college.

A similar opportunity of promotion² may be offered to a very few boys and girls who remain in modern schools beyond their sixteenth birthday. But most pupils will leave the modern schools before that age. The minimum age for leaving will be fifteen, the age at which obligation to attend whole-time school ends under the Education Act of 1936. This age limit is likely to be generally enforced after the war when the many

¹ See *Board of Education Pamphlet No. 114*, Chap. XIII, for an account of the study of these subjects in the sixth forms of secondary schools for girls.

² The official policy of the Labour and Liberal Parties in May, 1942, is to raise this minimum age to sixteen in the near future. But, for the reasons given on p. 99, above, I would prefer to see fifteen retained for some years yet as the *minimum* age of going to work while the *average* age is steadily increased and part-time day secondary education is made compulsory up to eighteen.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S COLLEGES

exemptions contemplated by the 1936 Act will probably disappear.¹

Our map shows young people who have left their secondary school—whether modern, junior technical or grammar school—attending young people's colleges or local colleges up to the age of eighteen. These young people's colleges have already² been described in general terms. They form, as we saw, a permanent and indispensable part of a national system of educating good citizens of the State and The Commonwealth. How great is the need for them in England appears from the fact that, in 1938, more than 60 per cent of the boys and more than 70 per cent of the girls, between the ages of fifteen and eighteen were neither attending any whole-time school nor in touch with the national system of part-time education.³

THE FISHER SCHEME

In order to fill this gap in the national system Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's Education Act of 1918 prescribed a system of day continuation schools.⁴ In effect, the intention was that every young person who had left school before sixteen and was still under eighteen would have to attend one of those schools for one day, or two half days, a week for forty weeks in the year.⁵ In fact, however, the Fisher plan was not followed for any length of time anywhere save in Rugby and there only for pupils under sixteen. But of all the changes in the education of Englishmen likely to happen after the war, none is more certain than that young people's

¹ The White Paper (Cmd. 6458) of July, 1943, confirms this statement.

² See above, pp. 98 to 103.

³ The following were the numbers of young persons between 15 and 18 in England and Wales on 31 March, 1938. The figures in italics are taken from *Education in 1938*. The other figures are rough approximations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Total	In P.E.S.	In grant-aided secondary schools	In Junior Technical Schools	In Day Con- tinuation Schools	In Evening Schools	In whole-time schools outside state system	Sum of columns 2-6 as a percent- age of column 1
Boys	950,000	10,070	72,926	2,745	4,421	218,280	30,000	35.8
Girls	950,000	10,070	62,051	1,325	5,510	129,455	30,000	25.5

⁴ See Sections 75-9 of the Consolidating Act of 1921.

⁵ For 320 hours in each year (Section 76 (1) of the *Education Act*, 1921).

THE FISHER SCHEME

colleges on the Fisher model will be brought into existence all over the country.

The number of hours of compulsory attendance may, however, be limited to two hundred and eighty¹ in each year: seven instead of eight day-time hours a week for forty weeks. On the other hand, the exemption granted² to pupils who have stayed at (whole-time) school up to the age of sixteen, and perhaps also that given to all who have passed the matriculation examination of a university of the United Kingdom, ought to disappear. Otherwise the extension of the minimum school-leaving age to fifteen will mean that one more year of whole-time schooling will enable anyone to by-pass the part-time colleges; and we have had reason to think that many young people will get more good from part-time education between fifteen and eighteen than from another year of whole-time schooling between fifteen and sixteen.³ Another useful change in the existing law would allow a local education authority to try the experiment of substituting a six or seven weeks' course in a boarding school for the usual day, or two half-days, a week⁴ during forty weeks.

¹ The existing law (Section 76 (1) (b) of the Act of 1921) allows local authorities to substitute 280 hours, but only during the first seven years after the law comes into force.

² By Section 77 (1) (iii) of the Act of 1921.

³ See above, p. 99.

⁴ See above, pp. 102, 103. The numerical aspect of this matter suggests that such an experiment might attract some local authorities. If we apply to our map the scale described on p. 139, we find that 85,500 boys—and an equal number of girls—will be attending young people's colleges on each of the five days, or ten half-days, in each week for forty weeks. The number of boys between 16+ and 18 receiving 'intermediate part-time' education in local colleges is 144,000 or 28,800 on each of five days a week. This means that some 1,470 places (roughly 1,100 in young people's colleges and, if practicable, 360 in local colleges) will be needed for boys, and a like number for girls, in every half-million of the population. A town such as Oxford with about 100,000 inhabitants would, for example, need to provide places for some 300 boys and 300 girls, except in so far as some of the local college places may already be available. An administrative county such as Cambridgeshire with 70,000 inhabitants outside the county town might send buses to collect the young people from different groups of villages on each day of the week and bring them to one of the Village Colleges (below, pp. 212–213): say 26 boys and 26 girls in each of eight Village Colleges, or 17 boys and girls in each of three years, besides those in Cambridge itself. Or Oxfordshire, with 130,000 people in the administrative county, might prefer that the young people's colleges in rural areas should be boarding schools. (In 1941, the local education authority informed the Board of Education that they held this view.)

YOUNG PEOPLE'S COLLEGES

But, in every such experiment, the boarders should somehow be persuaded not to lose all touch with their teachers, or else to come under other educational influences, during the greater part of the year.

WORK AND PLAY

The spiritual and social aspects of part-time secondary education have already been discussed.¹ We recall that it is not to be confined to formal lessons but should include physical and social training. Every young people's college should, we said, have the use of playing fields and, if possible, of a swimming bath. It ought to be open in the evenings for recreation, voluntary classes, and private study. And some of these schools might combine to provide holiday camps or holiday tours.²

On the intellectual side, the work should, as we have seen,³ find its centre of interest in the pupils' occupations wherever that is made possible by the presence of a sufficient number of young people in similar

Assuming then that 1,000 out of the 5,000 young people between 15 and 18 'would be in or near towns where they could attend day continuation schools, the remaining 4,000 could be catered for by four boarding schools . . . which might be mixed or, possibly, two for boys and two for girls each taking 1,000 pupils a year. If six weeks' courses were provided seven courses could be held annually (while allowing adequate staff holidays) giving an average of 140 students in each course. Young people in urban areas should not be debarred from the advantages of residential courses in rural surroundings, and their attendance could be arranged without difficulty.' See an article by T. O. Willson, C.B.E., M.A., Director of Education for Oxfordshire, in *The Journal of Education* for February, 1943. The White Paper (Cmd. 6458, Section 70) appears to be well disposed to this Oxfordshire scheme.

¹ On pp. 100-103, above. The vocational education up to 16 should reach the standard now attained by the two-year preliminary courses in Evening Institutes. From 16 to 18 the vocational work should cover the ground of the present Ordinary National Certificate. Cf. a paper communicated to the Institution of Electrical Engineers by Dr. A. P. M. Fleming on 1 January, 1942.

² The London County Council has already established twenty-four 'Junior Men's Institutes' open in the evenings to boys under 18. Many of these institutes run summer week-end camps. 'The institutes work in close co-operation with neighbouring clubs and associations devoted to the social welfare of boys. The subjects taken include wood and metal work, wireless, leather-work, photography, physical training and boxing. . . . The social side is strongly developed. Various clubs are open to the members and talks on travel and adventure are given from time to time.' (*Floodlight*, L.C.C. guide to evening classes, 1939-40, p. 13.)

³ On p. 99, above.

WORK AND PLAY

employment. From the vocational centre their studies should spread out to cover such a wide field as we sketched for the older pupils of modern schools. And where circumstances make it impossible to focus the teaching upon the pupils' diverse kinds of daily work, their citizenship should provide their centre of interest as it did for most of them towards the end of their time in modern schools.¹ For these young people's colleges are essentially 'continuation' schools.

THE LOCAL COLLEGE

One-quarter of the boys under eighteen who are being given part-time education are shown on the map as studying in local colleges. Most of these boys will have obtained their School Certificates before leaving junior technical or grammar schools at sixteen plus. Together with a smaller number of girls of the same age and attainments, they are entering upon careers for which they ought to have some technical training. Their work will be better done, and prove far more interesting, if their many and various tasks are linked together in their minds by abstract principles and generalizations. These they must study in part-time classes outside their daily routine. Their part-time studies, like those of other young persons, must however be wide enough to relate their vocational interests to their outlook on life as a whole and therefore to their functions as citizens. Yet the subjects forming the vocational core of their curriculum must be studied in the deep way rather than the wide. That is because they prepare for more advanced work in the same field during the following years. This further study will have to be done at a local college. Wherever practicable the resources of the local college should also be used to provide the preparatory courses discussed in this paragraph and marked on the map as 'intermediate part-time'. But where this cannot be done, the staffing and equipment of the new young people's colleges will have to meet the needs of sixteen to eighteen year old ex-pupils of junior technical schools and grammar schools as well as of the fifteen to eighteen year old ex-pupils of modern schools.

19. The Service Year

MILITARY SERVICE

A period of compulsory national or international service is shown on our map between the ages of eighteen and nineteen. When Hitlerite Germany and Nationalist Japan have been defeated, many parts of the world will have to be protected against chaos until a general settlement

¹ See above, p.182 .

THE SERVICE YEAR

has been reached and a new international order firmly established. The task of preventing chaos cannot be left entirely to Russia and China with the help of the smaller among the United Nations. The British and American Commonwealths will have to carry their share of the burden. They must be prepared with sufficient reserves of trained men as well as of material armament—ships, planes, guns, tanks and munitions of all sorts—for decisive intervention in an emergency. Their power may have to be used not only at sea and in the air but also on land. This means that, for some years to come, every British youth must learn to bear arms so soon as he is old enough to do so effectively.

The speed with which our new armies have learnt their job in war-time suggests that one year of army, naval or air training, followed in subsequent years by short holiday courses to keep the men fit and their experience up to date, would suffice to provide the trained reserves. But whether an annual levy of some 300,000 men from the United Kingdom would add enough man-power to the professional navy, army and air force for all their normal duties will be a matter for expert decision when the time comes. Meanwhile it seems likely that the power of modern weapons will enable a comparatively small force to keep order throughout great tracts of land and sea and among vast numbers of people when once Germany and Japan have been disarmed.

If it were agreed that one year of compulsory service with the colours would provide enough trained reserves for an emergency and a large enough establishment for normal duties, then this twelve months might be shortened to nine in the case of those few boys¹ who have received, up to the age of eighteen, a whole-time education in which some military, air or naval training has been included during the last two years. Boys in the sixth forms of Higher Secondary Schools and grammar schools would then be able to remain at school until the Christmas after their eighteenth birthday.² Their service with the colours would follow and would be over by Michaelmas.³ Our map shows one-third of these young

¹ Shown on the map as 12 per cent of the whole number.

² The *Norwood Report* (p. 35) contemplates only six months of public service for boys and girls from secondary grammar schools. The Report accordingly proposes that the new examination of candidates for State Scholarships to the universities be held in March of their nineteenth year, and that university and college open scholarship examinations be held in the previous December. We would rather put the open scholarship examinations in November and the State scholarship examination in December.

³ This shortened period of military service is shown on the map as a little less than nine months.

MILITARY SERVICE

men entering the university at that time, and the other two-thirds beginning their part-time studies in either a university or a local college. By this arrangement their intellectual education would suffer a minimum of interruption.

But the period of the service year marked by the black column in our map need be by no means detrimental to education as a whole. It may on balance, be an asset instead of a liability. Certainly, young men who come up to the university at nineteen with nine months military service behind them will be much better able to benefit by the university's resources for social education than if they had come up fresh from school at eighteen. Their greater age and richer experience of life will also put them in a better position to understand the problems of politics, economics and citizenship which they will have to face, if not in their formal studies for a degree, at least in their free and easy talks with one another.¹

It is, of course, only the very few² who will return from military service to become undergraduates. The others, who come home to resume or to begin their employment may be happier in themselves and more useful to the community for all that they have learnt of the art of good mixing.

There is, however, no reason why the education of eighteen-year-old conscripts should be confined to their military and social training. Classes have been, and will be, provided in a number of subjects, vocational and non-vocational, in order to make young soldiers into happier and better citizens by the time they return to civil life. The Army Bureau of Current Affairs, always and everywhere known as A.B.C.A., will continue to bring together groups of thirty or forty soldiers during work hours to discuss current problems under the chairmanship of a platoon commander, officer or N.C.O. He acts as group leader but does not instruct. The notes, literature and wall-maps supplied by A.B.C.A. are designed to help discussion, but the men are perfectly free to debate anything they like in the course of the meeting. And one hour a week of religious instruction, when officers and other ranks may cross-examine the padre and discuss his sermons as well as his lectures, is already a regular feature of the military training of one famous division of the British army. Opportunities of the same kind should be given to sailors and airmen.

¹ In *The Times* of 18 February, 1942, Professor Ernest Barker wrote of 'the remarkable achievements of the ex-Service men who were my pupils in 1919 and 1920. They were the best I ever had in my forty years of teaching. . . . Indeed, they were a noble company—hard-working, yet full of gaiety; but, above all, possessing that experience of life which gave a new pith and substance to their studies.'

² Shown on the map as 4 per cent for men.

THE SERVICE YEAR

OTHER NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

When the need for universal military service has passed, its educational and social value may have become so plain that its place will be taken by a similar period of compulsory service in other work of national and international importance.

In the case of students of applied science some attempt should be made to relate such service to their intended professions. Engineers, for instance, might do a year of workshop training in industry; medical students might be given the option of spending part of their nineteenth year in hospitals or in other kinds of welfare work; and students of agriculture might work on farms during the summer months of their service year. A year spent in education abroad after the age of eighteen might be accepted as one form of international service.¹

Much work of national and international importance can best be done by women. The need for it will be greater than ever when the war ends. Compulsory service for women, but with many more exemptions than in the case of men, should therefore be continued when peace returns.² The individuals as well as the community will be the better for

¹ Cf. the second footnote on p. 110, above.

² I am indebted to Miss Audrey E. O'B. Clark for the following note on one of the many alternative forms of compulsory service for girls:

One year of compulsory national service for girls between the ages of 18 and 19 might well take the form of fitting them for the normal duties of a woman, whether she marries or not.

Such duties include—

(1) The general management of a house, e.g. cooking, knowledge of food values, cleaning, housekeeping, sewing, laundry work and minor household repairs.

(2) Nursing.

(3) The care of children.

(4) Dairy work and farming.

The training could be done either at home or in an employer's house, but it would be at an age and under such conditions that the girl would be able to shoulder responsibility in a way she cannot do at school.

With regard to (1) a real love of and respect for housework is encouraged by an organization such as The League of Skilled Housecraft (under the auspices of the Girls' Friendly Society, Townsend House, Greycoat Place, Westminster, S.W.1) which enables girls to reach a high standard of efficiency through a series of practical examinations held in their homes or situations, by mutual arrangement between the housekeeper and examiner. Successful candidates are awarded certificates entitling them to wear a badge according to the grade of examination, and a recognized uniform may be worn after the final certificate is won.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

it. It will form part of their training in citizenship. And, in the case of university students—half or one-third as many as the men¹—their greater experience and maturity will count for much in their intellectual and social life as undergraduates.

20. Residential Universities

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

The university's leading part in the education of good citizens was considered in our third chapter.² Nothing need be added here about English universities in particular, except on one point. In this respect the ancient tradition of English universities differs from that of most other countries. Since medieval times the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been residential institutions. To have kept nine terms of residence within two and a half miles of Carfax or within three miles of Great St. Mary's is still required of all candidates for the B.A. degree at Oxford or Cambridge. Oxford and Cambridge thus acknowledge that to attend lectures and pass examinations is not the only, nor yet the chief, purpose of a university training. Social and spiritual forces must join with intellectual effort to make 'fit persons for the service of God in Church and State'. Never has this truth been more nobly or more plainly stated than in the resounding periods of Cardinal Newman:

Other existing schemes could be adapted for (2), (3) and (4).

It has been suggested that any national scheme of this kind might also include the appointment (under the local education authority) of a 'referee' whose duty would be to act as a friendly liaison between mistress and 'trainee' through whom all arrangements of work, hours, wages and general conditions should be made and through whom any disputes could be settled and who would herself know the standard reached by each 'pupil' in her area, through a register of the various certificates as they were awarded.

In all this training general qualities of character are of supreme importance and each girl should be helped to realize how great is her contribution towards making a home happy or the reverse, and though this ought primarily to be the aim of those who train her, the ultimate responsibility rests with the girl herself.

There will be an even greater need in the future for a system of education which would give to every girl the opportunity of learning how to run a house properly, for a woman's inefficiency in this department is so often the one cause of friction in an otherwise harmonious household.

¹ In 1938-9, the number of whole-time women students in English universities and university colleges was 8,186. The number of men was 29,003. (University Grants Committee's *Returns*, p. 7.)

² See above, pp. 103 to 112.

RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITIES

'I protest to you, Gentlemen', he wrote in 1852, 'that if I had to choose between a so-called University which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away, as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years since, if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect . . . which of the two courses was the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more gifted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun.'¹

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This passage is quoted in the *Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education* in London. But the great cosmopolitan University of London, with more than one-third of all the whole-time students in English universities, is in a case by itself. It cannot prescribe or provide residence and tutorial superintendence for its external students, and perhaps not for most of its internal students either.

There does not, however, seem to be any good reason, apart from the cost, why the English provincial universities and the university colleges should not follow the English tradition. And if the argument of this book is sound, if the education of good citizens should concern their bodies, minds and spirits (and not their intellects alone), if it ought to afford them an outlook on life and a sympathetic understanding of their fellows as well as a training for their own particular vocations, then the education of so many of the leading Englishmen and Englishwomen of to-morrow ought not to be spoiled for the lack of a little money to-day. That the sum is indeed a relatively small one becomes plain so soon as we look into the figures.

Suppose that each of the English provincial universities—Birmingham, Bristol, Durham (including King's College, Newcastle), Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester (including the College of Technology), Reading and Sheffield—were to make it a rule that at least three terms', or one year's, residence in a college or university hostel should be required for the first degree. This rule would not prevent advanced students, or part-

¹ *The Idea of a University*.

THE PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITIES

time students, from working for higher degrees, particularly by research, without the residential qualification. But it would be a decisive step towards making residence the usual thing for undergraduates in the provincial universities. Many a matriculated student who was compelled to reside during his first year would be loath to leave his college or hostel if he could find the needful funds to pay his way for a second and a third year, and the demand for yet more hostels would soon create the supply.

Taken all together these universities have rather fewer whole-time students than the University of London, and rather fewer men students than Oxford and Cambridge. They represent quantitatively, say, one-third of English university education. So also does the University of London. So again do Oxford and Cambridge, although qualitatively they stand for much more. The three university colleges—Exeter, Nottingham and Southampton—had, in 1938–9, only 1,272 out of 37,189 full-time students in the University Grants Committee's *Returns* for England.

The number of full-time men students entering the universities of England for the first time in any one year is shown in our map as 12,000.¹ The actual number in 1938–9 was 8,840,² or, say, three-quarters of our figure. We shall use the actual numbers of 1938–9 in our reckoning. Then, if we like, we can add something to the cost of the new hostels in order to allow for an increase in the number of undergraduates after the war.

Of the 8,840 full-time men students entering English universities in 1938–9, the number reading for degrees was 7,365; and, of these, the share of the provincial universities was 1,830. Women accounted for another 670 making a total for the provincial universities of 2,500.³ We

¹ Four units of 3,000 men in each, all of them undergraduates; see above, p. 140.

² University Grants Committee, *Returns from Universities and University Colleges, 1938–39*, p. 8. The figure includes at least 1,500 who were not undergraduates reading for a first degree.

³ The figures given by the University Grants Committee are:

	Birmingham	Bristol	Durham	King's College Newcastle	Leeds	Liverpool	Manchester	College of Technology	Reading	Sheffield	Total
Men	223	172	80	225	274	269	308	93	70	116	1830
Women	76	77	29	81	81	102	133	—	53	38	670
Total	299	249	109	306	355	371	441	93	123	154	2500

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do not know how many of these 2,500 lived in college or in hostels. But the University Grants Committee have published the numbers of full-time students, men and women, in each university who were living in colleges and hostels, or in lodgings, or at home, in 1938-9. We shall not be far wrong if we assume that, in each university, the proportion of men, and of women, living in colleges and hostels was the same among first year graduating students as among the whole body of full-time students. It then appears that the numbers who, had our proposed new rule been in force in 1938-9, would have been compelled to reside in college or hostel, over and above the number who did in fact reside, was 1,436 men and 376 women, or a total of 1,812. The following table shows how this total is reached. The figures in columns (a), (b) and (c) are taken from the University Grants Committee's *Returns for 1938-39*, page 7.

TABLE 1

		(a) ¹	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
		Total full-time students	Residing in college or hostel	Full-time graduating students entering for the first time in 1938-9	Estimated number of c in colleges and hostels (bc/a)	Number in column c for whom hostels are needed (c-d)
Birmingham	men	1013	104	223	23	200
	women	420	105	76	19	57
Bristol	men	675	206	172	52	120
	women	330	184	77	43	34
Durham Colleges	men	319	306	80	77	3
	women	93	92	29	29	0
King's College, Newcastle	men	1002	228	225	51	174
	women	295	114	81	31	50
Leeds	men	1361	192	274	39	235
	women	396	173	81	35	46
Liverpool	men	1575	201 ¹	269	34	235
	women	480	120	102	25	77

The corresponding figures for men entering other English Universities and University Colleges were:

Oxford	Cambridge	London	Exeter	Nottingham	Southampton
1418	1805	2118	54	86	54

¹ The number of men students residing in Liverpool hostels is given in the *Returns* as 101. In column (b) this figure has been increased by 100, the number of residents in 1940-1 in the new Derby Hall opened in September, 1939

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TABLE 1—*continued.*

		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Manchester (with	men	1920	295	401	61	340
Col. of Technology)	women	542	210	133	52	81
Reading	men	294	195	70	46	34
	women	290	239	53	45	8
Sheffield	men	619	113	116	21	95
	women	148	59	38	15	23
Total	men					1436
	women					376
Total (men and women)						1812

THE NUMBER OF NEW HOSTELS

These figures show that, if our rule had been in force in 1938-9, one or two (or, in Manchester, perhaps three) new hostels would have been needed for men students in every provincial university except Reading. For the smaller surpluses of women students, room might, in some cases, have been found in existing colleges or hostels; but a new hostel for women, or an extension of an existing hostel, would probably have been found necessary in each of the universities except Bristol, Reading and Sheffield. In the case of the University of Durham, both the new hostels would be required for Newcastle, not for the Durham colleges.

In no case would it be wise to build a new hostel for fewer than some seventy students. Where the deficiency foreseen for men or for women is less than seventy, and where the need cannot be conveniently met by enlarging an existing hostel, the students to whom our rule applies and for whom no room can yet be found in college or in a hostel would be required to live either at home or in lodgings which are registered and supervised by the university.

Although the enforcement of our rule in 1938-9 would thus have required rather fewer than 1,812 additional places in colleges and hostels, we shall take that figure as the basis of our further reckoning so that we may keep on the safe side. After all, we look for a large increase in the number of undergraduates after the war.

THE COST OF NEW HOSTELS

What then will be the cost of new hostels for 1812 students? A rough estimate based upon prices ruling in 1938-9 and the experience of three London hostels¹ and of the new Derby Hall in Liverpool University (in

¹ I am indebted to Miss Thyra B. Alleyne for the figures relating to College Hall of which she was the creator as well as the Warden. For particulars of the

RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITIES

each of which every student has his, or her, own bed-sitting room) suggests that the new hostels will cost about £102 per student per annum, £42 for capital charges and £60 for maintenance. The figures are:

TABLE 2

	College Hall Malet St., W.C.1 (built 1932-4)	King's College Theological Hall (built 1913-29)	King's Coll. Hall Denmark Hill (built 1870, 1925)	Derby Hall Liverpool (opened 1939)	Estimate for new Hostels in provin- cial universities
Number of students accommodated	168 (women)	76 ^a (men)	75 (men)	137 (men)	150, say
Cost per head of building & furniture	£652	£637	£700 ^a	£635	£700
Cost per head of site	£217 ¹	£211 ⁵	£29 ⁸	£73 ¹	£200
Annual capital cost per head	£39 ⁷	?	?		£42 ⁸
Annual cost per head of maintenance	£56 ⁹	£60 ¹⁰	£66		£60 ¹¹
Total annual cost per head	£95	?	?		£102

two King's Collège halls I have to thank the Principal, Dr. W. R. Halliday. Miss Eglantyne Jebb was kind enough to send me information about the Froebel Educational Institute's hostels in Roehampton: the annual maintenance of the Templeton hostel cost £63 a year per head for 56 students for 1938-9. The new Derby Hall for 137 men students of Liverpool University cost £635 per student for building and furniture and, say, £73 a head for the site. But the building was not opened until September 1939 and the cost of maintenance in war-time is not comparable with the peace-time costs in our table. (The University of Liverpool owns the freehold of the site of Derby Hall. The land was in part bought by the University and in part presented. The Vice-Chancellor, who has been so kind as to give me this information, tells me that the total land thus acquired is larger than would naturally belong to the present hostel; that the total price paid by the University was £9,850; and that it is not possible to say what the actual site cost: 'say, £10,000, but this is a pure guess'.)

^a The Hall accommodates 74 students and 2 members of the Staff, besides the Warden's house with 11 rooms.

¹ The two wings built in 1922-5 cost £26,546. The original house, built about 1870, must have cost almost as much.

THE COST OF NEW HOSTELS

Taking £102 as the annual cost per head of the hostels required for the 1812 students, the whole cost for all the English provincial universities works out at £184,824 or, say, £185,000 a year. This is 9·3 per cent of the expenditure of these universities in 1938–9¹ or 29·4 per cent of their annual grant from the Treasury.² The provision and maintenance of the additional hostels needed were our rule in force would therefore increase the expenditure of the provincial universities by less than 10 per cent. If the whole cost, apart from one-third of the cost of site and buildings reckoned to be raised by local subscription,³ were met by an increase in the annual grants from the Treasury, that increase would be less than 30 per cent of the grants to these universities, or less than 10 per cent of the whole amount of the annual Treasury Grant to Universities and University Colleges in Great Britain.⁴

The contribution from public funds to the cost of providing the new hostels would however be less than the sum we have calculated, for the

¹ Reckoning 20 years purchase on the ground rent of £1,486 p.a. plus £6,800 for the lease.

² Reckoning 20 years purchase on the commercial ground rent of £800 p.a. Actually the College pays only £400 p.a. to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The higher rate would be payable if part of the site were used for secular purposes.

³ Reckoning 20 years purchase on the ground rent of £107. The original house with its leasehold site was a gift.

⁴ The annual capital charges on College Hall consist of £1,486 Ground Rent, £1,165 Depreciation on Lease, £3,853 for Mortgage.

⁵ We suppose that one-third of the capital cost, or £300 per head, is raised by subscription, and the other two-thirds, or £600 per head, by mortgage. The mortgage might cost 7 per cent p.a. (4½ per cent interest and 2½ per cent sinking fund) or £42 per head per annum.

⁶ Guest Fees, or payments received from vacation conference visitors, amounted to £1,460 (or £9 per student) in 1938–9. This sum is deducted before reckoning the cost per student at £56.

⁷ Guest Fees amounted to £700 in 1938–9. This sum is deducted from the actual cost of maintenance before reckoning the cost per student at £60.

⁸ Guest Fees will not always be available to reduce the net cost of maintenance; but this cost should be somewhat less in the provinces than in London.

⁹ University Grants Committee's *Returns for 1938–39*, Table 10, p. 23. The total expenditure was £2,138,460.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, Table 13, p. 26. The total amount of these grants for 1938–9 was £627,600.

¹¹ See eighth footnote to preceding page.

¹² *Loc. cit.*, Table 13, p. 26. The whole amount for Great Britain was, in 1938–9, £2,077,900.

RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITIES

following reason. In practice the annual cost of the new hostels—£102 a year for each student at 1939 prices—would not be met by direct Treasury grants to the universities but by giving scholarships and maintenance allowances to the students sufficient to enable them to pay the hostel fees and to cover the incidental expenses of life in college so that they may benefit from it to the full.¹ Some students would be able to pay their own fees and other expenses; and every student whom our rule compelled to live in college or in a hostel would be saving the cost of living at home and travelling to and fro, or else of living in lodgings. The average amount of public money paid as subsidies to these students would therefore be considerably less than the whole £102 a year on which we have reckoned. When therefore allowance has been made for any change in the price level since 1939, our estimates of the cost of providing the new hostels should be well on the safe side. The margin may even be large enough to cover the large increase shown in our map in the number of undergraduates since 1938-9.

21. Adult Education

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

For those young men and women who do not go to the university, education in England after the war will include both vocational and non-vocational training in part-time classes.

The former will be provided partly in university institutions² and partly in local colleges. It will include advanced three-year courses³ reaching the standard for an ordinary degree. Among the subjects of these courses will be several branches of technology (engineering, chemical industries, textiles, paper-making), architecture, and building, industrial administration, economics, insurance, banking, law, and modern languages. Since these organized courses, many of them leading to National Certificates endorsed by the Board of Education, cannot cover all the manifold occupations in which the students are engaged, local

¹ See the second footnote on p. 95, above.

² The University Grants Committee's *Returns for 1938-39*, p. 11, shows part-time students in every English university except Oxford and Cambridge and in every university institution (outside Oxford and Cambridge) except Westfield College in the University of London. But the number of part-time students was only one-quarter of the number of full-time students. Our map shows this quarter increased to three-quarters.

³ Often preceded by two earlier years shown in the map as 'intermediate part-time'.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

colleges will continue to provide part-time classes in all kinds of other subjects for all sorts of men and women: nurses and cooks, housewives and craftsmen, foremen and managers, clerks and salesmen, civil servants and local government officials, and many other categories of industrial, commercial and professional people.

We have seen how all this technical education helps to make good citizens, both because it increases the usefulness of the service they give to the community in their vocation and because it provides each of them with an intellectual training which is often extremely effective in proportion to the time and effort spent upon it.¹ But it does not, by itself, supply the good citizen's need for an integrated mind as well as to understand his neighbour and to share with him a common purpose and outlook on life.²

BEGINNINGS OF NON-VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION

Spiritual and social education were not ignored by the pioneers of adult education in England. The first Mechanics Institute was founded in London in 1820. Other institutions of the same kind quickly followed, especially in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The activities—of the Manchester Mechanics Institute, for example—included popular lectures by men eminent in science and letters, industrial exhibitions and exhibitions of fine art, and popular concerts 'of a refined and elevated character'.

Since apprenticeship had fallen into decay with the growth of large factories and the division of labour, some of the Mechanics Institutes started workshop classes to make good the deficiency. By the late 'seventies, technical education as a substitute for apprenticeship was beginning to attract public attention, and a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the provision of it. The Commissioners visited many technical schools on the continent of Europe, especially those in Germany, and their report was issued in 1882. It led, within ten years, to new legislation. The Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891 and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890 empowered local authorities to raise a penny rate and placed other public funds at their disposal for purposes of technical and manual instruction.

To supply or aid the supply of other kinds of adult education formed no part of the duty, nor was it within the power, of local authorities until twenty years later. In the meantime, although private benefactors and, notably in London, public charities did something to fill the gap,

¹ See above, pp. 118, 119.

² See above, pp. 58, 122.

ADULT EDUCATION

the technical education of part-time students went ahead much faster than their training for their private lives or for citizenship. Most of the Mechanics Institutes became technical schools which concentrated, often with marked success, on vocational training but gave only a back place, or no place at all, to cultural studies, social life and other aspects of non-vocational adult education.

THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

That is not to say that the liberal education of adults who had already begun their life's work was wholly neglected in England during the nineteenth century. The Working Men's College, founded in London by Frederick Denison Maurice and his friends in 1854, went to the opposite extreme. Its concern was with working men who sought education, as Maurice put it, 'on some ground which had in it no mercenary motive'. Although it is not typical of local colleges as they have since grown up in England, it deserves our notice because, for nearly ninety years, it has stood for the ideal of a liberal culture, and, in its practice of adult education, has never forgotten that, whatever his job may be, 'a man's a man for a' that'.

The Working Men's College sprang from the events of 1848. That was a year of revolution in Europe, of disturbance in Ireland, and of that social unrest in England which culminated in the Chartist movement. When the Chartists signed the Monster Petition and threatened to present it, by force if necessary, to Parliament, Maurice determined to get in touch with them. Charles Kingsley 'drafted an appeal assuring them of sympathy with their grievances, imploring them not to "mean licence when you cry for liberty", and ending with the words, "Workmen of England be wise and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free"'.¹

That phrase became the keynote of the group which Maurice led. They opened the Working Men's College to provide 'instruction at the lowest possible cost in the subjects with which it most concerns English citizens to be acquainted, and thus place a liberal education within the reach of working men'. Eighty-four years later, in 1938-9, the College was providing evening classes in the humanities, modern languages, science, art, music and physical training, together with social, literary, scientific and athletic clubs. But the number of students, for the most part working men, was only 979,² and its example has not been widely

¹ Working Men's College *Year Book 1939-40*, p. 24.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 35. The expenditure of the College in 1938-9 was £4,285; but much of the teaching and administration was provided by volunteers, 'members of the Universities or of the different professions, or those who have themselves been students in the College'.

THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

followed by other institutions. No doubt its ban on vocational training kept it outside the main stream of adult education in England.

THE POLYTECHNICS

Very different has been the fate of Quintin Hogg's Polytechnic. His enterprise began with a Bible Class held under the Adelphi Arches, lit by a candle mounted on a ginger-beer bottle, and attended by a few shoeblacks. From the Adelphi his boys moved to a club house in Og Alley, off Buckingham Street, and thence to Long Acre. After sixteen years he bought the buildings of the old Polytechnic, famous for its big electric machine, its diving bell and Pepper's ghost. In the Regent Street Polytechnic, Quintin Hogg's original evangelistic effort grew into 'an educational institution of a novel, and comprehensive character, with classes for the serious study of science, art and literature, a gymnasium, library, reading circles, laboratories for physics and chemistry, conversation and debating clubs, organized country excursions, swimming, rowing and natural history societies, a savings bank and choral singing, besides religious services, open to all the members, though not obligatory for any. The founder, who from the first took the closest interest in the students, well describes his own aims: "What we wanted to develop our institute into was a place which should recognize that God had given man more than one side to his character, and where we could gratify any reasonable taste, whether athletic, intellectual, spiritual or social".'¹

The success of this effort was remarkable. In the first winter 6,800 members joined and the membership steadily increased. In 1900 it reached a total of 15,000. By 1937-8 the number of students and members had risen to 23,028;² there were 172 classes in different grades and subjects held weekly in one only out of thirteen sections into which the part-time education was divided; and some forty clubs and societies had been formed for recreation and social purposes.

The precedent set by Quintin Hogg's Polytechnic in Regent Street was quickly followed in other parts of London. The bulk of the money made available by the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883—some £35,000 a

¹ See the article *Polytechnic* by Sir Joshua Fitch and Dr. William Garnett in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition. I am also indebted to an address delivered by Dr. William Garnett to *The League of the Empire* in July, 1916, on the educational work of the London County Council.

² Annual Report for 1937-8. A footnote adds: 'This number has been calculated on the same basis as in previous years, but it is difficult to estimate exactly owing to the overlap between students and members, especially those attending the classes in Physical Training'.

ADULT EDUCATION

year—was used to maintain the new polytechnics. Their work was developed and co-ordinated when, in 1893, the London County Council began to exercise its powers under the Technical Instruction Acts. In granting money to the polytechnics it was, from the start, the Council's policy to allow to the several governing bodies the greatest possible freedom in the conduct of social, recreative and religious work. But neither the Council's nor the Government's grants could be used for these purposes; and, in fact, by far the greater part of the adult education provided by the polytechnics was of a vocational kind. It bore directly upon the daily work of the students rather than upon their other functions as citizens or their individual lives.

That the same was, broadly speaking, true of most of the adult education provided in England by means of evening classes before the war of 1914-18 is clear from a Report made by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1909. 'The weaker side of these adult Evening Classes', wrote the Committee, 'is the non-technical. Instruction in history, literature, and citizenship has hitherto failed to evoke the widespread interest among the masses of the people.'¹

That statement would still be true of England to-day. Nevertheless, the non-vocational part-time education of adults has made progress during the past thirty years.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AND TUTORIAL CLASSES

University Extension Lectures were started at Cambridge in 1875, mainly through the influence of Professor James Stuart. The London Society for the Extension of University Teaching was established in 1876, and Oxford entered the lists in 1877. In 1937-8, all the English universities and most of the university colleges were providing or supervising university extension lectures and tutorial classes.

This new movement for adult education began in 1903. It has depended on the co-operation of the universities with the Workers' Educational Association founded in that year, and also with a number of other bodies such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Co-operative Movement, and the Educational Settlements Association. But the W.E.A. has been the chief partner of the universities. Indeed, it has been almost entirely responsible for organizing the tutorial classes, while the universities, through their Tutorial Classes Joint Committees, have provided the tutors and looked after the educational side.²

¹ *Lqc. cit.*, p. 84.

² See the Report on Adult Education by the British Association's Committee on Post-War University Education (September, 1943).

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AND TUTORIAL CLASSES

These tutorial classes are part-time courses in non-vocational subjects such as literature and language, economics, history, geography, aesthetics (including music and art), natural science, sociology, philosophy and psychology. Some of them occupy at least two hours a week for at least twenty-four weeks in each of three years, and at least one half of the time is given to class-work. The courses were attended, in 1937-8, by 12,698 students. Another 1,992 students were preparing for these three-year tutorial classes, and a further 263 were doing more advanced work. Thus altogether there were 14,953 adult part-time students in England and Wales attending preparatory, three-year, and advanced tutorial classes in 1937-8.¹ Apart from 137 students in residential colleges,² these 14,953 adults were the only persons who are known to have been studying non-vocational subjects in continuous courses comparable in their duration with—although for the most part more advanced in character than—those followed in the People's High Schools of Denmark.³

Neither in England nor in Denmark was non-vocational adult education, outside the universities, confined to such continuous courses as, in England, were spread over three or more years or, in Denmark, were concentrated in three or five months. There were also, in England, tutorial holiday courses and university extension courses supervised by universities and colleges, as well as one-year and shorter courses under the control of the Worker's Educational Association and similar bodies. The students in all these shorter courses numbered 41,759.

LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

All these adult students—the 14,953 as well as the 41,759—were outside the national system of education for which the local education authorities are responsible. That is an anomaly for which a remedy should be found after the war. But many more adults studied non-vocational subjects in part-time classes provided by the local authorities all over England.

In London, for instance, a dozen literary institutes have been provided by the County Council for the non-vocational study of history and literature, art and music, philosophy and psychology, classical and

¹ *Education in 1938*, pp. 177-80.

² These residential colleges, not being university colleges or constituent colleges of universities, provided full-time instruction of a university standard in subjects of liberal education to adult students whose full-time education had been interrupted by employment.

³ See above, pp. 113 to 118.

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modern languages. Seven other literary institutes and institutions with literary departments are aided by the Council. The largest of them all—the City Literary Institute—had upwards of 6,000 students in 1937–8.¹

CAMBRIDGESHIRE VILLAGE COLLEGES

Non-vocational education for adults has been developed here and there in the English countryside as well as in the metropolis and other large towns. The Cambridgeshire County Council has planned eight Village Colleges to serve the whole administrative county outside the county town. Four of these colleges have already been built and are now at work. The latest of the four—the Village College at Impington—was opened in the autumn of 1939. Its grounds cover seven and a half acres,² formerly Impington Park. The building consists of two one-storey wings linked by an indoor hall, or 'promenade', with a large Assembly Hall and a two-storey block behind it.³ The Assembly Hall is the core of the whole edifice. It has a modern stage and film equipment and is designed to be the home of drama, music, meetings, dances and festivals.

The purpose of the Impington Village College, and of the other similar colleges, is to make the rural region, or group of villages around a larger village, into a cultural and social unit parallel to that of the town. Modern transport is used in Cambridgeshire to this end, thus counter-acting its tendency to transform the English countryside into a vast and widespread suburb. The local authority arranges for motor omnibuses to bring the villagers together in the evenings to the local college as their community centre. There they find opportunity for adult education, including but not confined to technical education and particularly the countryside's own technical education in agriculture, as well as for recreation and physical training.

¹ See *Floodlight*, the L.C.C. prospectus of evening classes for 1939, p. 14.

² Section 6 of the *Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937*, empowered local education authorities to provide for general use playing fields, swimming baths and other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening. Before 1937 these facilities could be provided under Section 17 of the Fisher Act of 1918 and Section 86 of the Act of 1921, but only for pupils in schools or persons attending other educational institutions.

³ Of the two wings, one is made up of classrooms while the other, used chiefly in the evenings, contains the library and provides adults with a common room, games rooms, and a most comfortable lecture room. Each section of the building is directly accessible from the 'promenade'.

A full description of the building, with plans and excellent photographs, was given in *The Architectural Review*, for December, 1939.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE VILLAGE COLLEGES

In the daytime, when the adults are at work, the Village College is the home of a school for the older boys and girls from the same group of villages. This senior school, at present a public elementary school, will, no doubt, become a modern secondary school¹ after the war. At Impington² it occupies the classroom wing, makes daily use of the Assembly Hall, and has the 'promenade' for its midday dining hall. Since the boys and girls come from a wide circle of villages, most of them dine together in school. Their meal contributes not a little to their social education. Very pleasant it is to watch them enjoy the ample supplies, even in wartime, of nourishing and well-cooked food.

ENGLAND AND DENMARK

The village colleges in Cambridgeshire, the London institutions at which we have glanced, and the part-time courses supervised by universities and university colleges or controlled by Workers' Educational Association and other voluntary bodies, show the principal directions in which adult education in England has tended of late to develop. But of non-vocational adult education there has been very little in comparison with the provision made by the People's High Schools of Denmark and other Scandinavian countries. The statistics published by the Board of Education show that the number of students, not all of them adult, who studied social sciences (including history, sociology, political science and public administration) in evening classes supervised by local education authorities in England and Wales during 1937-8 was 25,542.¹ The corresponding figures for mental and moral sciences (such as philosophy and psychology) was 4,558.² Most of these 30,000 students received no more than thirty hours of instruction during the year.

We may make a rough comparison between the volume of non-vocational adult education in England and in Denmark in 1938. The population of Denmark was about one-tenth of that of England.³ The number of students in the People's High Schools in Denmark was 5,802.⁴ The corresponding figure for England would therefore be 58,000 or about one-tenth of a one-year age-group.

¹ See above, p. 170.

² I am indebted to Mr. Henry Morris, Secretary of the Cambridgeshire Education Committee, for showing me the Impington Village College and for explaining the whole experiment of which this college forms part.

³ *Education in 1938*, p. 167.

⁴ 3,706,000 in Denmark as compared with 38,700,000 in England in 1938.

⁵ The figure is given by Sir Richard Livingstone, *The Future in Education*, p. 47. Since 5,802 is very nearly 10 per cent of a one-year age-group of the

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Against that figure of 58,000, receiving some 600 hours of instruction during the year besides all the social and spiritual training they received during an average of four months residence in college, what had England to show?

First there were the 15,000 serious students, the élite of the three-year, preparatory and advanced tutorial classes.¹ But only 11,168 of these qualified for the government grant by satisfactory work and regular attendance.² And less than one-third of the 11,168—since these courses on the average extended over more than three sessions—represented one year's output. But let us reckon the year's output of these serious students as 4,000. Each of them, during his three or more years of work received, it is true, a much smaller number of hours' instruction than the average Danish student. On the other hand, their work was more advanced than that of the Danish High Schools. They represent, as Sir Richard Livingstone wrote,³ an intelligentsia.

In addition to these 4,000, we have the 41,759 students attending short courses under the auspices of universities, university colleges and voluntary bodies, notably the Workers' Educational Association.⁴ If we reckon that each of these students received on the average thirty hours of instruction or, say, one-twentieth of that given to a Danish student, we may put these 41,759 students as equivalent to 2,100 doing a People's High School course.

Then there are the 30,000 students who received at most thirty hours of instruction in social, mental and moral sciences during their attendance at classes provided or supervised by local education authorities.⁵ These also may be regarded as having had about one-twentieth of the

Danish population (3,706,000 on 5 November, 1935) of the age of twenty-five, it may seem at first sight difficult to reconcile this 10 per cent with his statements that 'in Denmark adult education penetrates the whole nation' (p. 47) and that 'It is reckoned that about 30 per cent of the agricultural community attend a High School' (p. 46). The difficulty disappears when we observe that the agricultural community is only one-third of the whole population—Whitaker's Almanac for 1938 says: 'One-third of the population lives exclusively by agriculture' (p. 945); that only one-half of this third is old enough to have been at a High School; and that 30 per cent of this half is 183,840 persons altogether. If 5,800 persons pass through High Schools every year and afterwards live, on the average, for thirty-two years, the whole number of persons who have attended a High School would be 185,600: almost the same figure as before.

¹ See above, p. 211, where the figure is given as 14,953 in 1937-8.

² *Education in 1938*, p. 180.

³ *The Future in Education*, p. 47.

⁴ See above, p. 211.

⁵ See above, p. 213.

ENGLAND AND DENMARK

training given in the Danish institutions. They are, therefore, equivalent to another 1,500 students in a People's High School course. Perhaps this number might be doubled if we were to add those who studied English and foreign languages as non-vocational subjects: the published statistics do not allow us to distinguish adult students in pursuit of culture from young persons who have to pass an examination for the purpose of their trade or profession.

Altogether then we find the total quantity of non-vocational adult education in England equivalent to an annual output of fewer than 10,000 from residential colleges such as the People's High Schools of Denmark; but the intellectual quality of, say, half of this quantity is higher, and some of it much higher, than in Denmark. If England were proportionally as rich in residential colleges as Denmark is in People's High Schools, the annual output would, we said, be 58,000 instead of 10,000.

CITIZENS' COLLEGES

What about the difference of 48,000, or eight per cent of a one-year age-group? Are we in England to be content with gradual progress along pre-war lines? That would mean adult education in England, outside the universities, consisting of a comparatively large volume of technical studies together with a sprinkling of non-vocational training in evening classes provided by universities and university colleges or the Workers' Educational Association and similar voluntary bodies, or else by polytechnics and literary institutes in the towns and by village colleges in the country. Or are we to supplement this non-vocational training, as Sir Richard Livingstone has urged,¹ by residential colleges on Grundtvig's model?

¹ In *The Future in Education* (1941), e.g. on p. 47: 'In Denmark adult education penetrates the whole nation; in this country it touches individual and small sections'. Compare *Education and World Citizenship* (1921), p. 372: 'The doubly hatched region on the right of the diagram'—the early version of our map, mentioned on p. 137, above—'represents those later years of active service to the community, when attendance at organized courses of study bearing directly upon one's trade or profession may have ceased, but when private reading, and tutorial classes under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, or other university part-time classes, may help those who have passed the ordinary educational age to modernize their ideas and to enlarge their outlook.' A footnote adds 'e.g. such as are provided by the People's High Schools in Denmark: see a paper by J. S. Thornton that forms Chapter XVII of Sir M. E. Sadler's *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*.'

ADULT EDUCATION

There can be no question of imposing any legal obligation on young men or women to enter residential colleges at about the age of twenty-five for five or three months training in the non-vocational accomplishments of good citizens. But suppose that in England, as in Denmark, the supply were to create the demand¹ until, as in Denmark, one-tenth of every age group passed through these colleges. What then would be the scale of the provision needed, and what would it cost at 1938 prices?

We shall assume, that of the 58,000 students for whom accommodation would be needed on the Danish scale, the intellectual needs of 10,000 are already met. Our problem, then, is to provide for 48,000 students—24,000 men and 24,000 women—in residential colleges. The men are to attend for five months courses while the women attend for three months. In each men's college therefore there would be two complete courses every year. In every women's college there would be three. During the holidays, the colleges and their grounds would be available for vacation courses or summer camps.

The number of places to be provided is therefore 12,000 for men and 8,000 for women. We have already² estimated the cost of building hostels for undergraduates. These hostels did not contain lecture-rooms. But they did include common-rooms and a library; and one of the three buildings on which our estimates were based had its own chapel. Moreover, our university hostels gave each resident a bed-sitting room of his, or her, own. These hostels cost, as we reckoned, £900 per head for site and buildings. We assumed that one-third of this capital charge, or £300 per head would be met, by local subscriptions. The balance of £600 per head, translated into annual expenditure, amounted to £42 per head per annum. Since the residential colleges for adults need not give a separate room to each student and since, in many cases, they will be provided not by new buildings but by the purchase of country houses, which their owners will not be able to afford to live in after the war and will be glad to sell at a moderate price for a good cause, we need not put the capital cost per place per annum higher than £40.

The cost of maintaining the university hostels we put at £60 a year. Had it not been for the guest fees paid by visitors to conferences and vacation courses the figure would have been £66 a year. But that covered London prices, including London rates. The new residential colleges will be situated in the country. They should produce a good deal of their own food. A safe estimate of the cost of maintenance, always at 1938 prices, is £60 a year for each place.

If to the annual £40 for capital charges and £60 for maintenance, in-

¹ See above, p. 119.

² On p. 204, above.

CITIZENS' COLLEGES

cluding administration, we add £25 per place for the salaries of the tutors and instructors we arrive at a total expenditure of £125 per place per annum. The whole cost of providing England with residential colleges for adult education on the Danish scale would therefore be £2,500,000¹ a year; or an addition of about sixpence in the pound to the pre-war cost of the national system of education to public funds.

The cost of this extension of adult education in England is certainly not prohibitive. Suppose then that Citizens' Colleges on Grundtvig's model and on the Danish scale are to form part of the English system of education after the war. For men, 12,000 places, and 8,000 for women, will be needed in the country as a whole. That implies one Citizens' College for 150 men and another for 100 women² among every half-million of the population. If the colleges were much smaller than this, their cost per place would be considerably increased. But we have seen³ that less than half the counties of England have as many as half a million inhabitants. It follows that, in many cases, several counties and county boroughs would have to combine to provide and maintain a residential college for adult citizens.

It is to be hoped that the next Education Act will charge the local education authorities with the duty of making prompt and sufficient provision of adult education up to the university level, and including Citizens' Colleges, for all who desire it.⁴ But, for that to happen, Parliament may have to amend the next Education Bill. The proposals of the Board of Education for Educational Reconstruction,⁵ far as they go in many directions along the lines recommended in this book, are disappointingly vague and slow in this matter of adult education. The Board recognize, it is true, that it is 'within the wider sphere of adult education that an ultimate training in democratic citizenship must be sought' and that 'there will need to be developed appropriate centres, including a number of residential colleges, which will not only provide the educational courses which the adult population may need, but will add to them the values associated with the life of a corporate institution'.⁶ But the schemes for adult education which the Board propose to

¹ 20,000 places at £125 each.

² But the English colleges might, as Sir Richard Livingstone has suggested, be co-educational.

³ On p. 176, above.

⁴ See the Report on *Universities and Adult Education* by the British Association's committee on Post-War University Education.

⁵ Cmd. 6458.

⁶ Cmd. 6458, Sections 85, 87.

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require the local authorities to submit to them for approval after consulting the other agencies concerned, are only to be 'put into effect by such stages as the Board may determine'.¹ This procedure is too vague and too slow to meet so urgent and so clear a need.

22. Administration

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

We have just observed that the non-vocational education of adults is yet one more department of educational administration for which some of the existing local authorities are too small unless they pool their efforts. We saw² that they are also too small to handle independently the problem of Higher Secondary Schools. And in all matters demanding co-operation between the universities and the existing authorities for higher education—administrative counties and county boroughs—the multiplicity of authorities within the province of each provincial university is apt to result in difficulties for the university and in unequal opportunities for its would-be students.

Take, for instance, the grants made by the local authorities to the provincial universities. Their amount varies between 4·5 per cent and 17·7 per cent—nearly four times as big a fraction—of the whole income of these institutions.³ What is everybody's business is apt to be nobody's. Some authorities, at least, neglect what should be the duty of all.

Or take the help given to university students by the local authorities in whose counties or county boroughs they happen to live. There is no equality of educational opportunity for students of equal ability and promise. The chance of a university education depends, all too often, on which side of the street a candidate has his home. London, with 10 per cent of the population of England and Wales, accounts for 15 per cent of the 5,000 university students who hold scholarships or other allowance from local authorities. The London County Council already awards a senior county scholarship to every London winner of a university open scholarship unless the parental income exceeds certain limits; and every Londoner who has passed the Higher School Examination and is accepted by a university can get generous assistance according to his needs. These ought to be, but are not yet, the general rules of local education authorities throughout the country.⁴

¹ Cmd. 6458, Sections 88, 80.

² On p. 176, above.

³ University Grants Committee's *Returns* for 1938–9, p. 18. The lower figure is for Reading University, the higher for Leeds University.

⁴ See the *Norwood Report*, p. 37.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

The faulty or unequal co-operation between local authorities for higher education and the provincial universities is not confined to money matters. We noted, for instance, the strange dissociation of the local authorities from the greater part of non-vocational adult education.¹

Nor are the shortcomings of the present system restricted to the higher levels of education. The Spens Report gives an example of the lack of equality of opportunity when the first selection takes place at the age of eleven plus. The proportion of eleven-year-old children in the public elementary schools of England who went on to grant-earning secondary schools in 1936-7 was 12·8 per cent. But the proportion varied in different parts of the country between 4·2 per cent and 26·9 per cent. In Wales the limits were 17·7 per cent and 55·0 per cent.²

BOROUGHES AND URBAN DISTRICTS

This example is a reminder, if not an illustration, of a worse defect in the local administration of education than those which are due to the lack of co-ordination between authorities for higher education and the provincial university in the same region. About one-sixth of the people of England and Wales live in non-county boroughs and urban districts which are independent authorities for elementary but not for higher education.³ Bad as this arrangement was when first made in 1902, it is worse to-day since modern transport has made a single community out of the old boroughs and urban districts and the adjacent county areas. It will be far worse still when every child in these boroughs and urban districts passes, at the age of eleven plus, from a primary school under one authority to a secondary school controlled by another. Neither continuity of education nor equality of opportunity are to be expected when the future citizen, as he grows up, has to look to his borough or urban district council for his nursery school and his primary school, to his county council for his secondary and technical education, and to still another body, whether a university or university college or an 'approved association', for the rest of his adult education.

The division of authority between the borough and urban district on the one hand and the administrative counties and county boroughs on

¹ See above, p. 211.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 320.

³ Under the Education Act of 1902, and the consolidating Act of 1921, the Council of a Borough with a population of over 10,000 or of an Urban District with a population of over 20,000 (calculated in either case according to the Census of 1901) is the local education authority for that Borough or Urban District in respect of elementary education.

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the other goes back to the early days of the county and county borough councils set up by the Local Government Act of 1888. Already in 1896 a revolt of the smaller boroughs wrecked an education bill which Sir John Gorst, on behalf of the Government, was piloting through the House of Commons.¹ And, in 1902, the making of the boroughs and urban districts into separate authorities for elementary education was a concession to party-political expediency.

PROVINCIAL JOINT COMMITTEES

In 1917 the constitution of 'Provincial Councils' to co-ordinate the work of all the local education authorities in each large region was proposed by a body known as the Education Reform Council.² An unsigned article in *Nature* for 3 April, 1919, advocated the subdivision of England into provinces for several other purposes of local government besides education. In 1920 the Federal Council of Lancashire and Cheshire Teachers' Association recommended 'that there should be a provincial joint committee for each of some eight or ten provinces into which England and Wales should be divided for this'—education—'and other administrative purposes'.³

The present writer's *Education and World Citizenship*, published in March, 1921, contained a list of twelve English and Welsh provinces with their geographical counties and their university centre or centres. The book suggests that a provincial education authority should be created for each of these provinces; that its first business should be to bring into being a national system of scholarships and maintenance allowances equally available for young people of sufficient promise in

¹ 'Gorst, your damned bill's dead,' were the words used by the eighth Duke of Devonshire when, returning from a Cabinet meeting, he looked into Sir John Gorst's room to tell him of the Government's decision to abandon this Bill.

² See *Education Reform* published for the Teachers' Guild by P. S. King and Son, 1917.

³ The Lancashire and Cheshire teachers added 'that every such provincial joint committee should consist on the teachers' side of a federal council of teachers associations, the various branches of the teaching profession being represented . . . approximately in the proportion in which these branches are represented on the Teachers' Registration Council; and on the other side of representatives of the local education authorities in the province, of the governing bodies of the provincial University or Universities, and of the governing bodies of other autonomous educational institutions serving the province in question.'

PROVINCIAL JOINT COMMITTEES

all parts of the country; that it should exert a growing influence to co-ordinate the activities of the local education authorities and independent educational institutions in its area; and that it should eventually become responsible through the Board of Education to Parliament for the proper functioning of the national system of education in its region, the existing education authorities becoming, in effect, local committees of the provincial authority.¹ This last phase is yet afar off.

Later in the same year, Section 6 of the Education Act permitted two or more local education authorities to form a joint committee or federation. The authorities might delegate to their joint committee or federation any of their powers or duties other than the power of raising a rate or borrowing money. The Board of Education was empowered to make a scheme for the incorporation of such a federation when asked to do so by the federating authorities. Any such scheme, or any arrangement for a joint committee, might provide 'for the inclusion of teachers or other persons of experience in education and of representatives of universities or other bodies'. Unfortunately, very little use has been made of these voluntary powers. A few authorities have created joint committees for particular purposes such as the supply of technical education; but no federation has been incorporated. The time was not ripe for this voluntary approach to regional self-government.

In 1926, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education recommended, in the Hadow Report, *that consideration should be given to the question whether it might not be a desirable objective of educational development that provincial authorities for education should be instituted, in which the authorities for elementary education only and the authorities for higher education should both be ultimately merged*. Meanwhile the Committee suggested, first, co-operation between authorities for elementary education only and authorities for elementary and higher education 'with the object of securing by mutual agreement that just as representatives of an Authority for elementary education only already take part in the initiation and administration of "Secondary" Schools maintained in its area by the authority for higher education, so the authority for higher education should be fully consulted before Modern Schools or other modes of provision of post-primary education are developed by an Authority for Elementary Education only'; and then '*that at as early a date as possible legislation should be introduced for the transference to Authorities for higher education of all the powers and duties of those Authorities for elementary education only which are con-*

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 366, 451, 454-9.

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*cerned with areas that do not reach a certain minimum standard of population.'*¹

In 1931, the May Committee on National Expenditure put first among the changes they considered necessary in the interests of efficient administration 'the reduction in the number of Authorities by the concentration of all educational functions, as far as Local Authorities are concerned, in the hands of the County and County Borough Councils.'

In 1938, the Consultative Committee returned to this problem in the Spens Report. But instead of 'looking forward to the institution of a few large Authorities', which they described in the Hadow Report² as 'in the majority of cases . . . broader than geographical counties', they had been impressed by objections to the creation of new provincial authorities. The Spens Report concludes: 'The problem is of so great importance and complexity that it should, in our opinion, be remitted to a Departmental or Inter-Departmental Committee.'³ The Committee, however, still favoured the immediate programme of twelve years before: they would forthwith abolish separate authorities for elementary education only.⁴

In 1939, the Select Committee on Estimates supported this plan for dealing promptly with the worst of the present evils. They added, however, that not mere size, measured by population, but also financial ability to administer higher as well as elementary education, should be used as a criterion of the fitness of any one of the present local authorities for elementary education only to be preserved as a local authority for all types of education.

In August, 1942, it was announced that the President of the Board of Education had asked Sir William Jowitt, Chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction Problems, to advise him on the question of the units of local education authorities. What advice should he give?

So soon as all schooling above the age of eleven plus is treated as secondary and as coming, therefore, under the local authority for higher

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 164, 165. The italics of the 'recommendations' is copied from the Report. The Committee added to their 'suggestion' on p. 164, but not to their recommendation on p. 165 and not in italics, that of 'vesting with full powers in respect of higher education those Authorities which are concerned with areas that attain the minimum standard in question'.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 165.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 318.

⁴ The plan, explained above (on p. 221), is to take away the powers over elementary education exercised by the smaller of the present authorities for elementary education only and to give powers over higher education to the larger of these authorities.

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education, the independent authority for elementary education, where one exists, ought certainly to disappear. The simplest and, on the whole, the best way to compass this reform would be for each county to take over the independent powers over elementary education now possessed by any non-county boroughs or urban districts in its area.¹

But this change in the law, necessary though it is, would not suffice to solve some of the other urgent administrative problems which we have been considering and which, as we have seen, can only be cleared up by the co-operation of two or more adjacent counties and county boroughs,² or even by that of all the counties and county boroughs in the same region or province. It is, however, true that, since war began in 1939, many local authorities have not relished the control exercised by the regional commissioner appointed by the Minister of Home Security. The voluntary surrender of any of the powers of county or county borough councils to a provincial authority, however democratically constituted, has not been made easier by these unhappy experiences. Desirable though it may eventually become, it will not be practical politics for a long time yet. But that is no sufficient reason why the next Education Act should not require the creation of provincial joint committees—one for each of some eight or ten English regions and one for Wales—to facilitate the co-operation of local education authorities with representatives of universities, teachers' associations and other bodies. The joint committees could then ensure greater equality of educational opportunity throughout the province,³ more effective aid to the provincial university or universities,³ a more adequate supply of Higher Secondary Schools,⁴ and a better provision of all kinds of adult education⁵ after the war.⁶

¹ The Board's plan for *Educational Reconstruction* (Cmd. 6458—July, 1943) includes the proposal that 'in future the Local Education Authorities shall be the councils of the counties and county boroughs only' (Section 117).

² The Board now (July, 1943) propose that the next Education Act shall give them powers 'to combine for educational purposes the areas of two or more county or county borough councils where this would be conducive to efficient or economical administration or would otherwise be of national or local advantage' (Cmd. 6458, Section 117).

³ See above, p. 218.

⁴ See above, p. 176.

⁵ See above, p. 217.

⁶ A Report on the Reform of Local Government issued in February, 1943, recommends the creation of provincial councils to plan and co-ordinate such services as town and country planning and specialist and technical education. It is recommended that these provincial councils should have no direct executive or administrative powers, but that their decisions should be binding upon the authorities in their areas. (See *The Times*, 3 February, 1943.)

Chapter 5

TO SUM UP

The final victory of the United Nations should be followed, after an interval, by a general settlement based upon the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's four freedoms.

The settlement will not of course be cast in a rigid mould, or attempt to fix the shape of international affairs for all time to come. A hard and fast system would soon be disrupted by the explosive violence of human nature pent-up by institutions—political, economic and social—which could not be adapted to the ever-changing conditions of man's life on this planet. The settlement, when it comes, will have to be dynamic rather than static. Its stability must be that of a bicycle or a spinning top rather than that of a massive prison or a colossal tomb. The faster it can move, the steadier it will be.

If the new peace is to last, its development must be watched and guided by a potentially world-wide Society of States.¹ This society—The Commonwealth of United Nations—must inspire sufficient loyalty, and rally enough power, to be able to maintain the rule of right within its borders, and to defend itself against aggression from outside.

Maintaining the rule of right is not always and everywhere the same thing as preserving peace. Sometimes peace is not the greatest good. Of the Romans it was said by the Briton, Calgacus, that 'they made a desert and they called it peace'. Where justice is not to be had by peaceful means, there may arise the grievous need to break the peace in order to right a yet more grievous wrong. And too great a craving for peace, as we learnt from the appeasers of 1938–9, may destroy the very peace it seeks to preserve.

The Commonwealth will have to exercise international authority.² For certain purposes of common concern, its authority must be supreme. These purposes include the control of the nature and uses of armaments as well as the administration and amendment of international law. The

¹ Mr. Churchill, in his broadcast of 21 March, 1943, spoke of 'the future world organization' and of 'a world institution'.

² That means some renunciation of national sovereignty by the member states. Mr. T. V. Soong, China's Foreign Minister, said in June, 1942, that his country is ready to renounce as much of her sovereignty as may be necessary.

THE WORLD WE MEAN TO MAKE

Commonwealth must also promote human welfare and social justice. In order that its authority may be deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of its people, it must ensure that the individual citizens of its member States are brought up to be also loyal citizens of The Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth, as a structured society of States, will need to have such organs as the Permanent Court of International Justice; the International Labour Organization which the British Minister of Labour described (on 20 April, 1942) as 'destined to play a tremendous part in rebuilding the world of the future'; an International Education Organization representing national governments, teachers' associations and other bodies, including universities; and departments concerned with production, trade and finance, with international communications by air and sea and land, with minorities, refugees and stateless persons, and with the administration of colonies.

Above all else, The Commonwealth will need to have good citizens. The making of peace is a problem of education as well as of politics and economics. On 16 June, 1942, the President of the Board of Education (Mr. R. A. Butler) told the House of Commons that 'Education is the main arm with which to win the next peace'.

What then are the hallmarks of a good citizen?

In the first place, he must think of himself as a citizen of The Commonwealth as well as of his own country. He must understand how its interests are his interests and what its evolution may mean for his peace and prosperity, and indeed for all his four freedoms. But his feeling of loyalty to The Commonwealth and to his nation must touch the springs of his action as well as his powers of reason. If The Commonwealth and its aims appeal only to the reason, it will not have much influence on its citizens' behaviour. Intellect alone, without the help of emotions and desires, carries most men but a little way: they need to love as well as to know. As a directive of conduct, intellect is neutral. Other functions of the mind determine whether a man's reasoning power, together with his accumulation of knowledge and skill, shall in fact produce a tank or a telescope or a toxin. 'Reason', as Sir Charles Sherrington says, 'will play its part as a tool.' But loyalty goes deeper than reason. It makes use of other powers of the mind, and other parts of the brain. It calls into play both feeling and desire. The good citizen must love The Commonwealth and want to serve it, as the patriot loves and wants to serve his country.

The United Nations will not remain united, their Commonwealth will not survive, without the loyalty of its citizens. But it must do much more than survive. It must develop; and its development depends upon loyalty guiding and urging the mass of its citizens towards the ideal

TO SUM UP

commonwealth of the future. It is not enough that they should seek to preserve the United Nations' organization as it first takes shape, to defend it against aggression from outside, and to enforce the existing law within its borders. Its citizens must strive to realize The Commonwealth as it might be: united, prosperous, friendly, fair and free.

The drive in this direction can only come from its citizens' loyalty. Whoever loves The Commonwealth will wish to serve it; just as whoever fears a tiger, or a dive-bomber, will wish to run away and hide when he sees or hears it coming near. Indeed, the common loyalty of the mass of the citizens implies a common purpose. But will the common loyalty, and the common purpose that goes with it, succeed in changing The Commonwealth of United Nations and the surrounding world?

Change in human institutions follows from human actions. If the actions of many people over a long period are to have a positive result, neither must one man undo what another does, nor must the actions of one and the same man at different times cancel each other out. There must be some common guiding factor, or motive, at work upon most of the actions of most of the people during most of the time. The common purpose of The Commonwealth's citizens must therefore introduce harmony, not only into the behaviour of different people, but also among the various acts of the same person at different times.

Every man's actions are determined partly by impressions which reach him through his senses from the world outside; partly by the innate and acquired pattern of his mind; and partly, I believe, by his own free will. The 'pattern of his mind' represents all that he has ever learnt and indeed all the traces left upon his mind by his past experience of whatever kind; and corresponding traces remain in his brain and elsewhere in his central nervous system. The 'pattern of his mind' influences the flow of his thoughts and the actions to which they lead. If his conduct is to be consistent, he must have an undivided mind, integrating all his interests. The pattern of his mind should be, as nearly as possible, a single wide interest.

The good citizen's single wide interest represents the world—including the particular part of it where his chief work lies and to which his special knowledge and skill are most closely related—as an organized whole. Every interest tends to be centred in a purpose. The single wide interest is no exception. To serve its master purpose is for him the highest good. Thus the *summum bonum*, as he conceives it, lies at the centre of the good citizen's interest.¹

¹ The following paragraphs (pp. 227–231) are reprinted from an article on 'Religion and Citizenship' in *The Hibbert Journal* for April, 1943.

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In order that the community may hold together and lead a consistent life, the master purposes of each of its citizens must be in harmony with one another: the citizens must be like-minded as well as single-minded. But even when they are agreed upon the main issue—as they tend to be in time of war—there will be quarrels about the minor matters of everyday life unless each good citizen cares for his neighbour as much as for himself. Thus the well-being of the community requires each good citizen to give his neighbour as high a place as himself in his scale of values, and that is a very high place indeed. His *summum bonum*, in the highest place of all, must therefore be closely linked with the good of all his neighbours and so with the good of the community as a whole.

In order that the life of each good citizen, and the life of the community as a whole, may be effective, as well as consistent, the single wide interest of each good citizen must sufficiently resemble the real world. Only so will the good citizens fit into, and be able to alter, their environment—material, social and spiritual.

An integrated mind can only fit the real world if the real world itself is an integrated whole. There is no evidence that it is not; and what we know of its material side—the ‘neat, trim, tidy, exact world which is the goal of scientific thought’—points to such an ordered unity. Until there is evidence to the contrary, we assume that the real world is potentially an organized and harmonious whole in which all facts are linked together by more simple, general and abstract facts. The central fact of such a system, part and parcel of every other fact, may be called the supreme reality.

In order that the single wide interests of good citizens, each centred in the common purpose or idea of the highest good, may sufficiently resemble the real world centred in the supreme reality, the highest good must be identified with the supreme reality.

This identity is asserted by Christianity and by the other great world religions. Whoever decides to follow one of these ways of living, feeling and thinking will perhaps give the name of God to the central fact which embraces both the highest good and the supreme reality. But, by whatever means the good citizen has achieved an undivided mind, he must (since his neighbour’s good is linked in his mind with the highest good of all) conceive his neighbour to be intimately related to the supreme reality. Unless, like the modern Nazi or the Jew of old, he also conceives this intimate relationship to be confined to his own race, it follows that the good citizen must think of all mankind, of human personality in general, as infinitely valuable.

That all men are closely related to God has always been part of the

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Christian faith. So far as I know, other great religions take the same view. It may well be the right view. Of course, if we look only at the physical aspect of reality, man is but a tiny parasite on a petty planet of a middle-sized star. But that is no reason for denying that, when other aspects of reality are taken into account, man comes next to God in value. However man's value is to be appraised, it is not to be measured by the size of his body.

If then every religion resembles Christianity in being a way of living, feeling and thinking—so that whoever consistently lives up to his religion must possess an undivided mind—true religion ensures good citizenship. But that is not to say that some men and women of high intelligence may not have sufficient strength of character to make very good citizens without the aid of any generally accepted religious creed.¹

Wherever, as in so-called Christian countries, the prevalent religion ensures good citizenship, the potentially world-wide Commonwealth of United Nations—the international authority of the post-war world—or the State on its behalf should foster religious education. While, however, a mixed community may encourage religion because it leads to good citizenship, Christian people (and maybe the followers of other religions also) have a stronger reason for wishing others to share their faith; for they believe it to be true.

Besides the influence of interest upon involuntary thinking, there is the 'will' to be considered.

Whosoever would possess an undivided mind must learn to know the material universe as a single whole. His feelings must be linked with his knowledge in order that his involuntary actions may be guided by that knowledge towards a consistent and effective behaviour. And, in order that he may overcome the difficulties in his path, his will must co-operate with his knowledge and his feelings. Thus to integrate willing with knowing and feeling is the business of education; and therefore, as Thomas Jefferson observed, education is the indispensable foundation of democratic government.

The main difficulty in planning such an integral education is not to decide what the good citizen ought to learn: what he should know and what he should be able to do. The broad lines of the curriculum are not in dispute. Good citizens should be able to read their own language, to write it simply and to speak it plainly. They all need enough skill in reckoning to be able to cope with the numerical puzzles of everyday life. They should all have thought how to apply some of the lessons of his-

¹ Cf. the First Interim Report of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education (September, 1942), p. 21.

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tory to the problems of their day. They should know, and make use of, some elementary science of the world they live in, beginning with their own neighbourhood. And each of them must also acquire the special knowledge and skill required for his particular walk in life.

But if, speaking broadly, we can say what good citizens need to know and what they should be able to do with that knowledge, and if we have a clear idea of what they should learn at each stage of their schooling, we are still far from sure how best to teach it so that, instead of forming separate subjects in watertight compartments of young minds, all of it—vocational or non-vocational; cultural or technical; literary, scientific or mathematical; *all*—relates to the same end and consequently fits together in an undivided pattern.

To organize reasoned thought and bodily skill is an essential part, but only a part, of education. At least equally important is it to implant and cultivate right feelings towards the objects of thought, whether material, human or divine. It is here that the personality and example of the teacher count for most.

And even when the emotions and desires have been harnessed to reasoned thought and bodily skill, there still remains the trickiest task of all: to ensure that the reins are held by a will determined to drive along the right road towards the well-being of all the good citizens and of their community.

This threefold problem of education admits of a solution, perhaps of many solutions. Each of them is a way of living, feeling and thinking. Each of them, that is, results in single-mindedness; and each brings like-mindedness to all who share it. Each begins with an act of faith—a hypothesis to be tested by experience—and always remains a matter of will. Religion is the generic name for them all. But they are not all equally effective, and they are not all equally true.

In the long run, no doubt, their effectiveness will be proportional to their truth. But that is not necessarily the case over a brief period while men's minds are preoccupied with a particular partial aspect of human affairs or while their contacts with the world as a whole are somehow restricted. At such times a quasi-religion may have the effect of a real religion, whether, like the cause of the United Nations, the quasi-religion, be part and parcel of real religions, or whether, like the Nazi creed, it is opposed to them all. For instance, throughout the epoch of wonderful Russian achievement since Lenin's revolution, the Russian people have remained emotionally excited by their great social and political experiment. The Russian way of life has linked up the will, the feelings and the understanding of the average Russian, and has also

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linked average Russians to one another. It has created single-mindedness and like-mindedness among the people. In the circumstances of the time it has had the effect of a religion: we need not stop to inquire whether 'quasi' or 'real'. But we cannot help observing that much the same thing happened to the French nation a century and a half ago. The principles of the French Revolution have not—or, at least the Third Republic, based upon those principles has not—stood the test of time. French democracy, founded upon a quasi-religion, has not proved so sound and tough as the more Christian democracies of the United Kingdom and the United States. It may be that the Russian experience will resemble the French. But it is more charitable and, in my view, more reasonable to suppose that the Russians will retain the integration of living, feeling and thinking which has made them such good citizens, but that godlessness, like military commissars, will cease to be the rule in Soviet Russia as that country works more closely with the British and American Commonwealths.

Before the interruption of the last paragraph we had seen that, when free will is taken into account, the need for religious education becomes plainer than ever. An education that is going to combine single-mindedness and like-mindedness with the open-mindedness that permits a wider vision of truth than is possible in war-time, an education that makes good citizens not only of their home countries but also of a potentially world-wide Commonwealth of United Nations, will have to be religious. And religion, as we have defined it, is not philosophy alone, not ethics alone, not theology divorced from life, and, most certainly, it is not a mere ritual or superstition. Religion is personal and experimental.

Religious education should offer to each pupil an hypothesis from which to start upon a way of living, feeling and thinking. Each pupil should be advised to test that hypothesis by experience, to try it out in everyday life. The nature of his hypothesis will depend upon the religion, if any, of himself or his home; and, failing that, then upon whichever of the great religions prevails in his part of the world.

But it is no part of the function of State schools or colleges or universities to indoctrinate their pupils or students with all the tenets of any particular church. The teachers need not be pastors, though they should be chosen for their fitness to give moral training as well as for their intellectual capacity. Yet a vigorous and widespread growth of religion is unlikely to take place in any community unless most of the religious people belong to a church, or to churches, where their faith is strengthened by the assembling of themselves together, by religious observances, by teaching and preaching, and especially by prayer and meditation.

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And the schools must seek the co-operation of the churches, as well as of the homes, if the people of the post-war world are to receive a religious education.

Education may then result in single-mindedness and like-mindedness, and so go on making good citizens of the mass of mankind during the long years after the war when men's minds are more open than they now are; but only, so far as we know, if that education is religious.

So far as like-mindedness is concerned, a measure of it, sufficient for good citizenship of a potentially world-wide Commonwealth of United Nations, does not require all men to share the same religion. But the religion of each good citizen must resemble Christianity so far as to put his neighbours' interests on a level with his own. In so far as that end is reached in practice, each good citizen will share a common purpose to promote the welfare of all. Each of the seven or eight great religions of the world satisfies this condition. While they differ about the nature of God and His relation to man, they are at one about man's duty to his neighbour. They all associate righteousness with truth.

A religious education also makes for singleness of mind, because, as we saw, it links up the pupil's will with his feelings and with his understanding. A continuous seven years' course of religious education, such as is given to Jesuits, does in fact produce great singleness of mind. So also would, no doubt, the seven years' course which Milton planned for his ideal school. But, in a State system of education, the many masters who teach the same pupil during the same term, and the many more who teach him, perhaps in different schools, in successive years, may not all share the same religion. So it is not enough that the State, or the local education authorities, or even the headmasters and headmistresses, should broadly define their aim as a religious education. They must be more specific and take further precautions if singleness of mind is to result from the education they plan or regulate or direct. In particular, everything possible must be done to ensure that the education given to each pupil is coherent at every stage and continuous at successive stages.

Coherence will suffer if a boy or girl has too many specialist teachers. A form-master who knows his pupils may train better citizens—at least up to the age of sixteen—than a group of specialists who fancy that they only need to know their subjects.

Coherence further implies that to fit the good citizen for his environment—material, social and spiritual—is not three tasks but one task. His knowledge of the physical world needs to be linked up (at best, by a religion) with his devotion to human interests and with a philosophy of life.

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At about the age of sixteen, pupils who are still in whole-time attendance at school should receive from their form-master or form-mistress a short course of lessons giving a rough and ready review of the world as it is conceived by most educated people in the United Nations, whatever their race, religion, or nationality.

Continuity of education, as the pupil moves on from form to form, from school to school, and from his last school or college to his first public service or paid job, should be coupled with absolute equality of opportunity for pupils of equal ability and of equal promise when their ability and promise are outstanding, and with all possible¹ equality of opportunity in other cases. To this end the amount of a State scholarship or maintenance allowance must always be sufficient, along with the scholar's other resources, to cover his fees, if any, and whatever other expenses he must incur if he is to get the full benefit from membership of his school or college or university.

Changes made for the sake of more equality of opportunity must always be in the direction of levelling up and never of levelling down.

There will be an avoidable break in the continuity of education unless the same subject is studied in different ways by different people according to their different reasons for studying it. It should be taught differently to those pupils who will go on studying it for some years to come and to those who are shortly going to drop it altogether. The former have more to do with abstract principles and generalizations: theirs is the *deep* way of study. The latter are more concerned with concrete instances and practical applications: they follow the *wide* way.

By far the most serious discontinuity in many national systems of education occurs when compulsory attendance at school ends in the early teens. Even if, under the new economic policy foreshadowed in the Atlantic Charter, any of the United Nations became rich enough to keep all its young people at school during all their working hours until the age of eighteen, it is by no means certain that the interest of many boys and girls, or of the community, would be best served in this way. Those whose qualities of mind and body fit them rather for manual than for intellectual labour would find such prolonged schooling irksome. Not to be doing an adult's job, and earning a large fraction of an adult's pay, at the age of seventeen or even earlier would seem to them a waste of time. When they feel like that, they may be better educated by going to work except on the one day in the working week which they should devote to further schooling.

¹ No mere system of schooling can give absolute equality of opportunity to *average* equal children from unequal homes.

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For this reason, young people's colleges, or part-time secondary schools, for young persons under eighteen whose whole-time schooling is over, form an indispensable part of any national system of education. They should meet, as a rule, on one working day or on two half-days a week, and at other times for recreation and social intercourse. Their buildings should be suited to all their needs. Young people's colleges should have the use of playing-fields, and, where possible, of swimming baths. Some of them should provide, or join in providing, holiday camps for their pupils. Some of them should try the so-called County Badge Scheme 'to develop certain of the qualities which are necessary for adult citizens who wish to lead fuller lives themselves and to play their full part in a democracy.' And all of them should seek to supplement rather than to supplant existing voluntary agencies such as scouts, guides, boys' and girls' clubs, Sunday Schools, and the like.

Universities should help to unite the different regions of each country and the different peoples of the United Nations. To this end, tests of academic fitness for admission should consist of two parts, one concerned with general education and the other with special knowledge. Each department of each university will have to satisfy itself that a would-be student's special knowledge is sufficient for the work he wishes to do in that department. But the universities of The Commonwealth, or a group of them, should agree to accept each others' tests of general education, so that no candidate who is qualified in this respect to enter a university in his own country or province will have to pass another general test in order to enter any university within the group. (If some universities within the group insist, while others do not, that their students' general education must include some particular kind of knowledge—say of Latin or Greek—they will not seriously diminish the value of the change here proposed if they set a paper in that one subject to candidates whose general education is otherwise satisfactory.)

With the same end in view—namely, unity within The Commonwealth of United Nations—all its universities should require every candidate for a first degree to be able to make himself understood, in speech and in writing, by all other Commonwealth graduates in some universal auxiliary means of international communication, such as Basic English. There is here no question of learning a language or of studying a literature but only of spending one long vacation in acquiring an 'auxiliary means of communication'.

However many subjects it explores and teaches, no university should be content to encourage the study of a number of separate specialisms without making some attempt to bring the many together into one. A

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better integrating principle is needed than that of 'simultaneity and juxtaposition'. On the intellectual side, every university should provide a general Honours course of study in 'Philosophy, Natural and Social': philosophy backed by knowledge of natural science. On the social side, it should insist upon at least one year of residence in a college or university hostel as the general rule for undergraduates. On the spiritual side, universities should at best be places of religious as well as of 'useful' learning: at least they should ensure that every undergraduate is faced by the need for working out a philosophy of life.

The average citizen will not be able to spend three years at a university. But when he has ceased to be, as Sir Richard Livingstone has put it, too immature to think about the problems of life; when politics, economics, citizenship and social science no longer seem to him abstract and academic but have become part of his personal experience, fraught with feeling and rich in emotional tone; then is the time for him to order his thoughts on these topics also, and to integrate them in an undivided mind.

The growth of this non-vocational adult education, some of it perhaps in residential Citizens' Colleges like the People's High Schools of Denmark, must not stand in the way of further advances in technical education bearing directly upon the citizen's principal employment.

From these developments of national systems of education generally throughout The Commonwealth, we turned to the particular case of an Englishman's education after the war.¹

Allowing for the fact that the religion of an Englishman, when he is religious, is, as a rule, some form of Christianity, the pattern of mind already prescribed for the good citizen closely resembles the ideal of the Christian tradition in English education. Declarations by the teaching profession and the local education authorities, reports by Inspectors of the Board of Education and by its Consultative Committee, proposals by the leaders of the churches, as well as the Board's most recent White Paper and Sir Cyril Norwood's Committee's report on Secondary Schools—all show that much the same goal has been sought by most of the groups who have pioneered and directed the remarkable ad-

¹ Many of the recommendations made earlier in this book and summed up in the following paragraphs are also to be found among the proposals for *Educational Reconstruction* prepared by the Board of Education or else among the reforms advocated in the Norwood Report. In each of these cases reference to the White Paper or to the Norwood Report—both published by H.M. Stationery Office in July, 1943—is made in the previous chapter and need not be repeated here.

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vances made by public education in England during the past seventy years. Yet it is true, as the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) wrote in the *Canterbury Diocesan Gazette*, quoted in *The Times* on 26 May, 1942, that our educational ideal, while it has gained in width and variety, has certainly lost definiteness since a hundred years ago when Dr. Arnold focused the English tradition upon a perfectly clear objective: to train Christian Gentlemen. Such an ideal, differently expressed, is now, and will be after the war, the supreme need of English education.

The ideal is the good citizen having an undivided mind centred in a purpose to serve both God and man. The single wide interest of many a good citizen will begin to grow out of a first faint love for God implanted by mother or nurse or nursery school, together with his earliest acts of self discipline as he begins to curb his impulses and to control his behaviour.

Many more nursery schools are needed for little children, between two and five years old, who do not get an equally good nursery education at home. Despite the good work done by the Ministry of Health in this field since the war began, reorganization after the war should leave it to the Board of Education: that is, to the local authorities working under the direction of the Board.

All schools for children of whatever age should be open to inspection by the Board or by the local education authority.

For the sake of equality of opportunity in later life, and of greater unity throughout the nation, those primary schools in which the mass of the children do not naturally speak the King's English should try to make their pupils bi-lingual, as is usual in some parts of Wales and in many other regions of Europe. The children would then feel at home in either way of talking—orthodox speech or the vernacular—without hating the one or despising the other.

Effect should be given to the five proposals made in February, 1941, by the then Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Wales. They wish the State to adopt a positive instead of a neutral or negative attitude towards Christian education in English schools. The first of their proposals is designed to ensure that, subject to a conscience clause, all primary schools should give their scholars a Christian education.

With this end in view, headmasters and headmistresses should continue to be chosen from among teachers who are as eager to train the characters of their pupils as to increase their knowledge or to discipline their intellects. And head teachers of primary schools should always have some say in the selection of their assistants: Christian education

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is not to be confused with 'instruction in religious subjects' or confined to the Scripture lesson. Rather should all secular studies meet where divinity is taught—a phrase borrowed from a recent report by Inspectors of the Board of Education.

Agreed suggestions for the consideration of teachers engaged in Christian education should be prepared by united and representative bodies such as have produced the agreed divinity syllabuses now used in both the Council and the Church schools maintained by many local education authorities.

The continuance of the dual system of primary schools is unfair to many children and especially to those who, living in single-school areas, are compelled to attend school in buildings which are neither provided nor brought up to date at the public cost. The resulting inequality of opportunity ought to cease. In altering the dual system out of fairness to the children there is no need to be unfair to the managers of Church schools. The introduction of agreed divinity syllabuses into all the provided schools of the neighbourhood—including the provided secondary schools—would go far to remove any real grievance caused to the managers whose schools become Council schools.

Secondary education for all normal boys and girls should begin before the age of twelve and last, without any exceptions, until at least the age of fifteen.

The selection of boys and girls at the age of eleven plus for transfer to one or other of three types of secondary schools—grammar schools, junior technical schools, and 'modern' schools—should depend upon the children's school records, checked by mental tests, upon the children's inclinations, and upon the wishes of their parents. But care should be taken not to over-value the usual quick psychological tests, since recent research tends to show that these tests overlook qualities of character which count for more in the long run than the intellectual factors measured by the tests. Out of the 90 per cent of eleven-year-old boys who are in primary schools, 15 per cent (or one-sixth of the 90 per cent) should go on to grammar schools, 15 per cent to junior technical schools, and 60 per cent to 'modern' schools. Fewer girls than boys would go to junior technical schools.

Two years later, at the age of thirteen plus, the selection made at eleven plus should be reviewed. Mistakes should be corrected by the transfer of children from each type of secondary school to each of the other types.

At the time of this second selection, at the age of thirteen plus, not less than 3 per cent of the ablest boys and girls of that age should be

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transferred—mostly from grammar schools but some also from junior technical schools and modern schools—to Higher Secondary Schools. More of these schools are needed since the average grammar school cannot provide advanced secondary education, or three years of sixth form work preparing for the university, in each of four or five different branches of study such as is given in the best Public Schools. Consequently the average grammar school (spending less than £30 a year on each pupil) does not offer equal opportunities with the best Public Schools (spending more than £70 a year on each day pupil) for boys who wish to prepare for the university. These Public Schools are already Higher Secondary Schools.

Some of the new Higher Secondary Schools will have to be mainly boarding schools. Besides those already available, a new school of this type will be needed, on the average, for 600 boys, and another for 600 girls, in every half-million of the population. But more than half the counties of England have less than half a million inhabitants. Some of these counties will therefore have to join in providing the new schools that are needed. By no means all of these will be new foundations. Some of the present Public Schools, including a good many that cannot be counted as Higher Secondary Schools and many more that have been independent of government grants in the past, will only be able to carry on in future by becoming an integral part of the national system of education controlled by local education authorities. The transfer of these schools should, however, be subject to certain statutory guarantees of the rights of governing bodies, and of headmasters or headmistresses, as regards choice of staff, admission of pupils, curriculum and discipline. Yet, in its material aspect, the transfer would be a notable event. But famous schools count for much more than their premises or equipment; and, quite apart from statutory guarantees, most local authorities may be trusted to do all in their power to preserve what is best in the tradition and personnel of the schools thus brought within their orbit.

To these boarding schools should also be passed on a few less outstanding grammar school pupils who are not properly looked after at home or who need to be removed from home influence of the wrong kind.

Grammar schools, junior technical schools and modern schools should provide much the same type of education up to the second selection at thirteen plus. From then on, the central core of interest in the curriculum of the modern schools should be the common citizenship of all the pupils. In the junior technical schools it should be the pupils' future vocations, or skilled craftsmanship of diverse kinds. Before leav-

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ing their junior technical schools at the age of sixteen most pupils should obtain School Certificates awarded under revised rules.¹ An increasing number of modern school pupils should stay until sixteen and obtain School Certificates before they leave. In grammar schools the course of study between fourteen and sixteen should be different for those who intend to leave at sixteen with a School Certificate and for those who mean to stay on for sixth form work. For the former the course should be of the *wide* kind, as in modern schools, and its unifying principle should be either citizenship, as in the modern schools, or else English as the Spens Report suggests. For the future members of the sixth form the central core of the work should be *deep*, leading, as in the Higher Secondary Schools, either to advanced secondary education, or to a different sort of sixth form work which may include some pre-vocational training but leaves out the deep study of a specialty that is to be carried further in the university.

The urgent need for young people's colleges in England is shown by the fact that, in 1938, more than 60 per cent of the boys, and more than 70 per cent of the girls, between the ages of fifteen and eighteen had not only left school but had lost all touch with the national system of education. The new village colleges of Cambridgeshire, and in Oxfordshire perhaps still newer boarding colleges, should help to show how this problem of part-time secondary education may be solved in rural England.

Compulsory military service is likely to last for some time after the war. Perhaps it may be confined to the nineteenth year. In any case that year would make a valuable contribution to the social education of young people of both sexes, as well as to the growth of The Commonwealth, if it were spent in some form of national or international service. A year of education abroad after the age of eighteen might be reckoned as spent in international service.

In England, the home of residential universities, the case for requiring the normal undergraduate to reside for at least a year in a college or university hostel is peculiarly strong. The English provincial universities should be encouraged by the University Grants Committee to take this step as soon as possible. The new hostels needed would cost, at 1938 prices, less than £700 per place for the buildings and less than £200 per

¹ As was suggested on p. 183 above, every School Certificate given to a pupil in whatever type of secondary school should—but after a transition period of, say, seven years as proposed by the Norwood Report (p. 48)—be based on his school record supplemented by an internal examination conducted by the schoolmasters themselves with the help of university assessors.

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place for the sites. That allows each student to have his or her own bed-sitting room. Including the capital charges, the total annual cost per place would be about £100 a year. Even if the whole of this cost were met by the universities concerned, their annual expenditure would be increased by less than 10 per cent. The universities should look forward to a much bigger growth than this in their post-war budgets. In particular, the amount of public money spent on university education in England should be approximately doubled immediately after the war.¹ Not only residence but also tutorial superintendence—a system ensuring the personal direction and oversight of every undergraduate's studies—should then become the regular practice at English provincial universities.

Our proposal concerning residence is confined to the English provincial universities. They account for one-third of the full-time students in the universities of England. The great cosmopolitan University of London contains another third, but it is in a case by itself. The remaining third—or rather more than a third of the men and much less than a third of the women—belong to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which have been residential institutions since the middle ages. They do not allow the ordinary undergraduate to get his first degree until he has kept nine terms of residence within two and a half miles of Carfax or within three miles of Great St. Mary's. Thus they recognize that to acquire enough knowledge for the passing of an examination, or to attend so many lectures, is by no means the only purpose of a university career. Social and spiritual forces must join with intellectual effort to make 'fit persons for the service of God in Church and State' and Commonwealth.

The non-vocational education of adults in England has lagged far behind their technical education. Much of it—notably university extension lectures and classes as well as tutorial classes under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association and similar bodies—is outside the purview of the local education authorities. The amount of non-vocational adult education in England was, in 1938, perhaps one-sixth of what it was in Denmark in proportion to the population. The cost of bringing the English provision up to the Danish level by founding residential Citizens' Colleges on the Danish model would, on 1938 figures,

¹ In their Report—dated 29 July, 1943—on University Finance in Great Britain, the British Association's Committee on Post-War University Education recommend that '*The Treasury Grant should be at once doubled after the war*' in order to provide for higher salaries, residence, tutorial superintendence and improved facilities for research. But doubling will not suffice for long.

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add about sixpence in the pound to the public expenditure on education. It could be done, and a start should be made immediately after the war.

For providing and maintaining these People's Colleges, as well as for aiding universities, administering scholarship systems leading to the universities, and supplying more Higher Secondary Schools, some present units for the local administration of higher education in England are too small. The first Education Act after the war should require the authorities to co-operate by means of a provincial joint committee for each of some eight or ten natural sub-divisions, regions or provinces of England. Each joint committee should include representatives of the teaching profession as well as of the provincial university or universities. It might also contain representatives of other bodies and some co-opted members.

The same Act of Parliament should abolish the local education authorities for primary education only. The last excuse for retaining non-county boroughs and urban districts as authorities for primary education will have disappeared when all their children leave at eleven plus to enter secondary schools controlled by the county council.

Appendix A

AN ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL

The following account of Sherborne in the 1870's is part of an article on the Education of an Englishman written by Professor A. N. Whitehead, F.R.S., in The Atlantic Monthly for August, 1926.

In the old-world woodlands and orchards of the West Country, with its reminiscent landscape, a secret has been whispered down the generations: the secret of governing England in days when kindly sense and tolerance are required to heal its wounds.

The staff of the school, the headmaster and his colleagues, were all strong Liberals, classical scholars, and modernist churchmen. This was in strict accordance with the Rugby tradition, which had been established by Thomas Arnold, a full generation earlier. The Tory squires of the neighbourhood, who governed the school, were conscientious men, and knew how a gentleman should be educated. According to the tradition, which stretched really beyond Arnold, this could only be done efficiently by gentlemen who had read the classics with sufficient zeal to convert them to the principles of Athenian democracy and Roman tyrannicide.

We were taught a good deal of history, very thoroughly so far as it went. But it was characteristically limited according to the prejudices shared equally by the Liberal schoolmasters, the Tory parents, and their children who were the scholars. Our reading was closely limited to those periods of history which, if we might trust our national pride, were closely analogous to our own. We did not want to explain the origin of anything. We wanted to read about people like ourselves; and to imbibe their ideals. When the Bible said, 'All these things happened unto them for ensamples,' we did not need a higher critic to tell us what was meant or how it came to be written. It was just how we felt.

For example, in Roman history we stopped short at the death of Julius Caesar. Freedom was over then. A gentleman could no longer say what he liked in the House of Commons—that is to say, in the Roman Senate or to the citizens in the Forum. Strictly speaking, we ought to

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have stopped when Caesar crossed the Rubicon; but human nature is always illogical, and we—that is to say, masters and scholars—were urged on by curiosity to see how it ended, and also by a secret sympathy with Caesar, who was very like a great English landed magnate of cultivated mind and of sporting tastes, contesting his county parliamentary constituency, with a good chance of being unseated for bribery and corruption. Pompey was unpopular; he lacked the West Country touch. Cicero needed no explanation—he was the Roman substitute for a Lord Chancellor.

These things were not explained to us: the facts spoke for themselves. We read Tacitus and enjoyed his epigrams, though they were hard to translate into English terse enough to satisfy our masters, and we were not allowed to use English versions. Tacitus carried our sympathies along with him in his denunciation of a state of society which had lost all close analogy to the British Constitution. So we made no study of Imperial Rome; it lacked political interest.

I am not wandering from my subject. I am endeavouring to explain the direct relevance of a classical education half a century ago to the state of mind of an English schoolboy. The prayer which one of us in turn had to read daily in the school Chapel told us that we were being trained 'to serve God in Church and State', and we never conceived life in any other terms. The competitive conception of modern industry was entirely absent from our minds; also we were ignorant—comparatively ignorant—of the peculiar problems incident in such a society. The terms in which the Greeks and the Romans thought were good enough for us. What had not been said in Greek on political philosophy had not been said at all.

The Greeks reigned supreme in our minds. Roman gladiators, Roman debauchery, Roman grandiosity, the difficulties of writing Latin prose in the style of Cicero, the absence of a definite article in the Latin language, the Roman Emperors, and the Popes of Rome, all contributed to a feeling that Rome lacked any true intimate affinity with us. Looking backward, I think that our instincts were right. The social tone of Dorsetshire in the eighteen-seventies was really very different from that of Rome at any time of its history, despite the analogies which caught our interest.

But Athens was the ideal city, which for two centuries had shown the world what life could be. I do not affirm that our image of Athens was true to the facts. It was something much better; it was alive. The Athenian navy and the British navy together ruled the seas of our imaginations. It was not oceans that we thought of, but narrow seas. Oceans

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are the discovery of the last half-century, so far as English schoolboys are concerned, and putting Robinson Crusoe aside as the exception to prove the rule. Our navy has never ruled the oceans. It ruled the seas. It caught its enemies rounding the capes, or moored in bays, just as the Greeks did. Cape Trafalgar, Cape St. Vincent, and Aboukir Bay were read into Greek history. In those days, half a century ago, our main fleet was in the Mediterranean just where the Greek fleets sailed; and Russia was to us what Persia was to the Greeks. Scholars may demur to this analogy; but I am talking of schoolboys fifty years ago. . . .

Herodotus and Thucydides, with Xenophon on the Ten Thousand, were the successful authors. We all of us cherished a secret hope of travelling in the East. The East then meant the eastern Mediterranean, including Syria and Egypt. Years ago, two twin brothers—my uncles, as it happens—met by accident in a back street of Damascus, neither knowing that the other was out of England. Happy men! They were travelling in the East.

Archaeology and learning were secondary matters then, and, as I strongly suspect, are so now to many English archaeologists. It was the flavour of the East that we hungered after, the product of our classical education. . . .

The Greek insistence on the golden mean and on the virtue of moderation entered into our philosophy of statesmanship, sometimes reinforcing our natural stupidity, sometimes moderating our national arrogance. We conceived India through our knowledge of the East derived from the Greeks. We forgot the loss of Greek liberty in the thrilling spectacle of a small European army making its way through a vast Eastern Empire. In Alexander at Issus we saw Clive at Plassey.

Decidedly, half a century ago a classical education had a very real relevance to the future lives of these English boys. Among the boys at that small school from 1870 to 1880 were a future commander-in-chief in India, a future general commanding in the Madras Presidency, a future bishop of all southern India. 'To serve God in Church and State' was no idle form of words to set before them. . . .

Altogether we were a happy set of boys, receiving a deplorably narrow education to fit us for the modern world. But I will disclose one private conviction based upon no confusing research, that, as a training in political imagination, the Harvard School of Politics and Government cannot hold a candle to the old-fashioned English classical education of half a century ago.

Appendix B

RELIGION IN AMERICAN STATE SCHOOLS¹

Only one State (Kansas) definitely and legally *prohibits* religious instruction in the public (i.e. State) schools. Only one State (Virginia) definitely and legally *permits* religious instruction. The following States *require* Bible reading by law:

Alabama	Arkansas	Delaware
Florida	Georgia	Idaho
Kentucky	Maine	Massachusetts
New Jersey	Pennsylvania	Tennessee

The following States *permit* Bible reading by law:

Indiana	Iowa	Kansas
North Dakota	Oklahoma	South Dakota

But the practice varies widely. The following States, by inference (because the law is silent), *assume* that Bible reading is to be permitted, although, here again, the practice varies widely:

Colorado	Connecticut	Maryland
Michigan	Mississippi	Missouri
Montana	New Hampshire	North Carolina
Ohio	Oregon	Rhode Island
South Carolina	Texas	Vermont
West Virginia		

The following States (by interpretation of State Constitutions) *do not permit* Bible reading in their public schools:

Arizona	California	Illinois
Louisiana	Minnesota	Nevada
New Mexico	New York State ²	Utah
Washington State	Wisconsin	Wyoming

The actual varying character of religious instruction, wherever it is undertaken by the State schools, may be analysed as follows:

1. In some cases a syllabus is prepared by State Educational Authorities, chiefly for use in high schools.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Arthur Newell, Director of the Institute for British-American Understanding, for these facts about religion and religious instruction in the *public* schools of the United States.

² But in New York City bible-reading is permitted by Charter.

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2. In some cases the State prepares a syllabus for teaching the Bible in school buildings, by regular staff teachers, in school-time, and for credit.

3. In some cases the State prepares a syllabus for children to study at home or elsewhere, prepares questions for examination, and grants credit for work done (examples are Michigan, Montana, Maine, and Indiana).

4. In quite a number of States, especially in those where early colonial custom is followed, the reading of the Bible forms part of each day's 'opening exercises', often accompanied by a prayer and a hymn or song.

5. While many of the above examples apply chiefly to urban communities, there has recently developed a new interest in furnishing some kind of religious or biblical instruction in rural areas. A special study of this particular problem has shown that, out of 240,000 rural schools, 10,000 teachers have agreed to teach the Bible within any scheme agreed upon. Some of these rural schemes are already beginning to function, but the movement is still in its early days.

Thus the doctrine of separation of State and Church has, in effect, brought about a situation in which religion and religious instruction are given a limited place in the *public* schools of the United States. Four main points of view have prevailed:

1. The State should provide religious, as well as secular, education for all. (This view has been taken in predominantly Protestant communities, and has tended to weaken in recent times.)

2. All education, religious as well as secular, lies within the province of the Church. (This view has predominated among Roman Catholics, though they have not gone so far as to challenge the right of the State to persist in regular *public* school education. The practical effect, however, has been the progressive setting up by the Roman Catholic Church of a more and more complete system of education from the kindergarten through the post-graduate studies of a university, all within the framework of Church control.)

3. The State should provide secular education, and religion should be left to the home and the Church. (This is a mid-way position between 1 and 4, and is more an expression of pious hope than the basis of a programme.)

4. The State should co-operate with the home and the Church in religious instruction. (This is a comparatively modern view, and, in many communities where it is being tried, it is growing in popularity.) This principle has been applied in several ways:

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(a) Sometimes children are released from school to receive religious instruction in the Churches. (A recent survey showed that children were so released in 218 cities and towns, scattered over 35 States.)

(b) Sometimes teachers of religion, not members of regular school staffs, are brought into the schools to give religious instruction.

(c) Sometimes school credit is given for Bible study undertaken outside the schools. (Within this particular scheme, schools co-operate in furnishing courses of study, inspection, and encouragement to children to attend such outside study.)

Appendix C

EDUCATION IN NAZI GERMANY

In Nazi Germany 'the whole function of all education is to create a Nazi'. So said Reichminister Rust in an interview given to the *Völkische Beobachter* on 13 February, 1938.¹ And the oath which all teachers have to swear runs:

'Adolf Hitler, we swear that we will train the youth of Germany that they will grow up in your ideology, for your aims and purposes, in the direction set by your will. This is pledged to you by the whole German system of education from the primary school to the university.'

Although Nazi education aims at making Nazis, although it seeks to create men in the image of Hitler rather than in the image of God, the methods it employs are often well chosen and worthy of a nobler end.

For instance, the Nazi educators recognize that it is more important to train character than to impart knowledge of the largest possible number of facts. 'The State', wrote Hitler in *Mein Kampf*,² 'must throw the whole weight of its educational machinery not into pumping its children full of knowledge but into producing absolutely healthy bodies. . . . Our first aim must be the development of character, especially of will power.'

¹ See *Education in Nazi Germany* (published by the Kulturkampf Association in May, 1938). To this book I am indebted for much of the material in Appendix C.

² German edition, p. 542.

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Again, they realize that education for citizenship, if it is to be effective, must not be confined to a special lesson as a special place in the timetable, but ought to be the concern of every teacher and to be linked up with every subject.

Lessons in Reading, Grammar, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry and even Mathematics (by the choice of illustrative examples), all help to create a Nazi.¹

But the development of character is not the result of intellectual processes alone. That is why education cannot be confined to the classroom. And that is also why the Nazis insist upon controlling so large a part of the out-of-school activities of German children by means of the 'Hitler Youth Movement' and the 'Hitler Maidens'. Membership of these bodies is practically compulsory. By State decrees of December, 1936:

'1. The whole German Youth within the State boundaries is to be united in the Hitler Youth.

'2. The whole German Youth outside the home and the school is to be educated body and soul in the Hitler Youth in the spirit of National-socialism and to the service of the people (*Volk*) and the community (*Volksgemeinschaft*).²

But even this is not enough to train the character of future Nazi leaders. For them, nothing short of a boarding school education will suffice. Accordingly:

'The boys chosen for the special training in leadership are trained in the Adolf Hitler schools, of which thirty-two are scheduled (one in each of the 32 party districts), seven approved and three actually completed. . . . Boys attend the primary school from 6 to 12 years of age, and after being sifted first by the Hitler Youth and then by the group, branch and district leaders of the Nazi Party, those suitable for leadership are chosen. They then enter the Adolf Hitler School where they remain until they are 18. The party pays the expenses of the school and all pupils are maintained on the same material level, receiving the same amount of pocket money with no help allowed from their parents. At 18 a further selection is made of those worthy of advancement, based not on annual examination results, but . . . "on continuous observation".³

The masters in these Adolf Hitler boarding schools go up once a year for a month to a so-called 'settlement' where they 'submit to a thorough

¹ *Education in Nazi Germany*, pp. 28-46.

² *Education in Nazi Germany*, from which the above decrees are quoted, adds: 'In this way the remaining gaps between school, Labour Service and army service were closed' (p. 58).

³ *Education in Nazi Germany*, p. 64.

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ideological overhauling'. And this is but one example of the great importance which the Nazis attach to the training of teachers, and of leaders of the Hitler Youth. In order that their children may be educated for citizenship, the National-Socialist Party even provide a national mothers' school and two national schools for the fiancées of the Black Guards.¹

While, however, the Nazi educators have firmly grasped some of the abstract principles which ought to govern education for citizenship, their actual practice is, in many respects, incredibly bad. It is not merely that their aim is all wrong: that they try to make a Nazi instead of a Christian, a servant of Hitler² rather than a servant of God. It is also that, like their master, they have no more respect for truth than for goodness. They do not hesitate to teach what is false whenever they think that mistaken beliefs will make more obedient servants of the Führer than persons who know the true facts could be expected to become. Hitler gave the lead when he wrote in *Mein Kampf*:

'The present method of teaching history must be changed . . . for we teach history not in order to learn what has happened in the past, but to make it an instructor for the future and for the maintenance of our nation. For the rest the task of a racial state is to see that at last a World History is written which gives the racial interpretation a prominent place' (pp. 466-88).

The Nazi Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick, followed this up in a circular³ to all his education authorities on the teaching of history. He wrote:

'In all the school grades the teaching of history should be impregnated with the idea of *heroism*, and related to the present conception of Leadership. Text-books should begin with a statement of the early history of Central Europe, the Ice Age, follow up by the Post-Ice Age, and show how the Nordic people spread over Europe. The history of Europe was

¹ *Education in Nazi Germany*, p. 63.

² On 13 December 1937, the Youth Leader, Ruth Stender, told the Youth group leaders that their duty with the youngest girls was 'to develop out of the love of these youngest girls, a completely unconditional devotion to the Führer. Everything else is negligible. The Führer needs people who will say to him, "Führer, command, we obey".' (*Essen National Zeitung*, 13 December, 1937.)

³ Circular No. 111, 120-22.6. The full text was published in *Nature*, 24 February, 1934. Extracts are given in *Education in Nazi Germany*, pp. 35, 36, and there is a full summary in Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson's *Britain and the Dictators*, pp. 291-2.

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made by the Nordic race. Historical and cultural finds go to prove that civilization was created by the Germanic peoples. Asia Minor and Northern Africa show the evidence of Nordic civilization. The history of Greece must start from the lands of Central Europe. The Nordic Greeks formed the predominating class in that country.

'The history of Italy should also be traced from Central Europe. . . .'

But the greatest nonsense taught by Nazi educators lies deeper than these perversions of history. It concerns the silly story of an imaginary Nordic race, far superior to the rest of mankind and, most of all, to the Jews. This legend is consistent neither with the facts of history nor with the Christian teaching on which our Western civilization is based. Nazi schools have therefore to falsify history and to deny Christianity.

In pre-Nazi Germany:

'The State school, and particularly the State elementary school, was a denominational school, in which religious instruction when not actually imparted by a clergyman, was always supervised by the responsible church authority. In those few districts where community schools, that is, schools for both Protestants and Catholics, existed, the religious teaching was still kept separate and under the supervision of the Church. But, now in the pretended "interests of the 'Unity of the People', the Nazi regime has deprived the Church of its independence, its influence in the schools and in the Youth organization".'¹

Thus the Bavarian Minister of State for Education and Culture declared, in October, 1936, that 'the National-Socialist State can no longer permit ecclesiastical teachers to take care of the children. They can no longer do justice to the new State principles and educational aims.'

In short, the attempt of the Nazi leaders to impose their principles on everybody has resulted in religion being systematically ousted from the schools and the life of the people generally.² That this is the deliberate aim of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, who controls this department of Nazi activity, appears from his book on the *Myth of the 20th Century*. He writes:

'The so-called Old Testament must once and for all be abolished as a book of religious instruction. . . . The movement which aims at eliminating from the New Testament all misleading and superstitious parts must also be strengthened. . . . The religion of Jesus Christ was a gospel of love . . . but the Germanic religious movement which wants to become a People's Church will have to declare that the love of our fellow-men must be subordinate to the idea of National Honour; that no deed

¹ *Education in Nazi Germany*, pp. 65, 66.

² Cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 65, 67.

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must be approved by a German Church which does not, in the first place, serve to safeguard the nation.¹

This 'Germanic religious movement', or 'German Church', the Nazi leaders intend to impose upon the world if they win the war. That, in substance, was stated by President Roosevelt in a speech broadcast on 27 October, 1941. Reuter's account² includes the following passage:

'Your Government has in its possession another document made in Germany by Hitler's Government. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis do not wish to publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose on a dominated world if Hitler wins.

'It is a plan to abolish all existing religions—Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish alike. The property of all the Churches will be seized by the Reich. The Cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden.

'The clergy are to be for ever silenced under the penalty of the concentration camp, where even now so many fearless men are being tortured because they place God above Hitler. In place of the churches of our civilization there is to be set up an international Nazi church—a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi Government.

'In place of the Bible the words of *Mein Kampf* will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in place of the Cross of Christ will be put two symbols—the swastika and the naked sword. The God of blood and iron will take the place of the God of love and mercy.'

But what if the Nazis lose?

It is strange that the Nazi educators do not foresee that, in any case, truth will out. In order to build their elaborate Germano-centric image of the universe, or *Weltanschauung*, in the minds of German citizens they have had to protect the site with dams and dykes against the truth. So long as Hitler, Rosenberg, Goebbels and their like are in a position to guard those defences the building may stand and provide a home for the Nazi creed. But truth still seeps through, threatening the foundations of the whole pile of nonsense. And when the Nazi control is removed, the flood of truth will burst the dykes and wash away the fiction of a Nordic race destined to dominate the earth. The cleansing process may indeed be so complete—a veritable *κάθαρσις τῶν παθημάτων*—that, when it is over, nothing will be left of the Nazi education to unfit the Germans for joining with the United Nations to build a new world order.

¹ Quoted by *Education in Nazi Germany*, p. 70.

² See *The Times*, 29 October, 1941.

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That this possibility is not merely wishful thinking is shown by the experience of a friend of the present writer. This young Englishman spent the month of June, 1939, in Germany revisiting his old University and staying in the homes of some of the friends he made there. He had come to know them intimately during his two years as an undergraduate. They all assured him, and he came away convinced, that, with hardly any exceptions, freshmen coming to the University from Nazi schools lose their Nazi *Weltanschauung* during their first term. The Nazi fairy stories, they soon learn, may be all very well for schoolboys, but are quite unsuitable for University men.

Indeed, a whole fabric of false ideas may break down, when one of them is proved to be untrue, as easily as a card-castle collapses when one card is removed. The old story of the devout blacksmith tells how it happens. This good man wished to become a lay preacher. When he appeared before the Board of Ministers, they asked him a number of questions. They wanted to know if he believed the story of Jonah and the Whale. He had never had a doubt about it. They passed to Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. He accepted the burning fiery furnace. Yes, the blacksmith had a forge of his own. He knew just what a furnace was like. He could imagine the effect of making it seven times hotter: a white heat that would not merely soften an iron shoe but melt it, and not only melt it but turn it into vapour. What then would it do to three men who spent several hours in the midst of it? The poor blacksmith broke down. 'No,' he said, 'I don't believe it; and, what's more, I don't believe the fish story either.'

It is not impossible that, when the German breakdown comes, the stories told by the Nazis will lose their hold on most German minds.

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