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THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

Volume Two

THE PRACTICE OF EDUCATION

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION—VOL. I: AIMS AND ORGANIZATION.

HISTORY AND ITS PLACE IN EDUCATION: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ENGLISH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.

THE SCHOOL: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION.

PRINCIPLES OF CLASS TEACHING.

THE CHILDREN OF ENGLAND: A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL HISTORY AND TO EDUCATION.

MODERN LANGUAGE LEARNING: A CONCISE SKETCH OF PRINCIPLES AND OF A PROGRAMME FOR THE INTRODUCTORY STAGE [FOLLOWED BY NOS AMIS FRANÇAIS AND OTHER ELEMENTARY TEXTBOOKS, WITH GRAMOPHONE RECORDS].

THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

A SURVEY OF PRINCIPLES AND PROJECTS

BY

J. J. FINDLAY

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

VOLUME TWO

THE PRACTICE OF EDUCATION

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DEDICATED

TO

RABINDRANATH TAGORE,

POET, PHILOSOPHER,

AND

TEACHER OF SCHOOLBOYS

IN BOLPUR

PREFACE

I HAVE been asked whether this book is designed to meet the needs of Education students. One can reply that Training Colleges and Departments of Education do not seek for textbooks,[1] written as students' aids in securing a 'qualification.'

Certainly I have written for them, but without distinguishing them from other teachers, young and old, who may welcome a systematic exposition of principles and practice.

It is no doubt true that qualifying examinations for many professions create a market for volumes specially prepared to meet the exact requirements of a Diploma Paper, but as a rule this snare has been avoided in the training of teachers. Workers in our Training Colleges, whether lecturers or students, are not a class apart, needing a special diet: we belong to schools and universities as a whole. We are seldom tempted to seek 'short cuts' to a diploma: when the endeavour is made it has small chance of success, for the type of examination which the Education student has to meet defeats such a scheme. In this respect an example has been set which one would like to see followed in the reading which is offered in primary and secondary schools: good teachers are forsaking the 'standard reader' type of school book, the 'handbook for matriculation,' replacing these by wholesome literature.

The ground to be covered in this study is, however, extensive: so the reader, whether student or teacher-in-practice, can rightly ask for assistance in threading his way from one topic to another. Hence some care has

[1] Compare p. 364.

been taken to supply cross references, and a full index, such as would be superfluous in works of *belles lettres*.

Since Practice is our theme, copious illustrations are offered of school work, both at the present day and in earlier times (to show how the present has been built upon the past), for while one seeks to elucidate large principles these can only be grasped when they are seen at work. For this reason I have not hesitated to recall personal experience: not, I trust, because I place an excessive value thereon, but because it seems necessary for an exponent to show that he has tested the validity of theory: and that he has been ready to discard practices which he formerly upheld. As a rule I have been unable for lack of space to enter on details, either as regards my own work or that of others: the exception made on p. 331 is purposely offered as a novelty, inviting the reader to keep an open mind for the reception of new ideas and experiments which at the first blush may seem *bizarre*.

My thanks are due to proof readers who have been good enough to revise many items both of substance and of form: Professor Cavenagh, Miss Emily Matthias and Mr. A. W. Roberts. If this acknowledgment were extended a long list would be needed, for, as the reader will see, I have availed myself of the kindness of many teachers in seeking for examples of pioneer effort. But I must not omit to thank the head teachers and officials of the Bradford and the London C.C. Education Committees for providing the illustrations on p. 296; and Mr. Jack Rivers of the Manchester Grammar School, and the Gregg Publishing Company for their aid on p. 331.

J. J. FINDLAY.

NEARCLOUGHSIDE,
April 10, 1927.

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

VOL. II

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : THE DESIGN

THE themes of this Volume are outlined in the Introduction to Volume I. We are to enter the school walls and seek for some system of thought as we review the behaviour, the daily life, of the people we find there.

Sections I and II have provided us with various clues by which we can interpret this behaviour. Under the rubric 'Aims' we saw why Authorities have set schools on foot, and why teachers and pupils consent to spend their time in one another's society. Section II followed up these questions by noting the outcome of these desires in the scheme of things which we call 'organized education.' We are now to come to close quarters, taking an inside view, noting (again, let us hope, in systematic fashion) how Organization fulfils, or fails to fulfil, the Aims designed. We shall continue the exposition in the same general attitude of mind, viz. as observers of phenomena, seeking what some would call an empirical view of things, rather than a philosophy of the universe from which a system of education is constructed by deductive thinking.

We resume where we left off at the close of Section I. A series of phenomena were noted :—an inner life con-

trasted with external experience; certain constituent values which give meaning to this or that aspect of our behaviour; the progress of human life through stages or periods from infancy onwards. These topics, having served their first purpose as foundations for Section II, continue to guide us as we pass through the school gate and join our fellow-teachers. It is the teacher's task to execute in detail the design which lies in vague outline at the back of men's minds when they invite him to assume his office. Just as public authorities 'call in' the architect to realize the purpose of a great building, so the teacher is appointed to think out and carry through the work of art which we call Education. Our plan, therefore, in these chapters will be to follow the track of his mind as he contemplates his design "ere mortar dab brick." For him the study is not a search for system (that is my job as the writer of this book, yet a system, too, is a design, demanding patience before the whole can be imaged with its parts each fitting into place), but a plan to be executed, within limits prescribed by others, for ends which are not wholly his own; with comrades, materials, times and seasons, not all or always of his choosing. Within these limits he pictures the design working out from week to week, from term to term: he may not be the chief designer, head teacher or controller; he may only be "a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord"; but so far as he identifies himself with this work of art he is both designer and designed, like the mediæval masons who built our cathedrals. Or, to use a closer simile, he is a sailor who has joined a ship and a ship's company: the cargo is on board, the anchor will soon be raised, the open seas are calling; he sees the whole design in prospect—officers, crew, passengers, all ready to meet the unforeseen. So the study of school practice is a conning-over,

day-dreaming if one likes so to phrase it, of successive features in a panorama where many units will combine, separate and re-combine from hour to hour. And the teacher, like the seaman, breathes an atmosphere all his own. As we read the sailor's story, Conrad it may be or Masefield, we get some inkling of the moods of men who pace the deck; when we ourselves cross the ocean we come a little nearer to their mind; but, after all, the secret is theirs and can scarcely be imparted. Each great art and craft looks at the universe of things with its own eyes, finds satisfactions, compensations, which are a mystery to the outsider. A book on seamanship or on pedagogics cannot lay bare the secrets; and yet it is as well to try to write out one's mind with a sense of atmosphere, reviving habits and outlooks that are shared only by those who have set their minds to teaching.

Outsiders, men and women of the world, often express astonishment at the teacher's apparent enjoyment of his job: "How can you stick it," they say—"all day long in the company of kids!" They explain our endurance by the compensations:—long holidays, security in salary and pension, freedom from incessant competition; sometimes they credit us with devotion to ideals such as console more or less the minds of all social workers (Vol. I, Chap. II). Doubtless these items, whether illusive or substantial, count in making up the reckoning; yet there are other values which a teacher gets out of his life: at various points in Vol. I we have already noted them. Let us bring them together here, for they will afford us a point of view from which we can view the whole design.

We seek for knowledge, and, without committing ourselves to any theory about an instinct of curiosity, we must agree that most people who take to teaching

are drawn to the profession in the first instance by an impulse of this kind. Some scarcely appear to get further: they form scholarly habits in early life and their desire for power seems satisfied by conquest, be it great or small, in some branches of learning or art. With this bent of mind they enter our profession, hoping that they will find more opportunity for extending their tastes than in other vocations.

Most scholars and artists are, however, not merely scholars and artists; however closely they may guard their private treasure they find themselves impelled to share it: they become teachers. The impulse is still derived from their interest in the learning or skill which they are distributing. These are their own property: none the less a great step is made when free rein is given to the sharing impulses, when the craftsman or the man of science says to the novice—"My attainments are at your disposal. I want you to take what I possess." Wherever such impulses become habitual, part of the settled disposition, we find a teacher in the proper sense of the word. This is the atmosphere of the studio, of the academy—of all places of learning, as they are called. Breathing this air, the teacher is at home in the company of his fellows, satisfied with a life where teaching and learning pass from hand to mouth. Here he is at home, rejoicing in these acts of give and take, like the sailor responding to the winds of heaven. Regarded from the standpoint of present-day psychology, the teacher expresses his life-energy, his will to power, in these acts of communication. The design which he sketches of himself and his professional milieu springs out of this urge.

These two impulses do not, however, exhaust the field. The scholar, greedy for knowledge, the teacher, ready to share it, is sometimes more than scholar and

teacher: he is also a man among his fellow-men, with tendencies to love and hate, to fear and admire, to yield and control; these lie remote from any desire to climb the heights of learning. So soon as a teacher comes within the school walls he meets with the stir of social interests. He may try to hold aloof, and insist that learning and teaching are his sole business when employed at school: he may attempt a partial severance between his social disposition (as family man or citizen away from school) and his private tastes, but he seldom succeeds. For the actualities of experience, the give and take of intercourse, draw him out—out of himself: he may not admit any obligations of a moral nature, but the facts of social interaction are not to be denied.[1] Thus every teacher becomes more or less a partner in the life of his school, even when his habits dispose him to keep within the narrowest circle of scholarly pursuits.

The distinction here drawn between the subjects or pursuits on which children engage and the corporate life which they enjoy is a matter of common observation, and we shall accept it as providing separate chapters in our study: not that the inquiry into pursuits or curriculum is wholly apart from problems of corporate life (we shall find that they bear on each other in many ways), but the distinction is clear enough in theory and it is also familiar in the practice of the teacher's art.

[1] "Human beings clearly *like to educate*. . . . It looks as if the young serve simply as a stimulus to an activity of the elders of which they, the children, become the helpless objects, an activity which tends to increase without limit as leisure and the economic margin grow. Children create the necessity, but also the exciting opportunity, for society's effort to make vocal the sense of its ideals, customs, laws and (ominous word) to inculcate them" (Hocking, *Human Nature and its Re-making*, chap. xxx, Education). The Freudian psychologist attributes the phenomena to sex-sublimation (see Dr. Crichton Miller in *The Forum of Education* vol. iii, No. 1).

There is, however, a third factor in the situation, a third element, perhaps a chief corner-stone in the design. The materials of our structure are by no means abstract or inanimate, things of wood and stone to be moulded by the teacher's will-to-power; the school is a living temple, whose members have wills of their own. The young folk whom he has to guide into the paths of wisdom are by no means passive to his will, like driven cattle; their nature must be reckoned with in any reasonable forecast of achievement. This is not to say that the teacher and his colleagues are of small moment, nor that the commission entrusted to them by society is to be treated as waste paper: such an attitude, although adopted by some of the sincere reformers noticed in Chapter X, has no justification in fact, any more than the opposite attitude which treats the child as a *tabula rasa*. The design of school is to find means for reconciling two parties, both of whom demand respect: the child, with his immature but most vigorous energies, on the one side, and the adult, teacher plus community, on the other. Thus a third element in our design is to hand: one must consider the nature of the child, both his capacity and his disposition. In Chap. V, Vol. I, we noted some features of child development, for the problems of Organization made it necessary to see what is meant by stages or periods of growth; we must now go further, supplementing what is there set down from the distinctive standpoint of the teacher, who has to reconcile the child's disposition with the demands made upon him by the school.

Now it is in these values that we find data for the Practice of Education. First, the substance of learning, the things to be learned or acquired during school life; secondly, those elements which we call social experience, or corporate life; thirdly, the nature

of the child who shares these experiences. These are the data, the facts with which the teacher has to concern himself before he actually sets to work on his design.

With these data before him, as presented in the actual school where the teacher discharges his office, the rest of his study can be comprised under the rubric *Method* (see p. 229). Method is the expert business of the teacher, to be adopted, modified, revolutionized if he will, on the basis of principles relating to the three fields of study above noted. He must first consider what children are to learn, then he must allow for the sociological factors involved in corporate life, and these two fields of inquiry must be reconciled with the expanding nature of the child.

Ideas and sentiments derived from these sources, backed by what he has experienced in the regions surveyed in Vol. I, afford the foundation for principles of Method on which he bases his daily practice. Thus as a sequel to Sections I and II in Vol. I we have Section III, Elements in the Design, and Section IV, Method. In the Introduction to Vol. I (p. 6) I anticipated a slightly different arrangement, but the discrepancy is of small moment.

SECTION III

ELEMENTS IN THE DESIGN

" Environment is the means, the opportunity, and the home of life. In the organism life and environment meet in a manner more intimate than we can understand, while the organism in turn mediates between life and the outer physical environment. Life is that which feels and knows and wills, that for which values exist and which itself exists as value. Each life is environed at once by an organic body, by an outer physical medium of the organism, by other lives likewise incarnated, and by the social order which together they create. It is thus obvious that environment is an exceedingly complex and many-sided factor.

" If then every change of life is relative to a change of environment, it is clear that there are two ultimate factors determining all development, (1) what we must call, though it be merely naming the unknown, the inner potency, that energy or spirit of life which must never be identified with the environment it finds or chooses, with the physical nature whose laws it both commands and obeys, and (2) a world so various, so complex, and so plastic, as to provide a continuous succession of environments corresponding to and making possible every impulse of life towards fulfilment."—MacIver, *Community*, pp. 362, 363.

CHAPTER II

SUBJECTS OF A CURRICULUM

We are to review the various 'subjects'[1] that young people learn, or are supposed to learn, during the years they spend at school. We shall not be concerned so much to defend their place in this or that type of school as to see what is their nature and intent. The ground-plan for this analysis has been furnished in the types of value which occupied us in Chap. IV, Vol. I. We saw how the final, supreme, purpose of the school can only be grasped as a workable proposition when different aspects of human nature are taken into account. First of all in the reckoning is the original nature of a man: the body-mind, with organs, passions and inherited impulses. We may usefully discuss this first group of values under the rubric *Physical Education*, bearing in mind at the same time that the separation made between matter and mind cannot be pressed very far: it is made rather for our convenience as thinkers, isolating one aspect at a time. Secondly, we shall find various school pursuits which come under the scope of Art (Vol. I, p. 48). In the third and fourth type of values (the moral and the intellectual) man's behaviour stands on another footing. He is one with his kind, finding new bonds of restraint, but also seeking a new freedom in the institutions of society, and his intelligence

[1] As a technical term *subjects* is unsatisfactory, but it is firmly established in the schools: *pursuits* is less ambiguous, but one cannot introduce new technical terms without disconcerting many readers.

has so far advanced beyond that of the brute creation as to constitute him a thinker, a creator of ideas, analysing and uniting the whole realm of knowledge.

We shall find a place for all the pursuits of the curriculum under one or other of these four heads, showing their relation not so much to pedagogic theories as to human life outside the schools. For one of the least satisfactory features of pedagogic discussion has always been a lack of precision in defining the various subjects which we name 'geography,' 'mathematics,' and so forth. If those who argue at length on the merits of this or that subject would first of all define it, giving it a place in a more general scheme of values, many discussions would be shortened. The reader is therefore asked to exercise some patience if at first he consider this chapter to be superfluous. Let us scrutinize labels which are put into school time-tables, plastered on to children as if our young folk were luggage consigned to a destination called Arithmetic (at 9.30), Drawing (at 11), History (at 2 on Thursdays), Physical Exercise (for twenty minutes daily). Let us see what these employments signify in real fact as well as in the good intentions of those who subject them to academic purposes.

Physical Education.—We begin then with Physical Education, represented in school time-tables by various modes of exercise, including games, by lessons in hygiene and physiology, and by medical oversight. Long before a child goes to school he has confronted the basic problems of the development of a self. Those inherited impulses which we call appetites and instincts have led to conflict and the dawn of self-control. The young rebel is not too willing to submit, but willy-nilly he has to accept many conventions about food and cleanliness and attire, forming habits which regulate his daily routine. His happiness and efficiency in later years will be radically

affected by what the home has done for him in these respects.

Many homes in congested areas cannot provide the necessary help (from parents or other members of the family). It is right that nursery schools or classes[1] should be established to supply the lack. The nursery school is in fact just a reproduction, at the opposite end of the social scale, of the nursery which people of wealth provide for their own offspring up to the age of five. For the dominant occupations in this type of school are concerned with "meals taken in the nursery, cleaning the teeth and washing each morning, and living in the fresh air."[2] To these items we may add the acquirement of habits of decent behaviour, such as become second nature to most people, so much so that they are inclined to forget that such habits are not inborn, but have to be attained and maintained by social control.

The school nursery is a place where physical education is the principal matter, simply because the adult can help the infant to behave in this region of experience, whereas his reactions in matters of art, of corporate life, of knowledge, although lively enough and quite important, are not yet ready for organization in a time-table. The same is true in a large measure of the infant school right up to eight years of age.

A good deal of this home or school-nursery discipline is contrary to nature. If unwisely imposed, it often sets up antagonism towards the elders, such as the psycho-analysts[3] are now studying, for the disposition, which

[1] For the important difference here between school and class, see Chapter XI.

[2] Conference on Nursery Schools reported in *Child Life*, October 23rd, 1925.

[3] See, e.g., *Social Aspects of Psycho-analysis* (1925), especially J. C. Flügel on *The Family*, and Barbara Low on *Education*. In Vol. I passing reference was made to psycho-analysis, and I disclaimed any pretensions

we shall consider presently, has to be reckoned with; the infant is a savage and has to be tamed. Now, you may tame him as you do a colt destined to work in the city streets, breaking him in to restricted movements, to the lack of fresh air, to poor food. You have to be careful, for babies are far more sensitive than horses and cannot be so readily adapted to injurious conditions. Besides, we do not breed our calves or foals in the towns; we only bring them to their life's work when they have had the freedom of the fields during early life, alike in air, in movement and in diet. Our treatment of young humanity born in congested areas is a weird mixture of cruelty and kindness. Our ancestors of a hundred years ago said "Let things take their chance," as our contemporaries in Constantinople and Baghdad do to-day[1]: the weaker children die off like flies, and the loss in slum population is replaced by a more virile stock from country parts. But we have grown soft-hearted[2] and try to remedy the maladies on the spot, spending immense thought and sympathy on children's hospitals, on sick

to judge of the Freudian technique. After another two years I am still more inclined to caution: I would indeed scarcely go so far as to repeat the advice offered on p. 41, Vol. I, viz. that teachers should abstain from this mode of searching for truth unless qualifying as experts in psychology. But on one point I have become more and more convinced: the appetites of sex must be viewed along with other lusts, with desires for pleasant food, for 'comforts' of all kinds, for change, for self-assertion and for social power. Freud presumably extends his conception of sex to include all these "lusts of the flesh," but to the layman sex will always convey the narrower meaning. The practical point, as regards the upbringing of children, is that indulgence in *any* region of appetite is equally to be condemned from the standpoint of development, that temperance is a comprehensive virtue including much more than abstinence from strong liquors.

[1] In our own Imperial City of Bombay half of the children that are born die before they are a year old.

[2] See MacBride, *Heredity* (Home University Library), final chapter.

visitors and on a few nursery schools, although we know that children will continue to suffer from rickets, consumption and all sorts of disease, so long as their breeding and upbringing is permitted in places where no other live stock except rats and dogs can thrive.

The purpose of this infant care is, first of all, immediate maintenance by means of food, air, light and clothing; secondly, training, i.e. the fixing of habits which should be so firmly established that the creature in later life will not need to attend to such matters, but can hold himself free for higher concerns. Very often, however, the habits are not sufficiently fixed, and therefore both parents and teachers need to continue the discipline of meal times, of regular hours, of personal hygiene, right through childhood; and the teacher has often to keep a watchful eye upon ill-bred children who have not yet learned how to live decently and may infect others with their bad example. Fortunately, however, the suggestive effect of example works even more powerfully in the other direction; a good tone, once established, persists; children soon learn to imitate and live up to the decencies of a school code.

But physical education, for childhood and adolescence, has come to include far more than this elementary field of personal habits. The present century has witnessed the establishment of health agencies as a prominent feature in all civilized communities where education is made a national concern (see Vol. I, pp. 191, 204). This is partly due to the same reasons which ought to have made nursery schools a necessity, viz. the deterioration of physique caused by smoke, noise, lack of air and the other patent injuries to well-being endured by dwellers in congested areas.[1]

[1] Not that sparsely populated areas are *ipso facto* hygienic. The last report (1925) of the Board of Education (Medical Department) declares

As we saw in Chap. VII, Vol. I, the physician was called in by the State first of all to care for children bereft of their wits; but before long he established his claim to be consulted about normal children also, and to-day School Medical Departments (Chap. VIII, Vol. I) have much to say about the curriculum for normal children. Now when a doctor is called in to any patient he has to prescribe such treatment as the circumstances render possible. He knows often enough that effective remedies are out of the question, even when patients have the money to provide them: he is not to be blamed for being silent about his ideals, for being content to recommend palliatives which at best could advance a 'C3 Nation' to the grade of C2. For example the simple facts stated above about the necessity for abundant exercise in fresh air and sunshine were certainly known in the '90s, but to introduce these would have required a new social outlook and a national devotion to child-welfare for which neither the public nor the teachers were ready: the medical advice tendered to the State was nothing more than a palliative, a very weak substitute for the real thing. This is the common-sense reason why Physical Training has been imposed on the school time-table. At least get the children out into the playground for twenty minutes and make sure that they are in active movement during that time.

At the same period the intrusion of the school doctor was justified on another ground, a ground affecting more

that English children in some rural areas are less healthy than their contemporaries in the town. The grounds assigned are that the rural population are reduced to a desperate economic condition which compels them to neglect their offspring in the elements of physical nurture (including a denial of milk). The problem is economic, not pedagogic. No one can use Sir G. Newman's figures as evidence *against* the value of fresh air and outdoor activities.

closely the better-class schools.[1] Just so far as a higher standard of attainment has been demanded in school lessons the risk of damage to the physical frame has been heightened. Sometimes the teachers are too eager and use pressure; sometimes a studious boy or girl responds too eagerly and resists the natural claims of his body to recreation or repose.

Thus the movement for school hygiene got under way in the last century; thirty years of experience have taught both physicians and teachers a great deal, and the knowledge so gained has this advantage, that it is concrete and sizeable: it can be put into statistical form with results that strike the popular imagination. No wonder that the movement has rapidly extended until to-day control is demanded not only over the school, but over the years spent at College and University; already in most Universities of America young men and women are overhauled at short intervals and required to follow the prescriptions of the Health Department. The example of America calls to mind yet another reason why physical training is now being pressed in democratic countries: the Great War exposed the physical infirmities of young men when faced with the strenuous exertions of military life. If one looks back to history one sees this relationship between war and gymnastics again and again emphasized, e.g. among the Greeks, and among the Germans after the Napoleonic wars, when Vater Jahn brought the young men into *Turnvereine*. In agricultural and seafaring communities, where the mode of life of itself compels a high degree of physical strength, such demands are not made, for if such a civilian population is compelled to fight, it can be quickly brought up to the

[1] Dr. Clements Dukes was the first practitioner to publish an important book on this theme. He was physician to Rugby School in the '80s and '90s.

required 'A' standard. It is only among populations whose pursuits are either sedentary or otherwise unhealthy that opinion demands an attention to physique for its own sake, as a distinctive pursuit in the time-table of schools and colleges.

Let us emphasize "for its own sake," since this proviso affords a key to all the difficulties surrounding the scope of physical education after the stage of infancy. The average man and woman, the normal healthy boy and girl, do not need to be thinking about muscle and breath and nerves[1]: attention to these is superfluous if the processes have become healthily automatic as a result of exercise secured *while attending to more interesting and important concerns*. If, for example, an adult has to be on his feet for several hours and also use his hands and arms, he puts out sufficient energy to keep the regular circuit of movement in the physical system; if, however, his occupation is sedentary he will not *as a rule* take formal exercise, but he will get into the fresh air and work his body either in recreation or in some manual employment—gardening and the like. A considerable part of the sedentary population do not work the limbs to any great degree even at week-ends and yet manage to keep going for many years, but it is certain that they live at a lower standard of health.

Hence the normal mode of treating bodily exercise is adequate or otherwise according to the mode of life pursued—a mode of life which provides, or fails to provide, for adequate metabolism of tissue. There are,

[1] "These in themselves (air, food, sleep, etc.), together with the natural walking, running and jumping done by an ordinary child, will often suffice to produce a healthy and well-developed body and brain, since even apparently simple actions, such as standing or walking, require the combination and co-ordination of many muscle groups" (Board of Education: *Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools*, p. 24).

however, a minority who during adolescence happen to find a distinctive interest in their own development as athletes: they are the people who attend gymnasia, or practise exercises, Sandow, Swedish or the like, day by day at home. They of their own choice give the same attention to bodily functions as soldiers and naval men are compelled to do.

While physicians and others have advanced the claims of physical education with great vigour, they have paid small attention to the psychology of development, either in the individual or the race. Let us, therefore, supplement their efforts by offering an analysis of various types of exercise, corresponding roughly to changes in the disposition of the individual as he passes from the cradle to adult life. We may put them under eight headings, as follows:

(1) Mere gambol, romp, random movement.

(2) Imitative play, such as Action Songs.

(3) Dancing, Folk Dancing, Rhythmic Dancing, etc.

(4) Games, i.e. group contests involving competition.

(5) Exercises (individual or group) in locomotion, such as marching, running, cycling, swimming, boating, etc.

(6) Exercises without apparatus.

(7) Exercises in a gymnasium.

(8) Education 'visits,' school journeys, nature rambles, camps and similar temporary excursions from school and home premises.

A few paragraphs will suffice to indicate the specific value of each of these modes of activity, and thereafter we must note a final method of physical education, viz. through instruction.

(1) The playground in former days was just a place for relaxation, for recreation in the exact sense of the term: the infant when released from attention to orders

just runs or jumps or pushes; if we like we can call such movements physical education; these movements are very important, but little can be said about them because they are so adventitious.[1] The rhythm of work and play[2] demands this kind of uncontrolled activity, but zealous physical trainers when they get the children to school would like to see the intervals between lessons occupied by "massive simple movements," done quickly and without mental effort several times a day (Syllabus of Physical Training, Board of Education, p. 24). There are certainly many occasions when listlessness can be overcome by controlled movements of this kind, yet no teacher should regard controlled movements, however simple, as being free from effort, or as replacing random movements or gambol. The demand for absolute relaxation of this kind is not confined to infants; we all need it, and sensible people allow themselves to take their ease (when they can get it) during the day as well as during the hours of sleep: the younger the child the less able is he to keep 'on the go' even for two hours.

[1] By calling these movements random, one does not wish to give the impression that they are always without purpose in the mind of the infant. The performer himself very often has a clear objective. Just recently I watched a boy of sixteen months in a large room where he is free to roam as he pleases. He has not yet been encumbered with shoes and stockings, so he practises walking on his toes; at the same time he has fastened on to a waste-paper basket half his own height: at first he dragged it around, but presently got his fingers into the frame and marched along with it held at arm's length: he beamed with delight, obviously finding pleasure not only in mastery of the basket, but in the novel power discovered in the muscles of toes and of arms. Now the trainer cannot arrange 'tables' of such exercises: all that is needed is space, and opportunity to seize the right articles of convenient bulk and weight. There was certainly effort and absorbed attention for a long time: and yet very little fatigue, for the infant was intensely enjoying the sensations.

[2] See also pp. 255–63 below.

The best teaching is the most exhausting: teachers should take, both for their pupils and for themselves, a chance of recovery from the exhaustion of one task before the imposition of a second.

(2) The child does not, however, spend much time, after babyhood is past, in absolutely aimless gambol: he puts further meaning into his movements by phantasy. The materials for his fancy come from several sources: from imitation of adults, as when children play at being 'teacher' or at keeping shop; from Action Songs dictated by the teachers; from songs and plays taught by children to one another (sometimes by mothers) and handed on from generation to generation, just as folk-songs and dances are handed along. "London Bridge is broken down" is a good example. There is no doubt that the surroundings of childhood, since the intrusion of active and successful schooling, has tended to crush out these traditional plays. One needs another Cecil Sharp to give his life to watching, unobserved, the school activities of urban and rural children and discovering how far tradition still plays its part in their repertoire. The teacher at any rate tries to supply the lack by herself giving the children some of the nursery rhymes and catches of olden days. But does it matter whether the children are supplied with modern, up-to-date action songs or are helped to revive the plays of their forgotten ancestry? From the standpoint merely of muscle and 'position,' it does not matter; but if we are concerned with harmonious development, we have to seek for the best in art and in behaviour as well as in bodily reaction. We have here a first illustration of the need for harmony between diverse values (Vol. I, Chaps. IV, V): we *must* analyse and separate in order to get at meaning and to be definite; but the practitioner must unite in his daily practice. Of the eight types distin-

guished above as contributions to physical education, only two can be kept apart as the exclusive concern of the physical trainer. In this case, e.g., the infant class will fail to get the best of nourishment from the 'action' if the teacher ignores the quality of the song. These songs were, and are, a contribution to art, to manners and morals, as much as to physical exercise. The physical training specialist nowadays sanctions such enjoyments within the official code. But they are anxious and suspicious lest actions should be allowed that "have little physical value or which result in harmful positions."[1] One should trust the bairns a bit, believing that the infants, like other young creatures, rabbits and lambs, may be trusted to find their own way to harmony between physiology and æsthetics.

(3) The same distrust and a like solution has to be sought when we trace the sequel to these earliest forms of rhythmical activity in the elaborations of dancing: the difference between (2) and (3) is that the infant, now passing on to childhood, is able to give more sustained attention, to discriminate and count his movements, both in voice and in limbs, noting changes in time and tone and strength. Hence the possibility of teaching formal systems of dancing, i.e. of rhythmic movements associated with music. These pursuits are again to be classified among the arts, but they are admitted to the curriculum ostensibly as aids to physical development: in the Syllabus before referred to, dancing has of late years been sanctioned as a type of 'General Massive Movements.' It is well that rhythmical movements, so indispensable to development, should be admitted to the curriculum on any terms, but to treat the claims of rhythm in subordination to the exercise of muscles and nerves is to fly in the face of both science

[1] Syllabus, op. cit., 114.

and art. One might as well attempt to pass judgment on an opera from the standpoint of the physical exercises undertaken by the actors and the conductor. The confusion is, of course, due to the lack of feeling for co-operation among the various specialists who scheme out syllabuses at headquarters.[1] The specialist in music holds his department strictly aloof from the physical trainer, and the latter returns the compliment with a gesture equally proud: neither of them will admit that the body-mind can be treated as one co-ordinated whole. M. Dalcroze has shown the way to co-operation, uniting the early steps in the technique of singing with the movement of his eurhythmics course; dancing, singing, sight-reading, physical exercise are all of a piece, and some day it will be universally recognized that a child sings with his whole body, not merely with his voice and lungs, and that his most perfect and happy experience of muscle and nerve is found in rhythmical response to good music. These specialists —the musicians on the one side and the physical trainers on the other—are reluctant to work in concert; they regard eurhythmics as a third and rival specialism. The rivalries are now being brought to judgment at the bar of opera, where good singing and good speaking, gesture, action, sound physical development should be united in the same human frame, the actor-singer's body-mind. What we have been considering under headings (2) and (3) is the foundation of reform in opera, for it gives the child while still at school an inner experi-

[1] See for example an article in *The New Teaching* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1922) on Physical Training, where on pp. 361, 368 and 369 we find "the Müller, Dalcroze and Sandow systems" jumbled together, as if Dalcroze had anything in common with the late Mr. Sandow. Fortunately in another part of the same volume the specialist in music (p. 318) corrects this folly, and points out (p. 316) tho value of co-operation.

ence of rhythm, of polyrhythm[1]; language, music and action are united in a galaxy of art which carry us far beyond the demand of a Health Department.

(4) *Games* stand in a wholly different category of mental experience; the basic element here is rivalry, contest, but a contest that is not pursued to the death, as when game-cocks are set to fight each other, or when a marksman bags his game. The unique feature of a game is the combination of underlying goodwill with superficial hostility. It enabled the great psychologist William James to describe such sports as a "moral equivalent of war." The rhythm here goes deeper than the rhythm of art or of labour, for man is inevitably a rival of his fellow-man; hate and love are always seeking to capture youth; we may well speak of the playing-field as the 'theatre' of these contests, for lads and young men[2] literally play at team fighting with a sense of inner satisfaction. The psychological elements of drama have much in common with behaviour in games; the term *play* is the clue to both. The sexes react differently, but in boys a beginning of taste for sport (a less suitable term for the same type of pleasure) is often witnessed by nine years of age. Some of course continue to enjoy such sport till middle life; but if so, the enjoyment is a survival of happy

[1] See Jaques Dalcroze, *Rhythm, Music and Education*, pp. 110 and 190, for the technical term polyrhythm: in my opinion this book is one of the greatest contributions to education in our era, but neither the musicians nor the physical trainers treat it seriously. If Dalcroze had been a man of science instead of a teacher his name would stand side by side with Einstein.

[2] Women to an extent, but not nearly so much, for the female infant is bred up with a more domestic sociality; yet the more the two sexes share a common mind, the more readily do girls seek to share in team contests: tennis, where the rivalry is more individual, is so far more popular with women than hockey. This theme recurs in Chap. VI.

memories left over from an earlier period of development.

The athlete who makes a profession of games can only justify his existence if he occupies himself in teaching the young. A life devoted to play is trivial, whether the cricket-field or the billiard-room be the theatre. After maturity most people, unless they are teachers, no longer find their principal exercise in this quarter, but they still continue recreation, indoors or out, in some kind of contest, if it be only a game of billiards or cards *à deux*: or if we ourselves no longer play, we watch other people at play or we read and talk about it. Thus the public interest in games carries far beyond the scope of physical education, although young people are often encouraged, even compelled, to spend their time to excess in outdoor sports under the pretext of keeping well. Those who regard 'having a good time' as the main purpose of existence take advantage of youth's impetuous desire for games between twelve and eighteen, they allow the impulse to run to excess, so that habits are often acquired—by pupils in boarding-schools more especially—that prove a handicap to men (and nowadays even to women) who, if normally developed, would on entering womanhood or manhood rapidly adjust these inclinations to higher interests. Some alarmists run to the opposite extreme, condemning *sans phrase* 'the excessive devotion to sport' shown by youths of our race. We need not share these fears; the remedy is surely to expand the vision of young folk to higher values: games then assume their right proportion.

(5) *Marching* and the like are not to be viewed primarily either as exercise or as contest: the original motive is a need to get from one place to another. But if you have no business reason for walking, and yet need to stretch your legs, you take your 'grind,' as the Oxford

tutor used to do, out on the Banbury Road and back on the Woodstock Road. Nowadays he is less concerned to exercise his limbs but gets more fresh air by sitting in a car and travelling farther. Those who desire to add a more social and competitive element to such exercises will march in a cadet corps or make a game of locomotion by running, swimming, cycle racing, etc. This type of contest appeals to young people in later adolescence far more than in the earlier periods of life. Enthusiasm can certainly be worked up for athletic sports in schools, but boys and girls under sixteen, when left to themselves, will rather busy themselves with genuine games. But after sixteen or so new interests in the body are developing, and many young men and women become solicitous about their strength as well as about their appearance. This is the time, if ever, when Herbert Spencer's plea for attention to physiology has some validity: carried to excess this attention lends itself to self-centred pandering to appetite; with due restraint it illustrates the New Testament dictum that the body is "the temple of the Holy Ghost."

(6) *Sheer exercise.*—And so we pass to the idea of physical exercise as an end in itself, apart both from rhythm and from social or competitive impulses. We noted the two sources from which this conception of physical education has sprung: the old demand that warlike and efficient nations must 'keep fit'; the new demand that formal exercises must be practised by town dwellers since they are deprived of the natural resources open to our ancestors. If anyone studies the vigorous memoranda written on this theme by Medical Officers during the last twenty years (above all by Sir George Newman), he will realize how largely the pressure on the schools to adopt formal exercises is due

to the unhappy conditions of the mass of our population since, say, 1870. It is with no lack of high regard and appreciation that one ventures on criticism. But can the normal child under fourteen attend with genuine interest to the details of muscular movement, "trunk bending forward," "grasp the ankles—bend," "repeat numbers, 1–2"? True enough a lively and sympathetic instructor can get a fine response at the moment; and the illustrations scattered over the Board's Syllabus are true to the facts as regards a few children and a few teachers. Yet one may surmise that in those few children the interest is precocious and belongs to that later period of life when Army and Navy men take real delight in such work; and that the children will benefit far more if a large space is allotted to games, dancing and other massive movements.

It may be replied that this criticism is the outcome of a 'soft pedagogy' which would relieve children from the obligation of discipline.[1] The physical instructor may point out that children are constantly ordered, in other branches of the curriculum, to obey commands which they neither appreciate nor understand: why should their physical education be based upon another psychology? The reply to this question is clearly set down in the principle on which all good physical trainers work, viz. that unless their pupils give full attention to the commands, thinking about trunk, arms, etc., as they make each movement, the chief value of the exercise is lost: they have no use for the listless attention which may or may not be witnessed in other school pursuits. One may therefore still hold that this voluntary, eager attention to movement *as* movement cannot normally be witnessed until a later period of life, and that when displayed (as it undoubtedly is at times, especially in

[1] Compare p. 241 below.

the presence of visitors) the effort is due to the exceptional personality of an unusual teacher.

(7) The same general stricture applies to exercise with apparatus: this is more popular just because the apparatus is present to sight and provides an immediate goal, to be attained on the spot. Few, however, will deny that enthusiasm for gymnastics is natural rather to lads of eighteen than of twelve. Those who offer evidence to the contrary will quote the experience of Lads' Clubs or of schools like the Manchester Grammar School; but this does not prove much, for they are planted in the midst of large cities where little other exercise is available.

(8) The school journey began in Switzerland fifty years ago and has not yet been acclimatized in this country. As Mr. G. G. Lewis[1] points out, "the search for health commonly associated with a town child's visit to the country does not receive first place." Nor is there any reason why it should: the situation is the same as that we have traced right through the sequence of plans for physical education. The child (like most grown-ups) gets recreation or restoration for his blood and muscle *without attending to the processes*. Our chief complaint should be that he does not get enough of such open-air experiences: some day we shall realize that it would be possible to conduct at least fifty per cent. of our school education in the open air, with temporary buildings put up by handicraft teachers and hefty schoolboys on large spaces or the outskirts of our towns.[2]

[1] In *The New Era in Education* (1920) information is given about a few schools which carry on school journeys and camps (pp. 198–231). The movement is certainly growing, but the statistics show that only a small percentage of the school population is affected. See *Typical School Journeys* by the same author.

[2] *The Children of England*, by the present writer, p. 209; and Chap. XII below.

The same point of view holds for school journeys, school camps, nature rambles and the like : of capital value for the physique, yet not to be planned or tabulated under the head of physical education. Health and all the pleasure associated with exercise are a valuable by-product amid greater results.

Here, then, are eight types of physical activity recognized as valuable for school children : over and above these there is a form of physical education wherein the pupil is invited to think about his body, *apart from* actual exercises. Studies of this kind were at one time actively fostered by Authority. Thousands of English children in the '80s earned grants for their schools by learning the elements of physiology, and a fragment of this kind of teaching is still fostered by the public authorities.[1] On the other hand the *Suggestions* say (p. 21) that " Principles of Human Physiology " is a " subject unsuitable for detailed treatment in school." There has undoubtedly been a revulsion of pedagogic opinion on this point since the days of Herbert Spencer. His *Essays on Education* were read everywhere and contributed directly to the confidence with which intellectual lessons were relied upon to solve the troubles of mankind. " If anyone doubts the importance of an acquaintance with the principles of physiology as a means to complete living, let him look around and see how many men and women he can find in middle and later life who are thoroughly well." [2] His faith in the power of ' general

[1] See, e.g., Sir G. Newman, *The Health of the School Child*, chap. ix. The whole volume well repays study : the need for harmony between theory and practice is acutely realized. The author makes it clear that all these plans for correlation depend upon conditions which neither the Board of Education nor the teachers can control.

[2] From chap. i of *Education, Intellectual, Moral and Physical* (many editions since 1860). Anyone who reads Spencer's last chapter and then examines the publications of the Board of Education issued since 1907

principles' to regulate conduct was naïve: he could not anticipate that the psychology (and also the physiology) on which his system was based would be transformed within the ensuing half-century. Yet there are not a few teachers, and many scientific men, who still accept Spencer's errors along with his wisdom. They are still inclined to 'give knowledge' to children in courses of lessons in the hope that some of it will 'stick,' will somehow and some day be applied.

As regards human physiology the relation between knowledge and skill presents special difficulties, because the subject under discussion is the pupil's own body. This is no doubt the ground on which *Suggestions* deprecate 'detailed' treatment. The repugnance springs from the sense of privacy, sometimes modesty sometimes prudery, which attaches to one's own body and is then transferred to an assumption of similar feelings in our neighbour. Herbert Spencer in his eloquent plea that our sons should be taught "where the Eustachian tubes are, what are the actions of the spinal cord," overlooked this point: indeed, until Freud investigated the curiosity of the infant mind in regard to bodily functions, neither psychologist nor teacher was able to explain the social conventions by which modesty is bred into our children, until they may come to feel that instruction which is personal and intimate is an intrusion.[1]

The orthodox Spencerian would hold, on the other

will see what capital service Spencer rendered in awakening a national health conscience, and how widely he misled his generation in pedagogic methods.

[1] The same psychology is witnessed to a still higher degree in religious and moral teaching. The influence of the clergyman, e.g. in the rite of confirmation, may penetrate very deeply into the personality. Alec Waugh (*Loom of Youth: Public School Life*, etc.) gives one the impression that this penetration is rare, but the type of boy whom he describes has already shed the modesties of sex.

hand, that everyone should be as ready to discuss the action of his liver as to discuss the price of meat; that in fact we ought all to be as familiar in our discourse on these themes as physicians and surgeons are trained to be. But they must be scientific enough to allow for the resistance of long-established habits which must be overcome before a group of children can openly handle these themes; and they must seek for evidence as to how far it is right to try to break down these habits. The whole argument of course applies more to adolescence than to childhood; although the resistance has been established in the child by convention, the onset of puberty introduces a new ground for modesty.

The situation is surely incontestable if one thinks of how hesitating most people are to 'tell the doctor all about it' on all sorts of matters relating to the health and personal hygiene, even when the need for applying the knowledge which the doctor may impart is urgent. For we have constantly to remember that this knowledge, like every kind of knowledge, is only welcome when it is needed. Why should a healthy boy or girl learn to localize the Eustachian tubes? The medical man tells you that in good health you ought not to know that you have them. Yet Herbert Spencer (and with him all who offer knowledge in advance of need) insists that the knowledge will enable you "to maintain vigorous health and its accompanying high spirits."

Yet more has to be said on the relation of knowledge to action before we can decide to dismiss physiology from the schoolroom. We are reminded, for example, that children are curious by instinct, and although they are shamefaced when caught in the act, they are often most ready to pick up information about their bodies, secretly fulfilling desires (*pace* the Freudian School) which in infancy they had displayed, as do the animals,

without disguise. This curiosity has usually to be satisfied, however, by 'picking up' an explanation of such questions. Teachers nowadays often seek to satisfy these legitimate queries by courses in science which reach the same point indirectly, i.e. by nature study and its sequel in biology; by gaining some inkling of a rabbit's physiology, how its heart and stomach and limbs work, you satisfy the curiosity of the city-bred child to some extent. The country child learns what he needs from observation of wild and domesticated animals: if he can from that basis go forward to nature study and biology he can assimilate all that Spencer desired by way of hygiene: the aim is sound and there can be little doubt that the present generation is ready to help the adolescent to a better understanding of physical functions than was possible in his day. The success of the New Health Society is a sign of the times; the effects are already being witnessed in the type of instruction in Hygiene offered in schools.[1]

Sex-instruction.—The reader will have already anticipated that these reflections on the attitude of the young towards physiology apply with special force to instruction in matters of sex. Everyone knows how great a change has taken place in the public mind as to the treatment of sex, especially in literature and other fine arts, and that this increase in freedom is a part of the general movement towards equality between the sexes, which we consider in Chapter VI from another point of view. One result of this movement is the demand that children shall be taught, either privately or in formal lessons, the facts of sex; the so-called 'conspiracy of silence' is to be ended, so that children shall not, in their ignorance, contract immoral habits. The plea is the old Herbert Spencer argument applied to a new social situation.

[1] See, e.g., M. Shuttleworth, *The Wonders of the Human Body* (1926).

Writing in 1860, a good Victorian, he never alludes to sex misdeeds among the moral lapses of which children may be guilty. If he had, he would have found it difficult to argue the case on his doctrine of natural punishment. It is true enough that most children grow up ignorant of sex functioning unless they have been bred in the country and observed the mating of animals along with much else of interest, but it is not true that they are ignorant of the facts essential to their happiness. What they need to know at the moment is that converse on topics relating to the organs of excretion and of sex are taboo; that the conventions of modesty practised all around them since infancy are designed to help them to share in the conspiracy of silence; that postponement of further information (although curiosity at times may be lively enough) is reasonable and natural.[1]

Some children are morbid, others have become lewd-minded as a result of malpractice; but the normal child does not hunt about either in literature or elsewhere for food of this description. The evidence offered[2] from some quarters as to abnormal and lamentable behaviour

[1] Compare McDougall, *Social Psychology* (later editions since 1914), p. 420: "Those who grotesquely put their faith in the redeeming power of mere knowledge of the facts and of the evils that result from sexual laxity should remember that medical students are constantly confronted with such evils in all their naked horror, and that nevertheless they are not as a class distinguished above others by chastity or even by prudence in these matters." The whole of this supplementary chapter repays careful study. And compare *The Children of England*, loc. cit., pp. 170–1. Many physicians are equally cautious. E.g. Sir Arthur Newsholme's Presidential Address (Sanitary Congress, 1922) warns educators against "non-personal and indiscriminate instruction." He places his hope in "education, by which he did not mean intellectual instruction, but the development of self-control. He visualized a change in the ideals of the mass of the people, which would make it bad form to be sexually loose."

[2] Notably by Stanley Hall in his *Adolescence*.

in sex matters during adolescence is valuable, but it needs careful sifting: there is no branch of scientific inquiry subject so intimately to the bias of the investigator. Virtue in this as in every field has to be maintained by effort and by sublimation. But this is equally true of all the appetites[1] and instincts, and of the individual at all stages of development. Opinion is decisive against attempts to discuss sex openly in class instruction: boys and girls are fortunate when they have at hand some wise parent or other relative (or a teacher in whom they have confidence) who will be at hand to give them the few salient facts which will help them to a preliminary understanding of pubertal changes. Such teaching, if we like to call it by that name, is both incidental and individual; those who are zealous to achieve results by mass instruction according to code must stand aside here: if elders want to help youth at this critical period they must watch out with tender solicitude and be ready to care for the individual just at the time when help is welcome. The position is analogous to that witnessed in other crises of development, both intellectual, artistic, moral and religious: the problems that touch the depths of the self are individual and cannot be handled wholesale, nor should they be approached before the due time. Teachers, parents and welfare workers who are sensitive and care for the individual life are a godsend to youth, but their task involves concentrated attention and their reward is "in heaven."

The staff of every school should be regarded as a Health Department for its scholars, aided by whatever expert advice and control is forthcoming, whether from medical men, nurses or science teachers. The more elaborate organizations found in some large schools, such

[1] See p. 279 below.

as the Manchester Grammar School[1] and the Canadian and United States Universities, are abundantly justifying their existence. We need have no fear of materialism as a result of the study and practice of hygiene: the body-mind makes its claim to regard as one of the necessary foundations for harmonious development. "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

Some go further than is yet thought wise by any Education Authority: requiring a record attached to all Leaving Certificates[2] of the health and physical capacity of 'Leavers' (including University students) who have completed a qualifying course. These and similar steps to promote the cultivation of a 'health conscience' both in the individual and in the community are more likely to achieve the purposes of reform in this region than the plan of assigning to Hygiene an isolated place in the school time-table.

Technical subjects (equipment of scholars to earn their living, Vol. I, p. 47).—We have already seen (Vol. I, pp. 89–92) how vigorous is the pressure exercised in modern communities to make the school a place which prepares for 'life,' i.e. for occupations which will help the body-mind to survive. This pressure seems to run counter all the while to those values which we shall consider in a moment, concerned with art, morals, intelligence: and it refuses to treat the school as a place for leisure (Vol. I, p. 11). On the contrary, it insists that children must learn habits of industry while at school, or they will be lazy and pleasure-loving to the end of their days.

A glance at the schools shows that a large part of the curriculum is taken up with demands from this quarter.

[1] See, e.g., records from that school issued by Dr. Alfred Mumford.

[2] See Vol. I, pp. 211–21.

The Universities and higher Colleges are very largely professional schools. It is true that a certain proportion of students enter on Degree Courses in Arts and Science without having fixed definitely on a career to be followed when the degree has been secured (p. 199 below); but this type is now in a minority, except perhaps at Oxford and Cambridge. In the Secondary Schools the claims of vocation are equally pronounced in the higher Forms: boys will 'specialize' in this or that group of studies preparatory to some calling; one group will take up commercial studies, another will give most of their time to science and mathematics, intending presently to be chemists or engineers. Some girls will enter cookery and needlecraft classes; others specialize in secretarial work; if the secondary school will not offer them technological help in such directions they frequent a private commercial establishment for a few months, to be coached in shorthand and the like until they are qualified to start work at the foot of the ladder in a city office. Then there are schools, sanctioned and maintained by public authorities, which stand in rivalry to the Secondary School: these are called Junior Technical or Junior Commercial Schools or Trade Schools—titles which deny the claim of a school to be a place for leisure or play.

It might be supposed that below the years of secondary and technical education the scholars of the primary schools would be exempt from vocational demands; in one sense they are, for the subjects found in an ordinary primary school time-table are not avowedly related to trades or professions; and yet if one consults 'business people' one finds them regarding school pursuits, especially the three R's, as designed to make the child efficient at the office desk. It is indeed superfluous to enlarge on the importance attached to training

for livelihood, since it is at the back of people's minds all the while when they are estimating the value of this or that subject of a curriculum. What really happens is that in this, as in other activities, we seek to kill two, if not three, birds with one stone: the same pursuit, e.g. handwriting, which in one aspect is a useful tool for livelihood, can be (and sometimes actually is) treated as a fine art.

In this doctrine of double or triple purpose we have one of the keys to a rational understanding of curricula, similar to our understanding of common behaviour in adult life: that is to say, we seek to employ our time in ways which will give us multiplied results and not satisfy one side of our nature alone. If, for example, we play football, our ostensible motive may be physical recreation to offset the confined life we lead during most of the week; but we know that part of the pleasure comes from comradeship, part from the expression of combative impulses relegated to the level of play as a substitute for real pugnacity. Or we engage in trade, where the ostensible purpose is to maintain or advance our economic status by making profit as goods pass through our hands. No one, however, will maintain that the trader thinks only of this economic result: his life offers a whole variety of social interests, of intellectual interests, and it is these extra results that often enable him to endure a great deal of drudgery in the calling by which he keeps his head above water.

Now the same position is taken, or should be taken, as regards children's employment at school. Every subject of a curriculum may be of service in later life as a means of livelihood; and neither teacher nor scholar (once the period of infancy is passed) should ignore the importance of work for livelihood: but every subject can and should also be handled at higher levels as liberal

education, as a part of a complete synthesis in which art, morals, intelligence, all have their say. Hence every pursuit, even should it appear to be purely technological or utilitarian, should be handled so as to bring it into normal and wholesome relations with larger purposes. Thus we can have no quarrel with the inclusion of Handwork, Gardening, Housecraft, Needlework, in a child's curriculum: on the contrary, they are needed, for they are essential features of a sane and worthy existence. All we submit is that these occupations must be handled practically and efficiently (from the standpoint of joiners, gardeners, and housewives), and also as means of liberal culture, taught by craftsmen and craftswomen of refinement.[1]

The Arts, Useful and Fine

We now pass to another region of experience, where the self reacts to the material world after another fashion. In labour the response springs from necessity: in the sweat of his face man gains his sustenance, struggling with the forces of nature, wresting from them what he needs. But, as we saw in Chap. IV, Vol. I, this struggle can be raised to a higher platform, values can be won from nature which help a man to find himself over against the storm and stress of circumstance.

All the arts, it appears, have evolved in the race, and now develop in the individual, from the same fundamental need—a need which it is difficult to put into words, since the experience is direct and intuitive. Animals, within their range, have the same need;

[1] This principle is being exemplified in many quarters: see, e.g., Handwork in Oxfordshire, as reported in *The Educational Outlook*, 1925, p. 409, and in California, same issue, p. 403. The theme is developed in Chaps. XII, XIII, and carried beyond the demands of physical education into the sphere of moral and social progress.

indeed we are justified in assuming that it is a feature, a necessary condition of all successful life: we call it sometimes the need for rhythm (see p. 56, Vol. I). It is felt by the organism itself, in the vague unrest and misery displayed when animals and children are ill: we might have sketched the aim of physical education as the maintenance of a right rhythm in the behaviour of the body. Long before the child comes to any consciousness of work, i.e., of responsibility for effort, he apprehends his world on a basis of art, that is, he is sensitive to a variety of motions, colours, sounds, and thereupon makes response. He makes this response by means of his own organs, voice, trunk, limbs, with apperceptive delight and with active effort in imitation, repetition and variation. So art begins, and a perfect education would pay due regard to all the typical forms. Three types can be distinguished: the first and the earliest in development are egotistic, i.e. they spring from the innate capacities of the artist's own body, independent of aid from the world outside: in dancing,[1] in music and in the simplest form of drama, the mime.

When the performer lays hold of material from the world about him, clay or paint or wood or stone, and shapes an image outside himself, we have a second type. The French name for these arts is *les beaux arts*; in adult experience they are called painting, sculpture, architecture. They develop later than the first type and have close relation to crafts,[2] both in the youngster as he

[1] I use 'dancing' as the best technical term for all rhythmical movements of arms and limbs. It is too useful a term to be confined to the ballroom and the stage.

[2] Most artists and craftsmen since the days of William Morris and Ruskin *consciously* accept this relation between utility and taste, whereas in mediæval and earlier epochs the relation was accepted without reflecting upon it. See, e.g., Lethaby's *Form in Civilization* (1922). This feeling

passes from infancy to childhood and in our ancestors when they first put two and two together for the combined purposes of use and beauty. Every kind of stuff which a child encounters may be commandeered for artistic purposes, i.e. to express images which bubble to the surface.

The third group is witnessed as soon as the infant relates himself to his species, in language first of all, and then in drama or play, as above defined (p. 24). The linguistic and dramatic arts come to life when the performer, primitive man or infant, has realized the distinction between self and alter. Singular, is it not, that language has taken such a mighty hold on the curriculum, while play-acting has been frowned upon and only now appears to be asserting its claim to a place in the activities of school? In origin, no doubt, speech is allied to song; but whereas the songster, bird or infant, is satisfied just to express the rhythm of music, the beginner in language makes a new art, that of communication, sharing his mind with parent or nurse, using any organ, hand for gesture, voice for speech, in order *to set up a code*. And since the code, when once established, has proved so mighty an engine for development language has outpaced all the other arts in popular esteem: children learn and teachers impart languages not because of their æsthetic quality, but because

after harmony between labour and joy goes beyond the demand for beauty in images of wood and stone. Bücher in *Arbeit und Rhythmus* (1908 and later editions) was one of the earliest to explain the part that music and dance-rhythms play in the toil of labourers' gangs, sailors with their chanties at sea, negroes toiling ashore. In another field we witness poly-rhythm when a child takes to the piano or violin. He can make this advance from voice to instrument only after music has found a lodgment in his inner experience. For the violin and the galaxy of orchestral instruments are just tools, devices by which hands and feet can extend the mental range of voice and ear.

through speech men can get at social and intellectual values; the language is prized because men have supposed (on slender warrant) that the young can only approach the temple of wisdom through this gate.

Thus the various arts constitute, when taken together, a solid contribution to child development which our modern world has grossly neglected except as regards languages: we are indeed beginning to mend our ways, but the tentative efforts so far made are small indeed.

Two points perhaps need elucidation. The first necessity in the case for the arts is to be clear about definition, to think out the meaning and function of this or that art; we should then more readily admit that both dancing and music, drawing and modelling, language and drama, should hold an important place in the curriculum of every school. Many adults say that this or that art makes no 'appeal' to them[1]: and hence they infer that it is, or may be, the same with children; and hence, again, that one or more of the arts may be omitted from the curriculum, being a kind of 'extra,' no doubt a pleasurable sort of addition to life, but an experience that can be dispensed with. They would, in fact, put dancing or modelling or acting on the same level as cricket or card-playing, as accomplishments that is, good enough for people who have time to waste. It may indeed be true of a few people that they have inherited some physiological infirmity which prevents this or that organ from the normal response to this or that art, but in most cases the incapacity is

[1] One finds people who cannot discriminate between "God save the King" and "Pop goes the weasel." Public men who suffer from such a disability are fond of mentioning it in public as if it were something to be proud of, instead of being ashamed of suffering from a grave defect. A distinguished judge has recently discussed from the bench his infirmities as regards music with great satisfaction to himself.

due to neglect during childhood. Instructors in music and other arts sometimes succeed in restoring power in later years[1]; but, as a rule, if infancy and childhood are deprived of opportunity, the arts have little chance, since the disposition of the organism has been thwarted and the golden period for exercise has gone by.

Still, we have not fully met the criticism of the man who is indifferent to the deprivation: he will agree that it is very nice, as people say, if children get the chance of enjoying one or other of the arts, but after all, if they miss the chance, what harm is done? The reply, in essence, is assumed on pp. 48–9 in Vol. I, where art is set down among the constituent values that make up a wholesome and effective life. If a man says that he does not want to paint or even to appreciate colour and form, that he does not want either to act or to go to the theatre, so be it: there are other men who do not want to earn an honest living, to cultivate social virtues or to search for truth. A lack of disposition does not cancel the facts of nature. The fact here is that the basis for all arts is laid in the human structure, physiological as well as mental and social: just so far as we fail, when adults, to respond to this or that appeal, just so far is our experience, our hold of life, incomplete and maimed. Having suffered the loss we make the best of it, recognizing that a perfect, full education is hard to come by; but we need not add to our disability by behaving like the tailless fox in the fable. The colossal scale on which injury is done to our generation

[1] Mr. Geoffrey Shaw, e.g., tells of a boy over fourteen years of age who was supposed to have no ear for music; he was taken in hand with patience, and in three years was singing solos in concert music with distinction. One such example suggests that a hundred are in like case, but have not been fortunate enough to have a Geoffrey Shaw to rescue them.

by neglect of art is seen most patently in the influence of the picture-house.

"A man of real understanding knows that the kinema matters profoundly. He knows that this crude, ill-guided, insidious thing is influencing a world. He has seen it devour, Moloch-wise, the intelligence of millions and watched the resistance against it weaken and die away. Those who understand must fight, not yet for an æsthetic in the kinema, but for the re-establishment of that simple and alert spirit which alone makes an æsthetic possible. Modern life is held in the kinema's grip. Not the pen, nor the pulpit, nor the printing-press is more powerful. The kinema speaks every man's language, speaks it in the vivid idiom of pictures that leaps so quickly, pierces so deeply, into the brain. It directs the thoughts of growing children and fills the dreams of adolescence. It has learnt the trick of mob rule, and the hypnotism of music and darkness. It goes everywhere as a friend. It is rich beyond telling, but cheap enough for every man's purse. It gives luxury and ease for a handful of coppers. It gives itself no time to grow old. And even those people who hate, despise or ignore the kinema are its servants, in that they live in a world that is kinema-bound." (*From an article by C. A. L. in the "Manchester Guardian," September 7th*, 1925.)

While accepting every word of this accusation, one may dissent from the remedy proposed, viz. a strong man of super-understanding: this smacks too much of the beneficent dictator who will save the State, or the enlightened millionaire for whom our Universities search. Surely the right remedy, although more slow and tedious, is to grow a sound kinema audience. The kinema makes use of all the arts; if, therefore, sound standards of taste are established during childhood, there will be a revolt against this sensational food, "richly cooked,

highly seasoned—almost pre-digested." How otherwise, indeed, does C. A. L. come to make her criticism, along with the minority who agree with her? The fact is that the mechanical devices of our epoch, the cheap press, the gramophone, the kinema, wireless, challenge our whole theory of behaviour towards art and the school. They threaten to master the multitude in the way C. A. L. describes: the only possible reply to this threat is to train the multitude from their earliest years in standards of taste until the multitude can master the productions of popular art.

But again the sceptic may say, "Does it matter?" Suppose these art values *do* suffer eclipse, cannot the multitude still live and progress, if they are provided when young with healthy bodies, with honest labour and with intellectual culture? In other words, is art indispensable? Does it really matter much if the common people, the vulgar folk, *are* vulgar? Well, as Shylock says, "I'll not answer that."[1] This single volume cannot extend itself to a treatise on life's ideals or on the function of art in the commonwealth. A curriculum is no doubt governed by the ideals which the public and the teachers entertain, but it is also governed by ascertained facts about capacity: the children of to-day, even in backward schools, are now permitted by public opinion to learn a little about singing and dancing, a little less about colour and form; they are spending much time on the rudiments of language, and they are being permitted here and there to engage in play-acting. This slow advance in the recognition of the arts is the result of many causes, and among these

[1] The clearest answer in the language of our time can be found in John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, pp. 160–4, and recent addresses he has published in the *Journal of The Barnes Foundation* (vols. i and ii, 1925–6).

is the recognition of capacity: we are allowing children to engage in these pursuits partly because by experiment we are finding out that all normal children possess the requisite power; that if their teachers have learned to enjoy any art, and have mastered it even to a moderate extent, they can guide their children to a similar enjoyment and a similar discipline.

The second point on which a word should be added is concerned with technique: to learn the rudiments of these arts is a serious employment. The practice should certainly be enjoyable, yet these pursuits are not just amusement for idle hours: our view of what art means in the curriculum involves the acceptance of a responsibility for achievement. As regards languages, native and foreign, our teachers have been serious enough: they have given great attention to the rudiments, to reading and writing, which are not actually arts, but (as Granville Barker reminds us [1]) labour-saving devices to enable us to reach more rapidly the essential function of language-arts, which is the utterance of speech. He who learns to read silently so as to hold aloof from his fellows, substituting the novel for the spoken tale, the newspaper for conversation with his neighbour, has only gained a fragment of the benefit which language should confer upon him. For one purpose of the arts is to release the child from the egotism of infancy, to help him to an understanding both of nature and of his fellow-men.

Now all the arts, and not languages alone, if pursued with a high sense of value, help to this revelation. And technique is just the ordering of the child's or student's approach, with such rules and advice of time and circumstance as each art demands on its own account.

[1] *The Exemplary Theatre*, p. 67. This whole book, especially Chap. II, The Educational Basis, repays careful study.

The Humanities

In the third type of values (Vol. I, pp. 50–2) we pass beyond affairs of sense and sight; the child is here invited to discover himself and his neighbour, his past and his present: ties of duty and affection are bound upon him; he will discern friends from foes; problems of right and wrong are presented for his decision. He has to conform to custom, or assert himself against its sway: a conscience develops, analogous, no doubt, to the taste which he displays in the world of art, but making a wholly different appeal.

Long before the child becomes conscious of moral problems his social environment has been educating him; his sympathies and beliefs are being shaped by every encounter with his kind. When he goes to school, he is planted amid a group of his contemporaries, guided by a few adults called teachers, and this intercourse constitutes a unique field for social and moral experience. Every group or association (Vol. I, pp. 31–2, and Chap. III below) exercises some sort of moral influence upon its members, but the school plays a unique part. First, the members are young and *plastic*: they have not yet been caught, and the elders have an immense advantage over the inexperienced youngsters who are put into their hands. Secondly, they are associated with one another and with their teachers for a long *time*, at least five hours a day, for five days a week and for forty weeks; and this association is extended over at least eight years for the mass of the children, and during many more, up to twenty, years, for the selected few. Thirdly, the authorities, if they like, can introduce subjects into the curriculum which bear directly upon conduct, and to these subjects we give the name *Humanities*. In some types of school, especially those for older

pupils (Colleges and Universities) and those concerned solely with technical instruction or with arts, these subjects are not usually regarded as essential[1]: none the less moral experience is being gained all the while: just as habits of hygiene and of taste in the arts are modified insensibly by our surroundings, although they have no place as subjects in a curriculum, so in matters of behaviour and in attitudes towards the inner life, a school community helps to make or mar, quite apart from the subjects of instruction which are our concern in this chapter.

The term *Humanities* is here used pretty much as we find it in *The Teaching of English in England* (Report of a Departmental Committee, Board of Education, 1921), to include all studies which centre round human conduct in the past or the present. This report explains how the term *Humanism* has widened in scope since it was first used by Renaissance scholars. It is closely identified with the arts of language, as in the Oxford term *Literæ Humaniores* and the Scottish *Humanity*; yet all the arts are equally at the service of man and have relations to humanism, although pride of place be conceded to 'letters.'

The purpose of such studies is the training of the social sentiments; their scope embraces at least four subjects of the ordinary school curriculum, viz. Human Geography, History, Literature, Religious or Biblical Instruction. In most schools these subjects are still kept separate on the time-table, and in Secondary schools (Chap. XIV) each is commonly handed over to a specialist, who may, or may not, collaborate with his colleagues in devising his specialist programme. This separation has been carried too far, much too far: the

[1] This problem is discussed in the chapters dealing with Method; here we keep so far as possible to definition.

curriculum should begin at the younger ages with a unified time-table in which all four subjects[1] should be grouped under the single heading "Humanities," and should only break up into four divisions as the scholar recognizes the lines of cleavage and follows them up in the syllabus of a Leaving Examination, such as Matriculation.

Human Geography.—It seems necessary to qualify 'Geography' with the adjective 'Human,' since the distinction between Human Geography and Physiography (which used to be called Physical Geography) is quite necessary to clearness of thought. As a separate subject of study geography is a natural science,[2] an intellectual ordering of the phenomena manifested by the earth and all around it; as such it is closely related to and dependent on what is presented by other scientific studies, geology, biology, chemistry, physics. When, however, we are engaged in humanistic studies, we incorporate what we need to learn about the earth as *man's* home, about *man's* travels, *man's* use of the earth. Thus the story of Ulysses takes us wandering round the world as known to the Greeks: we must make our maps, locating rivers, capes, towns, learning facts about climate and vegetation, but we need not cut off such geographical or scientific facts from the main story and call these 'geography lessons.' The central theme is Ulysses and his comrades, a man who "strove with gods," and the adventure unites geography, literature, history into one subject. Specialists in geography should not regard their *Fach* as belittled

[1] For detailed syllabuses worked on this method, see *Principles of Class Teaching*, pp. 416–35, and *The Fielden Demonstration School Record*, chaps. iv, v, vi.

[2] For a detailed syllabus used for physiography (ages 11–15) see *Fielden Dem. Sch. Record*, pp. 184–98.

because one refuses to give it a separate hour or two under its own name, in the time-table of the junior school; the essential rôle assigned to the subject is not left out of sight:—we simply omit the label. The philosophic basis for Geography, first made clear by Le Play and more recently expounded by his distinguished follower Patrick Geddes,[1] rests secure in recognizing that the earth is the home of man and geography his Regional Survey: the sequence which this School has popularized in the formula: Place—Work—Folk (Environment—Function—Organism) is valid, and is especially serviceable in opening up to young people the panorama of humanistic studies. Local geography and local history, nature study with ecology linked to anthropology, are for young children the forerunners of later history as well as a foundation for later science.

History.—Since events happen in time as well as in space we should confine the term *History* to human story, when the events are viewed as happening in a defined past. "Once upon a time" is not history, although it be on the Threshold of History.[2] As a school study history begins when a chart of time is followed, and when the narrative can be confirmed by reference to a record; we could perhaps define history as inclusive of all events in recorded time. The child often asks, when he hears a story, "Is it true?" and some people infer from this question that he sets a high value upon recorded facts; yet this query only reflects a desire to know what he is 'getting'; it shows that the young questioner is no longer a baby ready to 'swallow' any-

[1] See *Biology*, by Geddes and Thomson, p. 240. Other books by these two prolific authors expound the same philosophy of synthesis between Humanism and Science.

[2] H. R. Hall's delightful introduction to anthropology under this title. Also his companion volume, *Days before History*.

thing. He may, and usually does, enjoy fiction as much as fact; but he wants to know 'what's what.' Furthermore his sense of time can only develop slowly: even if as a schoolboy he finds congenial employment in constructing images of the past, with definite divisions of times and epochs, he is still a long way from being a historian. For to become a historian one must not only have at command the facts of ordered knowledge, but possess some power of interpretation.

This historic sense is immensely important. It is one of the distinguishing marks of the educated man; it embraces anthropology and geology as much as the political narratives which make up the whole of history in the conventional sense. So viewed only a beginning can be made with the Humanities, even if one studies geography plus history at a University: they are life-studies and open up new vistas as the man himself advances through adult life to old age. "Our History is our reality."[1]

Form.—For we now add to these categories of space and time a third, viz. *form*, which gives a human touch to the abstractions of the moving universe. The literary form is the most common medium through which facts are set down, through which bald facts are transmuted from dull lead to fine gold; but the other arts,[2] all of them in turn, can be requisitioned to instruct and kindle the mind. In our schools Literature or Letters holds pride of place, but all the arts rejoice in the same service. Sometimes a mistake is made, which Browning among others sought to explain in *Fra Lippo Lippi*;

[1] Benedetto Croce; see pp. 158–60 in *History and its Place in Education*, by the present writer.

[2] A recent example of the illustration of History by Art is Hartley and Elliott, in two volumes relating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (London, Batsford, 1925).

for the humanist, devoted to his specialism, history, geography, religious knowledge, thinks that the function of art is *merely* to serve: your Luther, e.g., wanted everyone to be taught his letters just because he gained thereby a key to the Bible; your modern specialist in history treats essay-writing as a vehicle for the pupil to convey historical ideas, and drawing as a device for remembering the shapes of Norman castles. But this will not do; by all means let the arts be put at the service of the sanctuary and of the academy, to say nothing of the salesman with his posters; indeed it is only through such correlation that unity can be reached in the inner life. Nevertheless there must be no subjection: the arts, as we have seen, make their own claims, they have their own values in and for themselves.

Space, time, form—Geography, History, Literature—and beyond these stand experiences which (Vol. I, Chap. III) we called inner or spiritual. If lessons in religion achieve their purpose they are the crown of the whole humanistic structure, for a man's life-purpose necessarily culminates in his attitude towards the eternal and the invisible. And because of the exalted quality of this subject of instruction, because of its intimate relation to the inner self, it is the most difficult subject in the entire curriculum. We found it necessary to handle the problem from the standpoint of organization in Chaps. VI and VII, Vol. I; that discussion makes it evident that no plan of religious instruction offered to the children of any locality can meet the wishes of all parents; and, further, that any plan which is conducted merely for the sake of formal compliance with law or code runs great risk of being reduced to formalism, thereby failing in its principal purpose, viz. to help the scholar in his inner life. There is no escape from this dilemma; all the compromises discussed in Vol. I forfeit some of the

advantages sought in the ideal community where teachers and parents, churchmen and laity, would be of one mind. This, however, should not discourage any of the parties to such transactions: partial failure and disappointment must be anticipated as the lot of anyone who undertakes these high offices of teaching. To plan on paper an ideal scheme of humanistic study, from infancy to adult life, from local geography to the worship of the Divine, is not an easy task; he who undertakes any portion of it in the home, in the school, or in a church can count on partial success if he have some sympathy with those whom he guides and take some pains with the details of his task.

Let us hold fast by underlying principles, seeking for definitions and facts. We find that religion, like nature, thrusts itself in (*naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*); we may ostensibly, so far as curricula are concerned, cross it out from the time-table: we do not dethrone it thereby from experience. It may be necessary, as in our modern Universities, as in the so-called secular schools of France and of America, to exclude religious exercises and religious instruction: by so doing we only hand over to others the necessary search for harmony between the eternal verities and the child's need for guidance in behaviour.

In any event it is lamentable if the young are permitted to grow up to years of discretion without any knowledge of the events and facts which are comprised in the history of religion, without any contact with the masterpieces of literature contained in the sacred texts. The recent *Report on the Teaching of English in England* bids us teach the Authorized Version of the Bible as a text-book of literature, and the plea can scarcely be contested. Even those of our fellow-countrymen, Jews and Roman Catholics, whose religious attitude keeps

them aloof from this work of art can scarcely resent its inclusion in the public schools, secondary or primary, so long as it is treated (as all great literature should be) in its historic setting, with due respect for other contributions in the same field, and to writings cherished by Jews or by Roman Catholics. Some teachers would go further: Christianity has nothing to fear from the esteem now felt for the great pagan religions. When the Renaissance scholars restored Hellenistic culture to the Western world, they surveyed the religion of the Greeks and the Romans along with Christian art and Christian philosophy: an analogous process is now taking place with regard to the wisdom and the mysticism of the East. Nor is this extension of harmony merely a renaissance, teaching respect for Confucius or for Buddha: the wisdom of the poet to whom this book is dedicated invites us to something more than a study of dead languages and of forgotten creeds.

Function of Humanistic Studies.—Religious instruction therefore takes its place within the circle of humanistic studies; partner with geography and history because in all alike the teacher's aim is to help the pupil to interpret experience; his own experience, his hopes and fears, are to be understood in the light of what has been done and felt and said by those who have trod the way before him; and by his contemporaries up and down the world. The dilemma comes, as we felt so acutely in Vol. I, when a line has to be drawn between our desire for propaganda, for influencing our pupils directly towards the path of virtue, and our recognition of the child's claim to independence and self-determination. Is it the function of history to teach patriotism, of geography to fit the child for commerce, of Bible study to make the child submissive to God and the Church? Indirectly and remotely all these aims are in the minds

of those who place the studies in the curriculum ; and yet a more careful reckoning with human nature warns us to be cautious. We have no need to exhort boys to love their country : partly because they would be bored,[1] but mainly because the virtue of patriotism can only grow healthily out of their own experience, and this is influenced not merely by a teacher's words but by his acts ; not merely by tales of old (although these count for much) but by the thousand-and-one influences that draw their affections towards the institutions of the State and towards the other great institutions that help to shape a man's relations between himself and his neighbour. Quite decisively, therefore, in planning a scheme for the Humanities, one may dismiss any overt design[2] on the sentiments or the affections. Having handed on the tradition, with honest and scrupulous fairness in what is inserted and omitted, we may trust life itself to point the moral and adorn the tale.

Intellectual Studies

Reverting to pp. 52–5 (Vol. I), we recognize a final group of school pursuits in those which are *specially* associated with processes of thought. Let us underline 'specially,' for fear it should be supposed that physical

[1] Kipling's *Stalky & Co.* strikes the right note ; in *Puck of Pook's Hill* and in *Rewards and Fairies* his genial intuition of the child's attitude is even more manifest.

[2] Compare *Suggestions for Teachers*, issued by the Board of Education (p. 30 in edition of 1923). It is of interest to compare the cautious reference to patriotism in this paragraph with the fervid energy with which some other States employ the school as an agent in propaganda. At the present time, when State and school, teacher and politician, come into such close relations, this theme needs more thorough handling than it can be given here. I gave it some attention in *History and its Place in Education*, pp. 114–18, dealing especially with the relation of the teacher to party politics.

education or art or geography can be pursued without the exercise of intelligence: the distinction is clearer, perhaps, if we speak of *practical* intelligence as a feature in those studies, whereas in the pursuits which we are now to consider attention is directly invited to processes of thought. How often does one hear teachers bid their children to "think"; impatiently they cry, "But you're not thinking!" So the little creatures knit their brows and try to collect their wandering wits. They do not *want* to think: the habit is acquired; as Locke said long ago, "The last resort a man has recourse to in the conduct of himself is his understanding."[1] We only turn to thought because in our pursuit of routine on beaten paths we meet with obstacles. The fields of experience and of value above considered suffice for the common affairs of life; we would be happy enough to go on indulging our appetites, or some of them, earning our bread in our vocation, exercising our taste in the arts, enjoying the society of our fellows, but somehow the game of life does not work smoothly in these ruts. At each stage of development some disillusion is encountered, and it is the office of intelligence to help us both to accept the pain of disillusion and to seek for new integrations and harmonies. In a sense this approach to reason is a natural adaptation or development; and yet, as we have said, children are often disinclined to think. Hence the school is properly concerned to help children to overcome idleness and apathy of mind. Man has adapted himself to his conquest over matter by using his mind and thus standing above the brute. The psychologist illustrates adaptation from the mole who evolves feet which can dig: when man wants to dig, he reasons and creates a spade: at a later stage he reasons further and supplies himself

[1] Opening sentence, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*.

with a mechanical mole which makes tunnels for farm drains, or with a steam digger which hauls out tons of earth in a few seconds. Now, the educated man who wants to dig should not only *know how* to use tool and machine as the mole knows how to use his toes, but should employ his intelligence in grasping the sciences concerned in making these.

It will be seen that the development of intellectual power presents one aspect of those periods of transition we glanced at in Chap. V, Vol. I. The infant's growing powers of discrimination compel him to distrust the play-world of his baby fancies. We give the name 'practical intelligence' to the capacity by which he grasps reality: we at least, his elders who watch the process, recognize it as a step towards a real, i.e. a rational, reckoning with things. Later periods of uncertainty are to be observed at the close of childhood, round about thirteen, and at the dawn of manhood (a hobbledehoy, neither a man nor a boy): at each such period it is the intelligence, cool, impartial, sceptical, that first arrests, or breaks down, and then incites to a further stage in development.

No wonder therefore that schoolmen, from the days when learning first pulled its weight in racial history, have always exalted the intellect, trusting to its power to save both themselves and their pupils from the vices and passions of the ignorant crowd. Finding it both possible and entertaining to specialize in intellectual exercises, the scholar sometimes turns pedant; he ignores the other values, believing not merely that intelligence is an indispensable guide to life, but that it can be cultivated without regard to other aspects.[1]

[1] Locke again is worth citing: "The truth is they canton out to themselves a little Goshen in the intellectual world where light shines, and, as they conclude, day blesses them; but the rest of that vast expan-

In discussing the place of intelligence among life's values (p. 53, Vol. I), we noted the pedagogic disputes about faculties. Leaving these on one side it is our task here to see what subjects in a curriculum give specific scope for intellectual exercise. The first, earliest [1] in the child's experience, fundamental as a foundation for all other knowledge, are the categories of mathematics: number, time, space. Following on these are the conceptions that arise from daily concrete experience, ideas which may or may not be organized by our pupils into formal systems of science. A good example is the physiology which Herbert Spencer so strenuously advocated, or the citizenship which is to-day promoted by some teachers to the rank of a school subject. In these and in many other instances the pupil is intuitively interested in the concrete, in his body as being trained by physical exercise, in his fellows as behaving in communities: his teacher, however, an adult scholar, has advanced to a higher platform; he is interested in these same topics, but has abstracted his science out of them; he enjoys the general principles, the organization of thought called physiology or citizenship, and enters them prematurely as subjects in the time-table.

sion they give up to night and darkness and so avoid coming near it. They have a pretty traffick with known correspondents in some little creek; within that they confine themselves and are dexterous managers enough of the wares and products of that corner with which they content themselves, but will not venture out into the great ocean of knowledge to survey the riches that nature hath stored in other parts, no less genuine, no less solid, no less useful than what has fallen to their lot in the admired plenty and sufficiency of their own little spot, which to them contains whatsoever is good in the Universe."

[1] Earliest *as* subjects, i.e. as organized related ideas which can be abstracted *from* experience. They do not spring 'out of the blue,' for they are real only because the real experiences noted in the next sentence provide occasion for counting and measuring.

In the same way we can review the whole ground which has so far been covered in this chapter: values from the physical life, from art, from morals,[1] and identify at each point an intellectual element, which, if so disposed, we can set apart and label by some scientific title. Physiology perhaps comes first, and therewith the whole circle of the biological sciences. These again can only be approached in systematic fashion if the inorganic world of chemistry and physics is examined, with all the sub-divisions and collateral sciences which in these latter days amaze the layman, e.g. bio-chemistry, colloids, radiology.

Passing by for a moment the intellectual aspect of arts and crafts, we are provided in the Humanities with a whole catalogue of scientific studies, beginning with the abstractions of a 'scientific' history [1] (to use the terminology of Prof. Tout and his disciples) and on to the psychology, sociology and ethics which treat of the individual as well as the community. Nowadays these social sciences, as they are often called, come into close relation with biology and even with the more speculative regions of mathematics and the natural sciences; finally, theology and philosophy carry the speculative thinker into regions where meditation passes into the mysticism or faith of the believer.

The relation of intelligence to the arts presents a very different issue, for every art has its intellectual aspect and those who will can make a grammar, an *-ology*, of any art; and yet the artist stands aloof from science. The illustration that lingers in my memory is a story about Tennyson: he was little concerned with the science of his performances, but some of his readers were;

[1] Some students of natural science demur to the use of the term 'science' for the intellectual aspects of Humanism. This nomenclature is, however, both convenient and justifiable.

one of them "set himself to find out all the rules of Tennyson's versification and collected together, from his verse, an immense number of laws and examples. "Look here," said he to the poet, "what wonderful laws you observe." "It's all true," was the reply, "I do observe them, but I never knew it."

Artists use the term *technique* (meaning in the original Greek the art and craft itself) to describe these rules: they are better described as rules than as laws or principles. The beginner should certainly obey them in his 'prentice' days, but when he is a master he may break them and invent new ones: whereas the principles of science are, at least by comparison, stable. If the sceptic points out that science too is provisional and relative, that Einstein comes along to revise the absolutes of a Newtonian system, this criticism does not invalidate the general position, the universal contrast between art and science, between the aims of a maker (poet or carpenter) and the aims of a thinker.

These differences are of capital importance in the theory of education, for in one of the greatest of all the arts, viz. language,[1] the confusion between art and science has been colossal. Ever since Western Europe, emerging from the ruins of the Roman Empire, held on to the Latin language as a stand-by both for culture and for religion, scholars have confused their own interest (adult and mature) in philology, grammar, rhetoric, phonetics and the like with the beginner's delight in the display of power through expression. Yet the two interests are achieved on wholly different planes of experience; the teacher of language who ignores the difference, who refuses to study the relevant psychology of habit and attention, must be ruled out of court, however successful he may be according to the standards

[1] Comp. p. 40 above.

of success which have hitherto satisfied Education Authorities. The mischief cuts deep : it begins in the infant school where children are required to adopt weird systems of naming the letters of the alphabet[1] and of writing these at the bidding of phoneticians who ignore the simplest laws of apperception : on to the performances of the Englishman who regrets when too late that his industry in French or German at school was largely a waste of time.

This glance at past failures will not be misconstrued as an attack on intellectual values : the problem is not, or should not be, concerned with rivalry between art and science, between reason and intuition, between knowledge and skill. It is folly to deny that " knowledge is power," yet it is not always an aid to development : precocious knowledge may throw out of gear a child's efforts at harmonious development : memoriter knowledge, if it cannot be used, turns clever children into bookworms. Let us refuse to set one aspect of experience at loggerheads with another : there must be no exclusion ; our definition of the pursuits of school leads us from definition to correlation and sequence, to a developing time-table in which each and all will find an appropriate place.

The survey made in this chapter covers a wide range and raises problems which thinkers in all ages have sought to solve in the classification of the arts and sciences. While I offer my own conclusions, buttressed here and there by references to authorities, I am far from presuming to compete with the philosophers, great and small, who have expounded this theme. Every reader, implicitly or formally, makes his own analysis and may easily find weak places in mine. Such error is of

[1] See p. 329, below.

small moment: I myself indeed have been shaping and reshaping the 'system' of this chapter ever since I began to study education. This survey has been made because, as I have said, definition of 'subjects' is a necessary preface to Method: only when the student of education has undertaken this task is he open to consider the day's work in the types of school which will occupy our attention in the next Section. There has been some overlapping, which can scarcely be avoided, but I trust I have made the distinction clear between the purpose of this chapter (to provide data) and the application of its conclusion to the practical issues of Section IV.

CHAPTER III

CORPORATE LIFE

THE ostensible reason for putting a child to school is that he may progress in subjects, one or more of those reviewed in the last chapter. To the child himself the attraction is more commonly derived from the social *milieu*; his parents also (Vol. I, pp. 84–6) are apt to think quite as much of the manners and behaviour displayed by scholars as of the curriculum; in England the teachers of many schools care as much for corporate life as for their scholars' progress in matters of intellect. Foreigners who have visited our schools (at any time since Wiese's [1] visits in the 'forties and 'fifties) have always been struck by this feature of our education, and some of them [2] have succeeded to some extent in reproducing it in their own country. Our secondary schools, and more especially the Public Schools, have been conspicuous in caring for this aspect of schooling, but the impulses are not confined to one social class: the Code of 1903, with the clause in the Introduction relating to "corporate life," was only a confirmation of attitudes which had characterized most primary-school teachers for many years before that date.

The movement owed little to theory: it took formal shape, at Rugby, Winchester and elsewhere, as a result of specific conditions in ethico-religious development between 1820 and 1850. The term *corporate life* was

[1] *Deutsche Briefe über englische Erziehung*, translated into English but long out of print.

[2] Desmoulins, e.g., in *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?*

appropriated for school use at this period, and is not in itself a very happy one. It was evidently taken from the Pauline analogy between the members of the human body and the collective life of a group. The analogy can readily be used to prop up theories of collectivism, of an 'individuality of a higher order';[1] but the schoolmaster-divines who invented the term were not much concerned with social theory; it implied nothing more than the alternative terms 'social life' or 'group life.' Arnold of Rugby was the hero of the story, although some of his contemporaries were warranted in claiming a share of the glory for other schools. These schoolmasters were practical men, leaders in religious reform as much as in the reformation of schooling: in church and school alike they were concerned for a higher standard of behaviour. It cannot however be said that there was no theory behind these reforms, for Arnold's sermons expounded views both on the nature of a school society and on the psychology of youth which were held in higher esteem during the last century than they are at present. May I recall personal experience here? As a young schoolmaster in the 'eighties I was a disciple in the Arnoldian tradition, editing an *Arnold of Rugby* in order to elucidate the theory on which the corporate life of these schools was defended; but long before Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* appeared I had become uneasy (and I was by no means alone) at the latter-day fruits of the public-school tradition. It was not sufficient to dismiss the matter by saying that the early enthusiasms of Arnold and Cotton and Temple have of necessity been dimmed with the lapse of time, and that a later generation of schoolmasters cannot withstand the onslaughts of materialism and

[1] For the biologist's contribution see Julian Huxley's *Individuality in the Animal Kingdom* (Cambridge Scientific Series, 1920).

luxury.[1] That was certainly true; but there is more to be said, a deeper study to be undertaken; a foundation for theory of corporate life in schools can only be secured by the aid of sociology.

As I look back on my own work as a schoolmaster, inspired by John Percival, I feel sure that the teachers of that time were led to exaggerate the importance of leadership, of mastery over a flock: and thereupon we made too much of prefectorial responsibility, of the " old heads on young shoulders " in the Sixth Form room and in the playing-fields. So that Strachey's caricature of Arnold's confident and imperious outlook does not now seem so overdrawn and offensive as I should have felt it to be thirty years ago. It would appear that (as schoolmasters and schools existed a century ago) only men of strong, confident energy, with a will to power united to a religious devotion, could have coped with the situation *as they found it*.[2] With the passing of two or three generations a new orientation is needed,[3]

[1] See, e.g., the Introduction by the late Bishop Percival to the *Arnold of Rugby* noted above. There is no doubt that Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, a classical biography, along with Arnold's *Sermons preached in Rugby Chapel* and *Tom Brown's School-days*, led the popular mind to regard him as the sole inspirer of a great reform. The late Mr. Leach did good service in correcting this bias.

[2] Compare Bertrand Russell, *On Education*, pp. 43, 44.

[3] And is being supplied, especially by the novelists: Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells from the outside, and Arnold Lunn, Alec Waugh, with their mixture of idolatry and cynicism, from the inside. The following passage, however, shows a deeper insight into the psychology: " Back to the blithe days at school when they first taught you never to think your own thoughts or take what came in a way of your own, but to pool your brains with the rest and ' throw yourself into the life of the school,' and on to your early manhood's deeper training in resemblance to others, and so to the good day, always coming and always here, always to be had by him who wills it with all his might, when the imitative shall inherit the earth." (C. E. Montague, *A Hind let Loose*, p. 134.) It

if only because the weaker features of their pedagogics have survived and have won popular applause, while the deeper aspect of their theory of 'moral thoughtfulness' has faded largely from view. The term 'corporate life' is often taken to mean just *esprit de corps*, a collectivist sentiment on behalf of your House, or your School, or your team, regardless of other claims and interests.

The schoolmaster of the Arnold tradition has not much confidence in average boy-nature: he wants to be sure that they are 'safe' at every moment of the day:[1] so he fosters *esprit de corps* as a welcome device to fill the mind. In the old days the teacher compelled the young rogues to virtue by threats and pains; the new plan was more subtle: we induced them to get busy in games and other competitions by assuring them that everyone ought to be proud to play for his House or to win a scholarship for the honour of the School; ourselves, as young schoolmasters, felt the glow of these enthusiasms and testified to the virtues of *esprit de corps* in our own behaviour. Yet there were misgivings at times: cynical young folk hinted that we were taking advantage of their inexperience, exciting too grossly a stir of feelings, which might have a sequel in indifference and scepticism. The fault was partly one of excess, enhanced by that last and greatest of all human frailties, the appetite for power. Arnold was right in recognizing the growing capacity of boys of sixteen and seventeen for leadership; right in legalizing their natural position of superiority among their younger fellows, thus turning poachers into gamekeepers: his error lay in making so great a to-do about it, creating

discloses the besetting sin of the public-school man in his love of power, which fashions every boy to the pattern of his class.

[1] See Bishop Temple's *Life of Percival*, p. 116.

an acute self-consciousness which might be termed moral restlessness rather than moral thoughtfulness.

It is by no means a matter of course that the sense of social feeling stimulated in a class-room or a House or on the playing-fields is of an exalted type, worthy to be transferred 'from Eton to Waterloo': the sinister vices of envy, hatred and malice, bred by competition and dominance, are equally ready to flourish as are the virtues of loyalty which are objects of popular applause at prize-givings. Nor must we assume that the transfer from Eton to Waterloo is always effected: the error is only another illustration of the discredited arguments discussed in Vol. I, Chap. V, with regard to intellectual values: any sentiment such as loyalty may be discerned as affecting young people in a school group: thereupon the onlooker may declare that the sentiment will be generalized and transferred to other groups at a later stage in life. The criticism made, by any observer who notices what happens, is that such a general sentiment *may* get established as a habit which will spread to other social groups in which the subject finds himself—or it may not. It may, on the contrary, so work as to arrest development: a boy who gets engrossed in the petty affairs of his team or his House may remain all his life an Old Boy, unwilling to seek fellowship in other associations. Here, as in matters of intellectual adventure, the test of value for a social sentiment is the spirit in which it is fostered; only if it grows with some regard to ideal ends is it a saving grace.

This note on the idea of corporate life as practised in our English schools must be supplemented by looking more closely at the conception as entertained in these days by exponents of sociology. The teacher cannot apply sociological theory in detail, as the geometrician

applies his theorems to the solution of a problem, but in the background of professional work the influence of social theory should serve as a balance; he should be saved both from servile adherence to tradition and from the opposite peril, from generous enthusiasms for mere innovation which turn so many reformers into housebreakers when they should be doing constructive work as architects. Problems of corporate life in school are just a special instance of wider problems arising out of the basic relation between *ego* and *alter*; they are specific only so far as the young *are* young, that is, are making their early encounters with social situations. Normal children enjoy the society of their species as much as most adults and as most animals do[1]: the society of their contemporaries or of folk a little older than themselves is especially congenial.[2]

The child's delight in this society is an example of the general principle of sympathy and friendship, based

[1] Cooley observed closely his own children: "There is a sociability that asks little from others except bodily presence and an occasional sign of attention, and often learns to supply even these in imagination.... In this simple form it is an innocent, self-conscious joy, primary and un-moral like all simple emotion. It may shine with full brightness from the faces of idiots and imbeciles, where it sometimes alternates with fear, rage and lust. A visitor to an institution where large numbers of these classes are collected will be impressed, as I have been, with the fact that as a rule they are amply endowed with those kindly impulses which some appear to look upon as almost the sole requisite for human welfare" (*Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 50). He proceeds (pp. 90–2) to show how the structure of the self springs from this disposition, a self which has no foundation apart from other selves (compare F. H. Bradley, *Ethical Studies*, chap. v, for an eloquent utterance on this theme. This fundamental trait should not be confused with gregarious impulse, which is a specific outgrowth from it, witnessed in some types of animals and in the inhabitants of large cities (p. 94 below).

[2] See Bertrand Russell *On Education*, chap. x, The Importance of Other Children.

on a combination of the familiar and the novel.[1] The members of a family, different as one may be from another, bear a family likeness; children run to meet their school-friends, because while these are like in age and outlook, they vary in disposition. Teachers, too, are a change from fathers and mothers; and, unless they 'stand off' as persons belonging to another class, children readily include them among their friends. One knows, however, that the professional attitude of teachers often prevents comradeship, whether in the playground or on excursions: young teachers would often be ready to respond to the naïve sociability of children, but the etiquette of a school staff often compels them to 'keep their distance.' I have notes by me of such a situation reported by a keen young schoolmaster acting as 'supply' in a large city school: the children were orderly and interested in their lessons, but they seldom laughed, and even in the playground were subdued although there was no positive repression. In such a community children may lose their natural gaiety without anyone intending so to harm them; and their need for sympathy seeks other channels, when once the novelty of coming to school has worn off. But whether welcomed or rebuffed, the child learns what his fellows are like, learns about mankind: this informal learning is more pervasive than what he gains from the organized studies called Humanities.

What then do they learn? In one word, they learn their 'duty to their neighbour.' Sociology is just a philosophic way of treating the old problems about one's neighbour, of which all literature, including the New Testament, is full. The children are brought up against the eternal conflict on terms suited to their age and

[1] Cooley, as above, pp. 120, 121, and his references to Emerson and Goethe.

condition. As in other learning they first get the experience, the facts, the hard knocks and the happy friendships; they become men of the world, i.e. of their world; therewith they learn to act and to react, to look after themselves, which involves looking after other selves also.

When a teacher organizes corporate life, he controls some of the occasions and purposes which bring various groups of his scholars together. They will also form groups of their own, and a skilful teacher, sympathetic with desires for independence, lets such 'self-governing' groups play as large a rôle as possible, as we shall see in the chapters that follow.

To bring theory down to the concrete, let us imagine a new school being set on foot: a hundred or more young folk collected for the first time. Each of them brings with him a stock of habits, and among these are habits of behaving towards his fellows. Some have belonged to other schools and know their way about; others only know of their contemporaries through associations between neighbouring families or through experiences gained on the streets. In either event they already display social habits: some show the shyness and restraint felt in the presence of strangers; others again pick out an acquaintance and start active exchange in play. They are just an aggregate, or crowd, whose collective action, so far as any collective action can be discerned, depends upon the chance of circumstance and the impulse of this or that individual. Each of them, however, shares one idea, viz. the *purpose* of their coming. They may not have wanted to come, but, willy-nilly, they are here; to that extent all share the initial movement of mind which sets their common life in motion. Presently one or more teachers turn up, greetings pass, orders are given, this or that pupil takes precedence over

others. So a corporate life is on foot, i.e. a set of special habits which function in this one school, and characterize more or less every member of it. The habits are typical, i.e. they can be found in almost identical shape in other schools: otherwise of course one could not deal with them in theory. But while they conform to type, they are none the less specific and may vary within wide limits dependent on the idiosyncrasies of all who live in the community.

As a social process these events are similar to what goes on in any concourse of people: it means more to children, for two reasons. Firstly, they are plastic, suggestible, ready to take impressions, bubbling over with impulses which give play to all sorts of social interchange. This is the natural quality of a school community, and its members are full of wayward energy, volatile, eager for experience, ready to look up to older people, although desirous of taking their own course. When boys and girls at school are found to be dull and irresponsive, such reactions are *un*-natural, due either to ill-health or to stimuli which inhibit the normal flow of activity. The educator's problem wherever children are found, either on the streets or in the home or in the school-room, is to reconcile this incessant skittish activity, the sign of vigorous self-assertion, with the minimum of control demanded by social obligation, by the necessity, that is, for human beings to live alongside their fellows. The child enjoys himself and becomes absorbed in school life just because he is in the company of those who share these wayward impulses. School to him is like a good club, where a man mixes with others who share his disposition.

Again, the actual *time* spent in the school community mounts up compared with many other groups: the family alone surpasses any other group as regards time

in early years; and with some men, but by no means with all, the vocation in later years. For at least ten years and sometimes for fifteen or more the scholar leaves home on five or six days a week and gives the best of his waking hours to the life that he finds there: whatever habits he may have acquired in other society are usually made over again and again before he becomes a 'leaver.' Granted that all the while he remains in active contact with family and church, the school usually wins his most intense regard. The strength of the bond certainly varies in different schools: the boarding school of course far beyond the day school, and the secondary or technical school more than the primary school. But these variations are of less significance than the universal feature: the intensity of influence in *all* types of school. The rapid growth of interest in education is the best testimony to the power of school life over individual development: our modern world has adopted a social expedient which in the old world influenced only a few among the governing classes. Now that it claims every human being, one cannot wonder that politicians, clergy, industrialists, indeed all men of affairs, grow anxious about the results of their handiwork.

The anxiety has some justification; for while the jolly, stimulating experience of comradeship in school-days is natural and wholesome, excess can easily do harm, arresting development instead of merely providing a congenial atmosphere for the time being. Like other young creatures, children tend to be quarrelsome if thrown too much together: their affairs are petty since they themselves are *petits*. Some people, like the Old Boys noticed above, in whose lives schooling has loomed large, never grow out of it, never put away childish things. It is easily possible for a school to become what the Germans call *kleinstädtisch*, absorbed in the minutiæ of

differences between small teachers and smaller pupils, in the hundred-and-one causes of friction that are bound to arise in the jostle of numbers. Some parents, fearing such arrest, keep their children away from schools as much as possible; we noted in Volume I (pp. 111, 112) the 'home' school and private tuition in their relation to the public system. The problem recurs here, for parents of means often think twice before accepting the rough-and-tumble of a large school as the right *milieu* for their sons and daughters. Where the home itself provides scope for variety, with a circle of friends of both sexes from neighbouring families, it may well be that the youngsters will grow up to adult life quite as happy and competent as their contemporaries who are placed in the excitable atmosphere of large classes. There can be no question that children of certain temperaments suffer much from being plunged into a crowd: if they *have* to go to school they need skilled diagnosis by their teachers and much individual care, to give them a fair chance. For the great majority no questions of this kind can arise, since parents of small means have no choice in the matter; for good or evil the great mass of children must mingle with many others of their own generation. We accept the situation and proceed in the next chapter to review the data which it presents. We shall first examine the whole school as a corporate unit, and then consider how it is subdivided into smaller groups, such as classes or Houses. The behaviour of these groups leads on to practical questions of management; and at the close we revert to a large theme of controversy in the chapter on Co-education. In each of these studies the same underlying position is to be recognized: the fellowship of the young with each other and with their teachers as a cardinal element in the whole design.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAJOR UNIT AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

Numbers.—We reviewed in Vol. I, Chap. VII, the diverse types of school which our modern communities call into being: each of them has a continuous life and presents itself to the eye of its pupils as a unity, sometimes becoming an object of keen regard, even of lifelong affection. This sense of membership is felt most strongly in adolescence by the pupils of secondary schools and junior colleges; and no advantage is gained by these societies through extending their range so as to include preparatory or infant departments. Each stage of schooling displays its own style of corporate life, and it is a mistake to combine them. One sometimes sees a gathering of secondary-school pupils to which is attached a tail of little boys and girls, whose outlook on life is wholly apart from that of the secondary pupils: the combination adds to the prestige of numbers, if that be of value, but the little ones themselves would be better cared for if they lived apart.

The same school grounds might house them, but they are happier when organized apart, both in the daily assembly and for discipline. The little children are more at home in a small community: as they get older they can appreciate their kinship with the larger body of a secondary school running up to hundreds; and finally in a University young men and women can adjust themselves to a society of thousands, which never meets as one body in one place, but nevertheless feels some of the ties of common purpose. Under ideal conditions

the child's first school would be a small company of his fellows under eight years of age, meeting in a garden nursery with unpretentious buildings such as Margaret McMillan makes use of in the slums of Deptford (Chap. XI).

On leaving this period of life the children now become young boys and girls and can travel further afield both in reality and in imagination: two or three hundred, if well divided into smaller groups, can be brought into one society without the feeling of being lost in a crowd: their chief need is space, room to move about, both within doors and in the open air (Chap. XII).

After eleven or twelve years of age the secondary grade is reached: the social outlook widens: a change of school at eleven or thereabouts corresponds to the advancing range of our scholars as they pass from childhood to adolescence.[1] If resources in space and staff are adequate, the central and secondary schools of large towns can contain large numbers without sacrifice of corporate feeling. This is not to say that a small secondary school, of a hundred or less, is *ipso facto* inefficient: on the contrary, there is abundant evidence that the compensations gained through individual attention and the quieter mode of life in small towns may outweigh any benefit conferred by attendance at a crowded city establishment with a finer equipment. But the young adolescent is now sufficiently grown up to stand the strain of living in a crowd: he belongs to a modern world in which he has to share the life of multitudes: if the organization is skilfully arranged so that every scholar can play his part in smaller groups such as we shall presently consider, he will suffer no harm even if the total attendance goes beyond five hundred. For the problem of numbers in the secondary school

[1] See Vol. I, p. 67 and the note to pp. 134–5.

is governed by a factor which does not affect the grades below it: provision has to be made for variety of curricula (comp. Vol. I, pp. 89–91, and Chap. XIV), and, from our present standpoint, for securing an adequate attendance of older scholars in the highest classes who take the lead in corporate activities. Most boys and girls by the age of sixteen are ready to play an active part in social affairs, so ready, indeed, that teachers are sometimes prone to indulge these dispositions to excess. Since. however, these activities are manifest, are an element in wholesome development, it is needful to secure that a fair supply of older pupils, prefects, Sixth Form, or the like, shall be retained up to the full leaving age.

This growing sense of fellowship manifests itself in two ways: in plans for management, whereby the social capacity of the pupils as well as the teachers finds scope; and in the assembly of the whole school in one place. Such gatherings sometimes take place in the playing-field or in a gymnasium, where the exploits of a few claim the plaudits of the many, but the chief theatre for this experience is the school hall.

The School Assembly.—In the old days one large room or hall served for all the purposes of schooling: when the numbers were large enough for the schoolmaster to require assistance, the head would be enthroned on a dais from which he could keep an eye on the benches or 'forms' distributed over the hall, in charge of ushers, as his assistants used to be called. Presently it was felt that separate class-rooms should be devised; the head-master himself often retired with his Sixth Form to the privacy of a form-room, and in time the value of separate class-rooms came to be highly appreciated: the large hall was then discarded for purposes of instruction, and for a time teachers doubted whether it was necessary to bring all the pupils together for any purpose. But

an assembly was still desired on other grounds : for daily prayers, for occasions when the principal teacher desired to address the whole community, and for public meetings such as speech-days or prize-givings.

The last of these functions was regarded as of least importance, for many schools found it possible to gather parents and managers in a public hall near at hand where a large attendance could be received without overcrowding. But the gathering of a community together for daily worship stands on a different footing and raises the fundamental issue of the aims of Education (Vol. I, Chap. III). How far should *any* group of persons express their sense of spiritual communion in acts of common worship ? Cases have been known where a pious merchant or manufacturer opened the day's proceedings with prayer : Keir Hardie often prefaced his political meetings with prayer to the Almighty : the daily religious exercise conducted by the chaplain to the House of Commons afforded him a sound precedent. Where children are assembled the offices of religion are far more highly valued, since the young are suggestible and form habits which have lifelong significance : school prayers are analogous to the exercises of the family altar which in Protestant countries often replaced the daily office of the sanctuary. Now it is evident that the worth of such experience to the young depends upon the sincerity and sympathy of those who conduct the service : familiarity may breed contempt or it may help the young towards inner attitudes which harmonize the world of sense with the unseen and the eternal. The relations of religion to the school claimed notice in Vol. I (Chaps. VI and VII) ; we need only add that the influence of daily school prayers, both for good and evil, may be more potent than the lessons included in the weekly time-table under the rubric *Religious Instruc-*

tion. Whatever be the convictions of an individual teacher as to the effect of these meetings, it is evident that the teaching profession can only serve as agents for the community which sends its children to school. Most teachers belonging to that community will express the common mind; prayers at school are an evidence of the attitude of grown-up folk outside the school towards religious faith. Fortunately in our epoch the value of toleration and comprehension (Vol. I, p. 89) is increasingly recognized: the conscientious objector, whether teacher or parent, is no longer denied the right to dissent.

The daily assembly of a whole school gives also the opportunity for announcements to be made for instruction or advice to be given on matters of common concern: what is said on these occasions ranges from a school sermon or address to the cheers when a success in athletics is announced. The customary leader on these occasions is the principal, headmaster or headmistress, who is sometimes led into temptation; feeling within himself the need for unity among all the members (the root-principle of sociology), knowing what strength a vigorous personality can exert upon inferior minds, he may mould the school too much after his own pattern. Unity is, however, not always achieved by the suggestive, hypnotic influence of a single forceful and persuasive tongue: independent and critical minds, those of pupils as well as of colleagues, may be stirred by contrariant impulses. It is comparatively easy to secure uniformity in externals, and these are quite important in their place; it is harder to achieve the deeper sense of co-operation, of genuine unity, and this is only secured by giving a share in the proceedings to everyone, according to his rank, who has the requisite capacity. Hence, while the principal teacher cannot deny his status, there is no

reason why his voice alone should be heard: no reason indeed why it should be heard at all on every day of the week: his colleagues and the senior pupils should bear their part. For a school assembly is not a parade-ground: it is just a meeting-place where matters of common interest are handled among friends. Effects in the inner life of young people are achieved largely in the subconscious: the sense of goodwill, of faith in one's fellow-men, kernel of all the social virtues, is attained without ostentation and is often hindered by profusion of speech. This view of social attitudes in the assembly may be described as democratic in contrast to the autocracy of our scholastic traditions: analogous principles will be observed to operate in other forms of group activity.

Teachers have found that the school assembly can be utilized for yet another purpose, viz. as an aid to some of the school pursuits. Just as the play-field admits spectators who are united in mind with the actual players, so the main body of a school provides an *audience* for performances which are of common concern. There are pursuits other than school games which gain by the presence of an audience: poetry, music, drama are essentially social, both in racial origin and in the minds of children. The place of these pursuits in the curriculum has already been defined: here we need only note that the training of children as artists depends in part on their opportunity of hearing and witnessing good work, and of putting forth their own efforts before friends. The school so regarded is a studio [1] of friendly rivalry, and in the school assembly an audience is found ready to listen to what any group or class has practised and rehearsed. In my own experience, I used to find

[1] Teachers of art will recall the fine work done by the young pupils in Cizek's studio at Vienna, aided by group criticism.

plans of this kind especially helpful to the syllabus in literature and music: poetry and drama need to be listened to as well as to be read. This audience is not a public crowd like those collected to enjoy a 'show' in the kinema or music hall: listeners are experts who in their turn will take the stage and be subjected to criticism.

The assembled school is also utilized at times for celebrations[1] (to adopt the term which Dr. Hayward has popularized in this connexion). The celebration has something in common with the occasions for meeting which have been noted above: its emotional character makes it akin to a religious service: when parents and friends are invited it serves the same end as is sought in speech-days or prize-givings, i.e. it brings the school into contact with the workaday world. The great feasts, May-Day, Harvest, Christmas, which in bygone times brought young and old together in every locality, are being celebrated in some schools, associating parents and children with the teachers, so that the school becomes to some extent a social centre. If the celebration achieves its end, uniting all present in a sincere appreciation of great events, the young folk can play their part without much risk of vanity and 'show.' Many teachers shrink from the adoption of form and ceremony, not only from a personal dislike of parade but from a doubt whether ritual is consonant with the practical disposition of young people. If the celebration is not impressive children will revolt and mock; alternatively, if their wits are scanty, they may be trained by repetition of empty ceremony to confuse form with substance. We do well to be cautious: and yet there

[1] Hayward and Freeman, *The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction.* Prof. Nunn connects these occasions with the racial importance of ritual (*Education, Its Data*, etc., pp. 64–7).

are occasions when the community has missed its way if it cannot express the common mind. Such, for example, are occasions for rejoicing and mourning, sometimes affecting the whole nation, sometimes the locality, sometimes the members of the school itself when the most wary and reserved type of teacher will feel drawn to some corporate expression of sentiment. Thus, when news came over the wireless of the safe return of Amundsen from his North Pole adventure, a few minutes at the morning assembly spent on handling a theme which was arresting universal attention would be well spent: not to 'improve' the occasion in the interest either of geography or of the ethical import of courage, although that sentiment is germane: but to give an outlet for ideas and feelings which arise unbidden, feelings that the boys and girls share with their elders. The first day and the last of the term are worth regarding as such events, especially for the leavers to whom the school says 'good-bye.' All these varieties of school gatherings can be carried to excess and thus defeat their object. Their value, as we saw above in the reference to school prayers, depends upon the unity of mind between teachers and taught: as Kipling showed in *Stalky & Co.*, you cannot *make* boys patriotic by unfurling the school flag; and yet when teachers go to the opposite extreme for fear of encouraging false sentiment, they are neglecting resources in development. Young people when they come to adolescent years feel their kinship both with their comrades in school and with the world outside: the restrained and sincere expression of these feelings is a natural consequence of the situation created by the establishment of a permanent school society.

One caution should be added as a hint to enthusiasts who may appreciate the value of school assembly too highly. Teachers sometimes yield to the 'faculty

psychology' heresy, holding that assemblies should be held for the purpose of training the young in habits of public behaviour: they are thereupon inclined to lay down rules for such behaviour, and endeavour, by emphasizing the importance of ceremony and good form, to cultivate a specific, self-conscious attitude. This is a misconception which often destroys the sincerity of plans of organization; one may as well deal with it here, although the same problem will crop up in treating the various smaller groups. Occasions for meetings should never be devised in the belief that the mere exercise of social function is in itself commendable, apart from the obvious need, the practical purpose of the occasion. True enough, a school gathering *does* incidentally exercise all concerned in the restraints, the demeanour, the courtesies, of public gatherings: but if we create such gatherings just for the sake of exercising these habits, we are wasting time and making a pretence; the lack of serious purpose will in time be felt both by teachers and pupils; it would be far better that the members of a school should never come together in a body if the assembly is an empty formality. In many primary schools the assembly is held twice a day, but a justification for this is the need for a rapid and orderly clearance of the building and stairways: the meeting can scarcely be justified on any other ground.

One might extend this chapter by reference to other social activities with which an entire school can be identified (for the assembly and the play-fields by no means exhaust the theme), e.g. school magazines, the school badge or colours, the parents as a group vitally interested in their children's social life (Vol. I, pp. 237–40). Enough has perhaps been said to secure the impression desired: individuals come and go, but the school in its continued existence abides, alike in the scholars' memory and in

the regard of adults, teachers, parents, managers, who unite to maintain it as a continuous entity.

Subdivisions of the School.—In the old days, before theories of corporate life were invented, the procedure was simple: the principal purpose in coming to school being to learn Latin, boys of the same standard in Latin sat side by side on the same form and their instructor was their Form Master: he might also teach them arithmetic, divinity or what not, but the distribution into 'forms' was most conveniently determined by a boy's standing in the ancient languages. When the Primary Schools came to be organized the same principle was followed, the "three R's" replacing Latin. Thus 'standard,' 'form,' 'class' (and in America, 'grade'), have become technical terms which denote both a stage of attainment in certain pursuits and a company of pupils who more or less have reached that point.

A class can be defined as a group of scholars meeting one or more times per week, associated together because they stand roughly at the same level of attainment in one or more subjects of study. A *Grade* is a portion of study in any subject which is calculated to occupy a class for a school year. In Great Britain *Standard* came to signify both class and grade in the Primary Schools, while in the Secondary Schools *Form* is retained from the old days to indicate a class brought together on the basis of attainments in many subjects, while a *Set* denotes a group selected in respect of a single subject only. In other types of school and college *Class* is the term usually employed.

The succession of grades from the lowest to the highest class constitutes the syllabus, and in any given school this will vary from year to year, since the average of talent in this or that class, as well as the requirements of the teachers, are variable. There is also a

general or national indication of grades outlined in codes, certificate regulations: these indicate the attainment which an average school should reach as completed by the average scholar. But in backward areas this sequence of 'standard' attainment cannot be expected to be equal to that exhibited in areas where the homes enjoy more culture; similarly the clever pupil can pass through the grades more quickly than backward or average pupils. Hence the classes of a school, in any given year or in any district, must never be assumed to be working exactly at the standard or grade indicated by the numbers I, II, etc. Grave injustice may be done when either teachers or authorities condemn a school (or pupil) for not being 'up to standard.' The only use of a national code is to give a very general indication of what is commonly aimed at under average conditions. Apart from such code every school should have its own syllabus, and this will vary from year to year.

One need not review the steps by which this simple system has been overlaid in consequence of the multiplied demands of 'subjects.' The result is that in most secondary schools any given scholar will belong at different hours of the day to classes (often called 'Sets') whose members are grouped as a unit solely because of their approximate equality of attainment in one subject of study: thus the whole school will be divided up into Mathematical Sets, into French Sets, into Science Sets, as well as into Forms which learn perhaps Classics, English, and History as a Form. In addition to four or five such engagements on his weekly time-table, a pupil may join other groups for drawing, music or handicrafts; he will turn up regularly at games or in a gymnasium, and he will probably belong to one or more voluntary societies, e.g. a Literary or Science Society.

If he lives at home he may also find time for social interest centering round his family and its affiliations.

In primary schools this distribution into groups has not developed to anything like the same complexity, partly because the pupils are younger, partly because the more scanty resources in staff and in equipment forbid great elaboration. But even here it is found increasingly difficult to maintain the homogeneity of a Standard with its Standard teacher, especially in the best schools, where the endeavour is made to give a place for all possible subjects. It has been clear for many years past that class teaching pursued under such conditions is gravely handicapped: Professor Adams[1] pronounced 'the knell of class teaching,' anticipating a reaction from these endeavours to crowd the school-days with a jostle of engagements. The daily life of our schoolboys and schoolgirls is indeed a remarkable experience: it consists of fulfilling between 9 a.m. and 4 or 5 p.m. a number of engagements, each of which lasts for an hour or less; for each engagement he commonly joins a different group of persons, even if he remains in the same room: each engagement evokes a fresh response in the sympathies which young people display in the society of their fellows. As a training for many walks in life, both in professions and in trade, the experience is no doubt of service; but if regard be paid to the purposes for which the groups are formed, it would seem that incessant regrouping may defeat these purposes. If class teaching really is class co-operation, active interchange between the members, then team work is as essential as in training a boy to learn football.

Current controversies about individual and class teaching have not made enough of the co-operation

[1] *Modern Developments in Educational Practice*, chap. vi (1922).

between the members of a class in discussion: under favourable conditions, with a teacher sensitive to unity and keen to use the technique of collective study, the continuous life of a class, all working together week by week on a common syllabus, affords stimulus and variety in attack which cannot be replaced by solitary industry. But the defence of class teaching (as distinct from class *organization*[1]) must treat the process at its best under conditions which give it a fair chance; the multifarious groups to which many school pupils are now allocated destroy the chance of steady co-operative class work.

This conception of unity between the members is seldom accepted as the central principle in class teaching. Even Adams, whose discussion of all these topics is illuminating, says little about co-operation. Many teachers regard themselves as the centre of the situation: the teacher's inspiration and personality are regarded as the mainspring. The critics of class teaching urge, quite justly, that the terminus of a course of class teaching is reached by an individual examination wherein each member is judged alone, judged, i.e., not as member of a group but on what he, by himself, has gained from the collective experience. Moreover, the best of class teachers, clever as he may be in helping the members to united effort, is all the while watching each as an individual, examining the work of one or another, breaking up the class at one moment while uniting it the next.

The teacher should never image himself as the centre. Montessori and the Daltonians are in the right when they ask the teacher to occupy a less conspicuous position; yet this reform ought not to exclude the possibility, or rather the need, for joint proceedings by partners,

[1] See Adams, loc. cit., p. 137; and what is said in the next chapter.

few or many, according to the nature of their employment and their capacity for co-operation.[1]

The 'House' System.—The simplicity of the old-fashioned school, with each class working as a unit for at least twelve months, had the additional advantage that every scholar came to be pretty well known, both in disposition and in capacity, to his class teacher. With the advance of specialist teaching and the crowded curriculum this is no longer possible. A remedy was found many years ago by taking over the idea of house tutorship from the old-established boarding-schools and adapting it to pupils residing with their parents. The inventor of this plan was Dr. Percival, who made Clifton College into a great Public School in the 'eighties.[2] In that and in other schools such as the Harpur Trust Schools at Bedford, reshaped to fit modern needs by men who had worked under Percival, there were real boarding-houses as well as the houses, so-called, composed of the day-scholars; but in due time the plan was adopted for schools which were entirely 'day' schools. In large day schools, where the head cannot make close acquaintance with every pupil, the House Tutor acts as principal's deputy: the parents look to him as the immediate agent in affairs which in a smaller community would be handled by the principal. From the pupil's point of view, he is looked after throughout the whole of his connexion with that school by one member of the staff, who at times may be teaching him in a Form or Set, but will be related to him rather as an elder friend than as a teacher; as one able to grasp his needs and desires as a whole, in contrast to the diversities of classes and groups which come and go.

[1] The Dalton Plan in detail comes up for consideration in the next chapter.

[2] See p. 63 above.

This relation between House Tutor and pupil is only one aspect of the plan. The members of the House find themselves drawn into comradeship: not so intimate as the relations created when young folk live together in a boarding-house, and yet a quite substantial fellowship, for it continues over a number of years; it even outlasts the actual years of school, since younger brothers and sisters will be allotted to the House which had received their elders. This fellowship is provided with an objective through school games, just as the objective for a Form or Set is found in subjects of the curriculum. Team games afford the most direct purpose for unity in a House, since conditions for success are to hand far more effectively than when one class is pitted against another: the members of a House play together year by year and get to know each others' qualities: the youngsters are coached by their elders and compete in second or third elevens against similar teams from other Houses, while the elders play against the first teams. The House system is, in fact, widely recognized as the best plan for classifying scholars in team games (football, cricket, tennis, rowing, etc.) where these pursuits are regarded as an essential part of the curriculum. In my own experience the Houses proved successful rivals of groups organized for lessons, partly of course because physical contests are congenial to this period of life, but partly because it was possible to allow these pursuits to be managed with a far closer approach to self-government (p. 123 below) than is possible at the present day in the management of lessons.

It is no wonder, then, that 'House' systems have spread: where they have been avoided the distrust is due to the danger of creating artificial, but intense, rivalries between Houses and thereby breaking up the

larger unity of the school as a whole.[1] This danger is real, for even House Tutors sometimes forget their status and share the little jealousies of schoolboys against rival Houses: yet the benefit certainly outweighs this danger. The average youngster needs some smaller unit, of not more than sixty, including members of various ages, with one or two House Tutors attached to it permanently, in which he can feel himself at home: parents also find the system a great advantage: these social aspects are of more importance than the value of Houses for athletics, although in the present conditions of city civilization this last should by no means be deprecated.

Since the plan contributes so effectively to promote efficiency in games, some teachers use it also for advancing the standard of class-room work. As a matter of fact the House Tutor in a few Public Schools still takes some cognizance of his boys' studies, but one gathers that such arrangements are survivals of an earlier day when the curriculum was a simple affair, survivals going back to an epoch when the tutor of a young nobleman accompanied him to school and university. But in day schools the House Tutor's interest in the school progress of the members of his House springs from his social relations with them; he stands *in loco parentis*, and his concern is of the same kind, but may be more intimate

[1] This distrust is not always the ground for hesitation. The Manchester Grammar School is a case in point. Canon Glazebrook and Mr. Paton had both of them published papers advocating the system, the one from his experience at Harrow, the other as Town House tutor at Rugby, but each of them, when he became High Master, refrained from introducing Houses. Mr. Paton has been good enough to send me from Newfoundland an explanation, and I wish I could find space for his letter here. There is no doubt that each great city school has to be considered in the light of its own needs: it is possible to over-organize a large community.

because he is in closer touch with what goes on at school than parents can be. His influence acts as an additional incentive (see Chapter VIII), leading a pupil who has regard for his House Tutor's opinion to mend his ways, if amendment be needed.

Some schools, however, go much further than this. They find that the members of a House are keen that it should hold a good record in all school activities, in lessons as well as in games; loyalty is appealed to: emulation between Houses is made use of as an organized incentive to industry. The teachers see how effectively these sentiments operate in the team work of games, so they are unwilling to forgo the uses of competition in intellectual work, which is at least as important as football. But how can such competition be devised? At first glance there seems to be no basis for comparison between Houses as regards lessons, since Forms and Sets are organized apart, and in any event class-room work is not pursued in teams but is an individual affair. The plan adopted is to publish the marks awarded for class work at the end of a week or of longer periods in House Lists, with totals made up so as to show a complete account of all the achievements of a House, set out in quantitative terms or percentages. Thus in one Lancashire school marks are made out under four headings: (i) School Record (i.e. lessons), (ii) Games, (iii) Public Spirit (voluntary work for the school), (iv) Hobbies and Holiday Work. The entire activity of every scholar is brought into the pool and the result displayed and announced as a competition between Houses.

Now I hesitate to judge of the working of such plans, for I have no experience of them: the general principle at stake is the operation of incentives, which we consider below. The labour of calculating marks and percentages must be onerous, but if the scholars themselves are

helped by the machinery I should hesitate to condemn it merely on the ground that marks and competitive rivalries are stimulants of a low grade. So long as marking systems are encouraged in class-work, there can be no logical reason for declining their application to the whole range of school life. And if House opinion, House loyalty and the like are wholesome incentives to progress in cricket, there can be no ground for refusing their aid to stimulate a boy's energy in Latin. Put in another way, the pressure exerted by the school staff is here extended and formulated, so as to bring further stimulus, further recognition of effort, from the social opinion of fellow-members in the House. These plans need to be investigated, possibly by getting the views of a large number of scholars [1] who have lived under such a régime for several years ; an investigation, by *questionnaire* among the pupils, was carried out by Mrs. O'Brien Harris [2] to confirm her policy in the striking development of the House system, which she calls the Howard Plan. In this school a House organization is adopted which replaces Forms and Sets for all except the youngest and the oldest girls : little attention is paid to competitive records, but the progress of each pupil is followed term by term on a modified Dalton Plan. This thoroughgoing experiment deserves close study : for it brings into one scheme a variety of tendencies in reform and seeks to unify them.

[1] An investigation of this kind was conducted by members of the Assistant Masters' Association many years ago and reported fully in *The Educational Times*, 1898. At that date most of us who had promoted House organizations would have rejected any proposal to use them as incentives to industry in lessons : it would have seemed like 'hitting below the belt.' Yet the logical position, as I have outlined it here, seems sound. Perhaps some assistant masters in these days will again take up the theme, aided by the new psychology of a new era.

[2] *Towards Freedom* (see below, p. 242).

The House system, so far as I am aware, is a purely English product: it has been copied here and there in the United States, but there is no evidence, to my knowledge, of analogous plans on the continent of Europe. In Primary Schools such a plan can only be attempted in the higher standards: for among children under twelve years of age the sense of corporate feeling is not sufficiently developed. But there is no reason why the House idea should not be transplanted to Central Schools and to the higher standards of large Primary Schools: in Bradford, I am told, some such plan has been adopted, while in Sheffield a Team system is in operation which is favourably reported upon: each large class is broken up for Physical Training and other activities "into three or four groups, each under the leadership of a Team captain elected by popular vote. The large class is, so to speak, treated as if it were a school in itself, divided into Teams, which correspond to Houses."[1]

[1] See also *Our Ilond Community*, by W. H. Robinson, Huntsman's Gardens Schools, Sheffield, reported in *The Journal of Experimental Pedagogy*, December 1920. The plans adopted at Huntsman's Gardens are of unusual interest, and, as they have been in operation for ten years and more, they can be regarded as answering their purpose. They illustrate the general plan of Teams as followed in other Sheffield schools, but the organization is carried a further stage. The large class of which Mr. Robinson is in charge is brought together *year by year* as a new Standard VIII, recruited from several schools in Brightside. For this reason it is urgent to stimulate rapidly a sense of comradeship among the newcomers: and this *Ilond* (a term taken from Caldwell Cook's *Play Way*) was hit upon: it gets established in the scholars' minds a romantic name for their fellowship. The success of the plan is no doubt partly due to the class teacher and the two Headmasters who have supported him: but the principles seem to me to be sound: a tradition, supported by class magazines, and by elaborate organization, continues year by year. It ought to be possible to collate the results of pioneer work in the Primary Schools of other cities where similar obstacles to corporate life are encountered and are overcome with like success.

Influence of The Great Society on Disposition.—Even without a scheme for Houses it is evident that our young folk in any type of school or college are pulled many ways at once by claimants on their attention: the change from our grandfathers' ways of bringing up children is striking, and one may well pause for a moment to see whither we are tending. In its simplest aspect the change is concerned merely with numbers, with the vast issues affecting our modern civilization which Graham Wallas discussed in *The Great Society*.[1] We live and move and have our being in crowds: the average town child of to-day sees and speaks to more people before he is ten years of age than his predecessors of mediæval times dealt with in the course of a lifetime. Well, some will say, why not? it is only a case of adjustment, similar to the adjustments in eyesight, hearing and motor responses demanded by the advent of tramcars, taxis, kinemas and the like. Adjustment of this sort is both possible and necessary; and it is accomplished by the young folk with very little conscious effort: if he gets used to it, there is no reason why a man should not move as fast as a bird, or think at double the speed of his forbears. The great bulk of the world's children will have to live with the multitude, and the large school serves as a preliminary canter, preparing for a life in which the individual will always have to struggle if he is to call his soul his own.

But while admitting the necessity, let us admit also that grave evils may follow if the adjustment is made at the cost of the individual. The injury is clearly twofold: firstly, if children are herded together in large classes and sent hither and thither all day to comply with intricate time-tables, they simply do not learn much; the results are not to hand. There are still teachers to

[1] See Vol. I, pp. 122 and 243.

be found who plume themselves on their capacity to teach forty or fifty scholars at a time, but although they often display marvellous ingenuity as well as vigour, they can only secure results by breaking up the class into smaller units. The teachers' spokesmen are right in protesting that the public cannot get the best results in crowded class-rooms which prohibit individual relations between teacher and taught.

But the evil extends far beyond the standard of attainment in lessons: the chief injury, but one much more difficult to assess, is to be traced in the scholars' disposition. The normal child is incessantly active (Vol. I, pp. 64–6); his output of sheer bodily energy is very great compared with that of an adult. Now if he is restrained in one place, and yet not kept busily occupied: if he sits, for instance, at a desk during many hours a week taking a casual part with forty or fifty others in oral lessons, he forms the habit of accepting this mode of wasting time as normal. He becomes satisfied with merely listening, with letting his natural energy ooze away, and by the time he leaves school he has partially adopted an attitude towards the stimuli of his environment which can briefly be labelled idleness or loafing. Teachers are aware of the danger and adopt all sorts of measures to counteract it, but they often exhaust their own energy in reproaches or in punishments without avail. Often indeed these remedies merely set up a contrariant impulse: the scholar comes to regard work as a distasteful effort imposed by his unfriendly seniors: "To your tasks, for ye are idle," may not convict the offender of wrongdoing, but may set him at variance with social obligation, and at variance with his own nature, which starts out with lively impulses to exertion.

And there is another habit, induced by frequenting a large school, which is witnessed in the whole structure

of our crowded town life. As soon as infants begin to walk the busy streets, to attend kinemas or other large places of assembly, they become adjusted to a society in which the individual is never left to himself : not merely adjusted to this *milieu*, but dependent upon it. Francis Galton,[1] one of the first to identify gregariousness as a feature common to many animals, including mankind, describes the uneasiness displayed by wild cattle when separated from the herd : more recently these phenomena have been made the basis for a popular system of sociology.[2] Man is certainly a social animal and can only develop by contact with his kind : he is none the less an individual who becomes less than a man when he loses the power of acting by himself, of finding resources from his own initiative.

The most superficial observation of a crowded town school shows the development of these gregarious habits right up from the infant school. They master the individual life, making children ready to lose themselves in the equally vivid concourse of a factory or a warehouse, reluctant to stay quiet either in the narrow circle of home or in the solitude of the country-side. It is not surprising to find that many publicists, and some few teachers, acquiesce in this dominant feature of our civilization, for they are a part of it and find their own activities stimulated by the multitude which throngs around them ; yet the effect of this situation on a few individuals who push their way through the throng is quite distinct from what happens to the multitude. Many teachers, however, are conscious of the wrong done to children by forcing them to crowd together ; they themselves feel that their life has missed its aim : instead of serving

[1] *Inquiries into Human Faculty.*

[2] Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* ; and compare pp. 124–6 in *The Children of England*, loc. cit.

as foster-parents to a few they have to make themselves efficient as organizers of a mob. It is not surprising, therefore, that reformers have sought ways of escape, devising Montessori apparatus or Dalton Plans whose distinctive merit consists in giving each child a chance to function by himself. These devices meet with most success in secondary or preparatory schools where, even without their aid, the conditions as regards numbers are not so grave, yet they are most needed in the primary schools. Principles are here being worked out, under all sorts of disabilities, by teachers who realize how greatly the maladies of our epoch are increased by the crowded state of the public elementary schools (Chap. XII).

While the far-reaching effects of crowded environment must be admitted, a minority finds a way of escape: pupils of superior intelligence are picked out from the crowd and are encouraged to be industrious; the scholarship system provides a spur,[1] stimulating them to cut loose from the mass of their schoolmates; they acquire habits of serious work at lessons; and if health and good fortune attend their efforts they become real scholars, receiving the best of care from their teachers as a select class, going forward to secondary school and even to college as products of the system at its best.

These same pupils are often also endowed not only with exceptional intelligence, but with social gifts which mark them out as leaders of their community; there are others who show little desire to exert themselves in study but manage to convert the social experience gained in school life into a ladder of advancement. While many children are repressed and inhibited by the crowd, a few are, on the contrary, stimulated; they are good 'mixers,' as the Americans call them: as schoolboys they are the heart and soul of every little group to which

[1] Sometimes, alas, assisted by private tuition apart from the school.

they are attached, and they often find a life's career by virtue of these gifts.

It seems clear that our highly organized English schools with Forms, Sets, Houses, Scouts and Guides, School Societies of all sorts, are an outgrowth of a crowded civilization, in which the ideal life is pictured as an endless round of social duties or social pleasures. Sixty years ago few teachers outside a small circle of the Public School thought much about corporate life: we have now gone to the other extreme and tend to believe that such social activities are of benefit *per se* even if they lead nowhere: they at least 'keep children out of mischief.' A reasonable view of what is worth while in life should enable us to strike a balance between isolation and perpetual 'company.' If the outcome of such types of schooling is the busybody who is only happy when playing bridge or attending meetings, life may become empty of real content, as worthless as the behaviour of mice dancing in their cage. It is now some fifteen years since Professor (now Sir John) Adams wrote a significant chapter on *The Educational Outlook*,[1] wherein he noted that the development of our collectivist society was producing "a peculiar type of child wherever the home influences are not strong enough to counteract the effect of the educational mechanism. This type has already a name on the other side of the Atlantic, but it is familiar on this side, though as yet innominate. Professor W. Franklin Jones calls it the 'institutionalized child,' and points out that such children are not confined to those who have been brought up in Orphan Homes and Reformatories." He adds that such a result is the outcome of large social tendencies which in education produce the mechanical type of

[1] In *The Evolution of Educational Theory*, chap. xii, p. 387 ff., and compare Vol. I, p. 207.

teacher. "All the present indications, however, point rather to a future in which the profession will be made up of a great mass of men and women of a high level of average intelligence and virtue, but without any special initiative, officered by a small body of highly specialized men and women of particularly high capacity and attainments, and with a large amount of initiative." When masses of population are in question, we are bound to witness a large bulk of average humdrum people accepting more or less consciously the leadership of a selected few. The task of the educator is none the less to aid this mass to reach a somewhat higher level of capacity and sympathy, so that at least they shall be equipped to choose their leaders instead of passively submitting to the first loud-mouthed demagogue who asserts himself to be their captain.

We have sought in these two chapters to relate the current of corporate life in schools to larger principles such as are witnessed in all the great institutions of mankind. The principles may not be conceived in terms of theory, but the wisest teachers and the successful schools exhibit their practical working in terms of common sense. Let us in conclusion summarize a few such principles, leaving their further illustration for the following chapter.

(*a*) The younger the members the more necessary is it for the teacher to organize all groups, since social behaviour is an art that takes time to learn: hence self-government in infant schools is impossible; it can be practised with caution in the secondary school, and should have a far larger scope in the Universities than has been common since mediæval times.

(*b*) The younger the members the fewer the groups and the simpler the organization: for example, Sets are more successful in Vth and VIth Forms than in the IIIrds.

(*c*) No group should be formed by authority without some definite function: group-making for the sake of corporate activity is futile. All the members, even the youngest, should appreciate the purpose of the group: they will then be acquiring the arts of sociability without thinking about the process.

(*d*) When teachers set a group on foot they must share (even if only behind the scenes) in its fortunes. To order scholars on a theory of self-government to engage in social activity and then leave them in the lurch is unjust.

(*e*) Self-government (p. 123 below) can best be learned in groups which the scholars themselves choose to form: even young children like to form groups, with all sorts of functions, mostly trivial and evanescent. These should neither be encouraged nor discouraged—except where their operation is obviously injurious. If young folk want to start a magazine or a gang or a debating club, why not? If older folk are invited to join in, well and good, so long as they can play the part and not assume authority. These voluntary groups are the exercise-ground for initiative, however childish the forms, or the output, may appear to be in our eyes. There must be time for young people to 'waste' in such comradeship: hence, the engagements made for the young folk by the elders must not be too exacting or complicated. This is the principal argument against compulsory games, but in the long run it applies to all compulsions; if physical education is more important than geometry, you are justified in making games compulsory, assuming that games will not be played without compulsion. In other words, never make a line of activity compulsory if you can be pretty sure that it will be attended to by voluntary effort.

(*f*) Groups formed by authority, and compulsory, are

not therefore necessarily harmful to the growth of freedom, i.e. of inner freedom; but the arts acquired in such groups, of obedience by the 'private' and command by the officer, differ from those learned in free groups, where the arts of persuasion are more in evidence. And in all groups the ideal relationship is one of unity and co-operation, for the Great Society can only progress by the advance in social capacity of large numbers of its members.

(*g*) Social experience so acquired, whether in school life or otherwise, becomes '*creative* experience.'[1] The members not only learn to submit, to give and take, to argue and persuade; their concourse achieves its highest range in the integration of diverse, conflicting elements; they thus produce not merely compromise and sacrifice (which at times are necessary), but novel inventions, the outcome of the search for harmony. The individual is not thereby suppressed; he still needs time for solitary meditation: but the outcome of his thought, in our epoch, will issue in *synergie*, in an enlargement of social capacity. Our epoch is one in which means of communication (transport, language, the press, etc.) have advanced in a century more rapidly than in any thousand years before; new resources in social exchange have been put at man's disposal; the opportunity being given those will succeed who know how to use the new weapon.

[1] Title of a second book by Miss M. P. Follett (see Vol. I, p. 109).

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL AND CLASS MANAGEMENT

THE term 'management' has long been in use in text-books on Education to signify what in other communities is meant by government or organization[1]; that is to say, it indicates the rules devised by the staff for internal government as distinguished from the external control of Authority, which was the theme of Section II. Sometimes 'discipline' is used to cover a part of this ground, but it is best to drop that term so far as possible, since it is too ambiguous; disciplinary measures suggest the negative incentives to be considered in Chapter VII. The underlying idea is common to all social groups that maintain a continuous life: some kind of common rule has to be adopted, either informal, as the result of custom, or expressly set down on paper or by word of mouth; in the school this procedure must be in the long run settled or sanctioned by the principal and the staff to whose care the school community is entrusted.

[1] Some writers of text-books for primary-school teachers use indifferently 'management' or 'organization' (e.g. Collard and Crook, *School Management*; Bray, *School Organization*), and their treatment often includes a survey of curriculum and method. It is advisable to keep the two terms distinct: 'organization' for external relations, 'management' for internal. A possible confusion may arise in connexion with primary schools because they are partly governed in their external relations by a Committee of Managers (Vol. I, pp. 235–41), but this must be risked. The head teacher and staff 'manage' in the sense here adopted; the Managers are the employers, representing organizing Authorities who, among other functions, exercise *oversight*, the term adopted for Chapter X in Vol. I.

They are sustained in the background by external forces, Managers, Governors, the State; but these, if they are wise, keep in the background; and if teachers are wise they make as little as possible of this aspect of their office. Yet the facts must be accepted: however uncongenial it may be to sensitive natures to act as a 'boss,' no one who accepts the rôle of a teacher can evade responsibility for discipline; some people are reluctant to 'take the chair,' but if they accept the office they must rule the meeting.

The immediate end of government is sought in rules for common action, for uniformity in all spheres where uniformity is incumbent. Our dislike of government, so far as we *do* resent either governing or being governed, is due to the conflict of this purpose with the equally potent need for irregularity, for diversity. The two are reconciled in ideal by the development among all members, whether ruling or ruled, of a feeling for unity, the desire for goodwill. There is no other end worth considering: we need not repeat the protest made above against theories that magnify the scope of discipline (or of self-government so-called) in order to practise young people in the arts of management: there is a sufficient field for ordering affairs in all schools, plenty of occasions for learning to rule and to obey, without elaborating machinery purely for practice. Let us see what these occasions are.

The categories of time and place[1] supply a starting-point: members must 'attend' at a fixed hour and at an appointed place. Pupils attend in several places and their demeanour need not be the same everywhere. When they go from the school building to visit a museum, you may require them to walk in file if you find that

[1] For the categories of time, place, number, property, see *Introduction to Sociology*, chap. ii, by the present writer.

public order makes such restrictions necessary; but if they can be trusted to find their own way through the streets and arrive on time, all the better: some will prefer to go with the teacher, others will choose their own company. The teacher does not lose caste when he pilots a company through the streets; yet both he and his charges are happier if they are less conspicuous. We need to be 'on duty' in spirit, for we are responsible, but even in large school assemblies teachers need not stand about like the stewards of a rowdy meeting: if any shepherding is to be done in these places monitors are more useful; unity is not to be risked for the sake of uniformity.

Being present involves another, much vaguer, category:—that of custom; matters of cleanliness and dress fall into this category. Discretion and common sense refrain from formulating rules in matters of custom, for a custom well established is already a rule, and the very attempt to put it down in black and white may suggest the contrariant impulse. But if you decide on a specific uniform the more precise you make your requirements the better: if, for example, an academic costume or a school cap is obligatory, sanctioned by Authority, there must be no hesitation; if, on the other hand, such arrangements are left to choice or to the influence of public opinion, one is unwise to try to make rules, for the first axiom of government is never to make a law that cannot be enforced.

Rules of another type arise from the category of numbers: the large school, the unwieldy class, have to be regimented on lines which are superfluous, and therefore a bar to unity, in a small community; mechanisms are only opposed to the growth of liberty when they are felt to be unnecessary. Children are not unhappy when marching in and out of school; on the contrary,

the crowded school tends, as we have seen, to the opposite habit, to a dependence on numbers, so that the individual is unhappy when left to himself.

Yet another type is concerned with material things, not affecting the person as in customs relating to appearance, but arising from the need for apparatus, tools, books, for warmth and fresh air. Routine which smooths the day's work and play is welcomed by the young: many a child whose home encourages habits of go-as-you-please finds relief in the order of a good class-room [1] and of a well-kept playground. These material things are property; most of them are school property; but the sense of ownership is one of the marks of a developing self, and children ought to be given, either by the parent or by the school, everything that is needed at school for personal and daily use. In primary schools this is not the rule, and one knows that practical difficulties prevent its full adoption; but the principle is sound. When a pupil advances to the secondary school and finds that he has charge of his own exercise-books, his own text-books, a great step in advance has been made. The cover may bear the imprint of —— Education Committee, solicitous to keep Authority in evidence; but the book is now the scholar's property and wise management will encourage him to take pride in what he enters in it; yet this care for one's own desk, one's own shelf of books at home, need not prevent a child from caring also for the common stock.

These categories, time, place, number, property, help to make concrete the abstract doctrine of unity or harmony: sociology serves us again when we examine

[1] The rough-and-tumble anarchy sketched by Tolstoy is no doubt authentic, but it represents the state of mind of a community which to begin with had no sense of values in the business in hand. (E. Crosby: *Tolstoy as Schoolmaster.*)

the process by which groups conduct their affairs:—a threefold process, of discussion, of law-making and of the executive.[1] Some matters can only be discussed and executed by the staff, e.g. drafting the syllabus, making up and remaking classes, examining, reports to parents; these can be docketed as 'Staff Management.' Others, such as those noted in the above paragraphs, *may* be discussed, and may in part be carried into execution, by the scholars. It is these last which are thought of when pupil self-government is advocated, and we will classify them as 'Pupil Management.' Some of these problems affect the school as a whole; others concern one or more of the subdivisions mentioned in the last chapter.

Staff Management.—We noted in Vol. I (p. 234) the need for recognizing the staff as a corporate body. Even when this recognition does not take settled shape, the school will scarcely proceed in a spirit of unity unless all concerned share in the discussion of arrangements which the body of teachers must carry out: the staff meeting,[2] with sub-meetings of various kinds, is the formal mode of satisfying this demand, although many schools achieve the same end without adopting formal procedure.

(*a*) *Office Routine.*—Under this heading one groups records of admission, attendance, medical inspection, Care Committees, which originate mainly from the requirements of external Authority; they include the log book, a statutory requirement in primary schools. The burden presses heavily,[3] and in those matters which are not confidential head teachers often invite the aid

[1] See Vol. I, pp. 31, 32 and 229.

[2] See *Suggestions for Teachers* (Board of Education), p. 11, where the term 'School Conference' is used. Bray (p. 347) recommends the formality of a minute-book: excellent advice, yet the formality may not ensure co-operation. The Board speak of the head teacher and "his" staff; they are, however, not his; he is one of them.

[3] See Vol. I, Chap. IX, p. 192, and Chap. X.

both of their colleagues and of older scholars. Sometimes this co-operation is criticized: children, it is said, are sent to school to learn, and yet the habit of helping in the affairs of an office is worth acquiring. Moreover, the teacher can also rejoin that he is sent to the school to teach, rather than to make entries in ledgers; the circumstance that he is paid to work while the children are not is beside the point.

Details as to schedules need no comment, for the official documents are familiar: they cannot be evaded, although it is obvious that they should be reduced to a minimum. Teachers are more willing to undertake drudgery if they realize that the Returns will serve some useful purpose: statistics are the foundation of much scientific research, and if they are collected they should be utilized; in primary schools one would like to see these requirements diminished so that more expenditure both of time and money could be available for internal management. For apart from all these requirements a vigorous school takes up many forms of voluntary activity, such as class libraries and sports, each of which involves clerical work; it is not surprising to find that both teachers and scholars trained in a busy community are found competent to manage public and business affairs in other walks of life. Some display a taste for management which leads their fellows to throw an unfair burden on their shoulders; give-and-take is not always justly proportioned in any group: the school provides a practice-ground in which all can gain the minimum of experience necessary for group life in our busy world, while some will develop their special gifts in management and be selected for social service of the same type when they leave school.

(*b*) *The Syllabus.*—The initial point is the average attainment expected from scholars on entrance; the con-

clusion of the syllabus is the description of attainments outlined in a leaving examination. Both of these are regulated nowadays by external Authority (Vol. I, Chap. X); all that lies between is, or should be, in the hands of the staff: the less our rulers demand detailed submissions of class syllabus and time-table the higher will be the standard of efficiency. It is encouraging to see how the most recent regulations of the Board of Education (1926) accept this point of view.

The unit of time is the school year: some secondary schools still try to make a separate unit of each term, thinking it necessary to offer pupils a chance of promotion three times a year, by Sets for Mathematics, French and so forth,[1] as noticed in the last chapter. More is lost by breaking up a group frequently than is gained by offering the incentive of rapid promotion. If due care is taken at the outset to put each scholar in a class with his peers, it should be possible to retain the homogeneity of a class unit for twelve months, allowing here and there a scholar to be replaced during the interval. Many schools now discourage newcomers from commencing attendance except at the start of the school year and from leaving except at its close: the few exceptions to this rule can be accommodated without reshuffling the whole community for their sake.

The subject-matter of a year's syllabus is always in debate, for it raises all the principles of Method. The

[1] A separate chapter would be needed to handle promotion and retardation. On the one side we have the mechanical scheme of advance for each pupil year by year from class to class, strengthened by the belief that every scholar must pass through every portion of the syllabus; on the other hand, we have Set systems which provide for rapid advance in separate subjects at the cost of homogeneous class teaching. The theory needs to start from a study of precocity and backwardness (see p. 161). For primary schools the remarks on pp. 12–14 of *Suggestions* are very helpful.

readiest way is to indicate the ground to be covered by noting the pages of a text-book, especially when the book is to be mastered by the members of the class. But many teachers are unwilling to act merely as the purveyors of text-book learning; others want their scholars to enjoy a class library rather than confine their study to a single book; and in any event, children's books are no guide to a syllabus for infants and young children, or for pursuits in arts and crafts. What usually happens is that the teacher or the group of teachers concerned adopts more or less the plans of some well-known exponent of Method and uses these as a basis for what the successive classes may be expected to achieve during the year. The syllabus goes on from year to year: each new teacher taking up his share of a scheme finds a record of what his predecessor has attempted; he will only revise this so far as his colleagues in the classes above and below his own are able to concur. Syllabus-making is evidently one of the fine arts of our profession, and in all good schools much labour is devoted to it which does not appear in the schedule of a teacher's duty.

This duty is not completed when the syllabus is completed, typed and approved by Authority: it has to be watched in its adventure through the year. Some parts of it will be condemned on principle, and amendment will be noted for the future; others may be sound in principle, but may not 'come off' so well because the scholars are unsuitably graded (see p. 81 above). It is a laborious task to make memoranda of such details: in Germany the teacher was (and probably still is) required to keep a day-book in which he notes what happens in each period of the time-table; the record lay on the teacher's desk, open to inspection.[1] This

[1] See Bray, loc. cit., p. 339. In a Demonstration School, and in any class where the class teacher receives the help of a teacher-in-training,

smacks too much of officialism; yet keen teachers are not content to rely wholly on their memory or on the evidence of examinations as guides in the revision of a syllabus.

The central difficulty encountered in putting down one's intentions with a class is found in distinguishing between the acquirement of knowledge (i.e. of information or of exact thought) and of habits. The teaching of the Humanities (p. 46 above) illustrates this; we want our pupils to know History and Literature; but the form, the æsthetic quality in which this knowledge is set, seems even more important; yet this is exactly what a syllabus, as usually drafted, fails to indicate. Language-learning offers similar difficulties: the scheme for a second year of French may note the book or parts of a book which the class will read, or the portions of grammar which they will study; but their real progress in habits of foreign speech (see p. 307 below) cannot be set down in quantitative terms, even if the attainment is measured by oral and written tests at the year's end. These tests are inevitable, but since even the best of examinations [1] tend to ignore the finest results of teaching, since the teachers' credit and often his advancement depend so much on the showing which his class can make,

a record of this kind is essential. At some time or other during his 'prentice years a teacher needs to go through the experience of keeping a full diary of the proceedings, full Notes of Lessons, anticipating what is to happen in the near future, commenting thereafter on the sequel. This experience is an outstanding feature of any good course of professional training. The student is attached to a class for this purpose and can only do the work as a partner with the class teacher, who shows him how the game proceeds and keeps the record with him. A Master of Method or other visitor from outside is *ipso facto* incapable of discharging this office. The problem of Lesson Notes arises again in Chap. XV.

[1] Compare Vol. I, Chap. X, pp. 212–20.

he is always inclined to make his syllabus yield to these requirements: the Leaving Certificate tends to overshadow the entire curriculum of a Secondary School; and if recent proposals[1] become effective, the Primary School would fare even worse, since the younger the children the more completely can they be moulded to the shape of a Code at the cost of their real capacity. Examining Bodies are wont to assure the teachers that no special preparation is required for these tests, that sound teaching will secure creditable results: to some extent this is true, and a few teachers keen to achieve real success are inclined to trust to the assurance.

Yet the facts do not warrant any parties to the transaction in ignoring public requirements, and I venture in this field to recall my own experience which ripened during thirty years. Every public examination is a specific mode of ascertaining a pupil's powers: it occurs at a fixed time, spread over one or more days, conducted by specific devices, viz. papers to be answered in one, two or three hours. Now, such a distinctive trial of strength requires distinctive training, and it is right that the examinee should be prepared to meet this trial: if the process is branded as cramming,[2] let it bear the reproach: the worse the examination the lower the type of cramming involved. The process is similar to that followed by the barrister 'getting up' his case: he must have all the relevant facts ready for use at the time and place appointed; when the case is over he may discharge them from his mind. It is a familiar process: we are

[1] The Association of Education Committees propose to examine every child registered in a Public Elementary School at least once in its school career. Now, it is right (Vol. I, Chapter X, pp. 211, 212) that every leaver should receive a certificate, but the establishment of yet another 'simultaneous' examination for English schools would be disastrous, even if the tests are imposed separately by each L.E.A.

[2] See p. 116 below.

constantly faced with concerns in which we have to bring into focus a large array of data to be subsequently forgotten. The art of the trainer, if he is also a teacher, is shown in planning his syllabus so that his pupils will be ready at the appointed time and place to function as good examinees, while during the long months and years before the test looms near they are free from the incubus. This training may be confined to the three months immediately preceding the Certificate Examination, and carried on with the full consciousness both of pupils and of parents[1] that a public obligation is being discharged, additional to the course of education which the syllabus of itself required. One can in this way avoid the evils of over-training: scholars do not become stale by having to stock their minds in earlier years with examination stuff, with material that only needs to be systematized *in examination form* on the approach of a given date of a given year. In all their earlier years they are in one sense making preparation for this test, since most of the knowledge and the habits acquired in the school syllabus will be directly tested in the paper examination; yet the earlier freedom is an immense gain, since it enables both teacher and taught to roam widely, the former being satisfied that his syllabus and his methods will pay in the end.

Uniform Procedure throughout the Classes.—The syllabus indicates differences, advances from one grade to another, and the treatment appropriate for one class may in many respects differ from that adopted in another. There are, however, some points in which all the classes concerned in a subject should follow suit, some in which even the whole school should adopt uniformity. The former find their proper place in the syllabus for the subject:

[1] I am again recalling my own practice based on this theory: see *History and its Place in Education*, pp. 124–9.

for example, the details for setting out written work in mathematics. Among the latter the control of handwriting, of spelling and of composition affords a good illustration[1]: every member of a staff who receives written work from scholars is in part responsible for their English, and his specialist field benefits if their output in this art is of high standard. He is therefore bound to take his share in controlling these habits and to accept the common procedure laid down for written work, loyally doing his best even when the plans adopted clash with his views. He can only demur if he has not had the chance of putting his case before the colleagues whose decision he shares.

If under 'syllabus' we include games and other outdoor activities, the need for settling details is apparent to scholars as well as teachers, and their claim to take a hand in discussing them is admitted. There are indeed many details for which uniformity may properly be adopted, differing in every type of school. The Primary Schools are more stereotyped and the usual customs can be studied in several text-books.[1] In many Secondary and Technical Schools their smaller numbers as well as local traditions have prevented so much imitation; nevertheless one finds a great deal that is common to most of them:—especially in modern days when heads and assistants interchange ideas in frequent conferences; when professional meetings are held in the school building, much is learnt casually that is never recorded in text-books of Management.

One device that many Secondary Schools now employ is worth describing, because it illustrates a variety of principles: the use by the scholars of a ledger or day-book where entries can be made about many matters of which a record is useful; in particular, entries of the

[1] See, e.g., Bray, loc. cit.

work prescribed for Home Lessons. This assignment is not solely a matter between the teacher and his class: the parents are concerned; colleagues are concerned, for if one assignment is too heavy, another may be neglected. Since home lessons affect several parties, it is as well to have the entry put in an accessible shape: if the scholar scribbles a casual entry in an odd corner of an exercise-book he has anyway injured his handwriting. Such a Diary, as it is often called, covering the entries for a term, serves to record other matters on which an entry is useful: these are best placed together in a business-like form, just as any other efficient community, warehouse or large office, conducts its business. True it is possible to over-elaborate office machinery and thus defeat one's ends: in my own practice I found that the extensive use of the Diary eliminated much other routine and especially served to reduce friction in discipline. Machinery here or elsewhere should save labour: if it adds to the daily burden we are obviously better without it.

Management of Class Teaching.—In the last chapter we defended the class (Standard, Form, Set) as a unit for teaching, just so far as it is a *real* group, whose members share the pursuit of a syllabus in concerted activity. The ideal teacher of such a group becomes a class-director[1] (if it be necessary to use a new term to stress a new attitude); but if he borrows the title from Montessori he should not accept the whole faith of that reformer and sound 'the knell of class teaching': he still at times addresses his classes as one body; he may still carry on a discussion with the members, himself taking the lead in question and answer. This is especially important in any branch of study when the scholars are setting out on a new journey, with an exploration which

[1] Adams, *Modern Developments*, loc. cit., p. 145.

the Herbartians called *Vorbereitung* (Preparation or Introduction); and later on at any points where common debate may be of service[1]; if repetition and drill are necessary these can often be practised together better than alone. Furthermore there are some pursuits, especially those in the arts of music and language, where communal activity is a part of the achievement.[2]

Thus the life of a class should display the ebb and flow of sociality and individuality: it may at one time work as one body, at another time in pairs as in practical science, or in the partnership plans expounded in *The Path to Freedom*,[3] or in the little groups found in infant classes

[1] This aspect of learning is often overlooked by the all-or-none Daltonizer. Not only in childhood but at all periods of life we can do much of our thinking in company, otherwise clubs and debating societies would not flourish: real hard thinking, such as involved, e.g., in tackling grammar or physics, can be best achieved by most (but not all) children in company. No doubt the size of the company presents difficulties, on which the sociologist may enlighten us (see, e.g., Graham Wallas's chapter on Discussion in *The Great Society*), yet the habit of thinking in debate has something to do with the growth of intellectual freedom: unless we learn early to see other people's points of view, quickly to take up the new hint of a new outlook, we are unfitted for a world in which men are always engaged in social exchange. But this is too large a doctrine to be relegated to a note; our students of pedagogics will before long work it out experimentally in the class-rooms of Demonstration Schools. The empirical practice of this art has always been followed by good teachers who intuitively sense the minds of their scholars.

[2] See p. 78 above.

[3] MacMunn, p. 242. A great deal of experiment (especially in Primary Schools) is evidently in progress up and down the country. The class is retained as a unit for management, but plays a very small part as a unit for teaching. In some areas the movement has ceased to be experimental and is fostered actively by the L.E.A. As an illustration I may quote from information kindly sent to me by the Education Office in Sheffield. "The greatest change which has taken place in Elementary Schools during the last ten or fifteen years is in the method of teaching the elementary subjects. . . . A class of 48 may be divided

where four or five collect together under a leader: at other times, again, each member works alone. The teacher has to see that these fluctuations from the one to the many are orderly and effective: but he renounces the rôle of perpetual leader. One may well distrust the emphasis often laid on inspiration—a great word, and yet one of the most dangerous in the vocabulary of pedagogics. The teacher who feels his power in language and enjoys talking may readily fall victim to an exalted belief in his capacity to move the young by the force of his exposition or the earnestness of his utterance. It is a matter of temperament, and one should not chill the ardour of those who need an outlet for expression: all the more because suggestion does play a necessary part in intercourse, and inspiration is only a big word for suggestion.

In all this region the philosophy of Caldwell Cook[1] is sound, and can be followed out in other pursuits besides the English studies which are his special province: even more with pupils of an older age, for the older the pupils the more unnecessary it becomes for the teacher to carry the chief burden.

Yet we have still to meet the criticism of the Daltonizer: he points out that when the class starts at the beginning of a term he can unite its members for a lesson of 'Introduction,' but when once they have broken up for individual or 'laboratory' work he must not try to reunite them, since each will now follow his

into six groups and the teacher plans the work of each and determines where immediate attention has to be given in the way of instruction. . . . In the Reading Lessons there is mutual help. . . . The old method of lecturing and demonstrating by the teacher to each class, composed of children of varying intellectual capacity, has practically disappeared. . . . This system, which began in the Infant Schools, has now spread practically throughout the elementary school system in Sheffield."

[1] *The Play Way.*

own road, each tackling a portion of the assignment *at his own time and pace.* They must be allowed to carry on henceforth as individuals, since they differ so greatly in capacity and energy; he also holds that they proceed, even the weakest, at a more rapid pace when each can tackle situations in his own way, with the independence that comes from freedom in study. We must grant to the full the strength of this contention and should be very grateful to the late Miss Bassett, to Mr. Lynch, to Mrs. O'Brien Harris and to other teachers who have boldly set out on this new track.[1] It may be said that the Dalton Plan is only a reshaping of ideas which have always been followed by good teachers both in Europe and America: this can always be said of any sound experiment; nevertheless these efforts are novel, especially in the details of assignments. Yet if I were again to be charged with directing the performances of a class or a succession of classes I should be unwilling to let go the unity of any class *until the time approached for the class to be disbanded.* When an external examination (see above, p. 109) is coming near every individual must be ready to meet the test with his own equipment; he must prove to examiners that the syllabus, divided into the portions called assignments, has been covered in his own mind. It is noteworthy that the Dalton Plan is found to work best in History, Geography, Grammar and Composition (modern and ancient languages), where notes and written work, marshalled point by point with conscious effort at revision and arrangement, are needful for success. Hence the Plan has actually been recommended as a fine device for preparing pupils to pass Certificate Examinations: its principles are in essence

[1] I need not give references, for their writings are well known; and The Dalton Association is ready to supply all information.

those followed in Correspondence Courses where the coach (residing, however, at a distance) plays the part of the teacher and the pupil puts together his knowledge from the various books indicated in the assignments. The term '*assignment*' is new, but the plan of cutting up a syllabus into portions to be mastered in succession has been in practice ever since paper examinations came into vogue.[1]

No rigid imitation of Dalton will or can be expected, but every school is being challenged by Miss Parkhurst and her followers to think more deeply upon the methods by which the individual learns, and to be more bold in reshaping class-room procedure. The syllabus will become a matter in which the scholars take an intelligent interest, a project[2] which may not be their design and yet can be taken up *con amore* and pursued, individually and collectively, till the goal at the year's end is reached. This is the way that the older readers of this book set about a new study, in the far-gone days when we were College students, still more when in later life we have had to tackle some novel field of science or art. The young (at any rate after ten) are ready to identify themselves with the purposes of the class-room in rhythmic movements of independence and co-operation, of concentration and revision. Most teachers need more courage: the bad old days when the class-room

[1] It would be a travesty of the Dalton Plan to describe it merely as a method of cramming for examinations, yet it can certainly be recommended to that end, just as the plans of Dr. Montessori were welcomed long ago by the Syndic of Rome as soon as he learned that they would enable children to master the Three R's at an earlier age. If that can be done, said he, we can release the children from school for industry so much earlier, at ten instead of at twelve years of age! And the Dalton Plan can be commended to the notice of teachers who make Matric. their goal.

[2] See pp. 265 and 303 below.

was a place of enmity between teacher and taught, a prison from which to escape to playground or the streets, are passing away, and as those dark ages recede we must revise our principles of Management to meet a new psychology and a new sociology.

Questions and Answers.—On Questioning much has been written in the text-books of Method; they distinguish between two purposes, between questions asked in order to test the pupil's knowledge, i.e. as an oral examination, and questions raised in the course of discussion. In both types there are common-sense rules arising out of the general principle of unity. Thus no question need be put by the teacher if it is within the competence of members of the class to propose it as well as to answer it; again, whoever puts the question, it must be *offered to the whole class*: all who are attending expect a general invitation, although only one can be permitted to voice the answer. The device of raising hands to show willingness in reply is very popular, but soon becomes tedious and misleading. Young teachers are prone to select beforehand and name the scholar whom they desire to challenge, but by so doing they break up the unity.[1] This rule does not preclude the possibility of an argument carried on for some moments between two persons, but the risk of getting adrift from communal interest is serious if one pupil absorbs the

[1] It has been my lot for many years to attend school as an examiner, sitting at the back of the room and watching education students in that painful ordeal known as a practical examination. I have seen how hard it is for them to become sensitive to unity. The practised teacher can keep in his mind the thread of a lesson and at the same time have an eye on everyone in the room: all good orators have the same gift. The eye is his guide, not the eye of a disciplinarian holding an unwilling flock by constraint, but of a co-worker who feels at once if some of his partners are not playing in the game.

teacher's attention. No hard-and-fast line can be laid down: the principle is all that matters.

Written Work: Corrections and Marks.—The bugbear of many a teacher's life is the drudgery of correcting written exercises. The Dalton Plan is deprecated because the scholars fill many books with essays and other memoranda; if these have all to be revised by the teacher with an indication of every error the labour is endless. This stricture, however, applies to all schools: where writing occupies a large amount of time the accumulation of corrections mounts up. It is, I believe, more commonly recognized to-day than in earlier times that this work is a part of a teacher's time-table, reckoned among the obligations which he discharges over and above the hours allotted to him in charge of a class. If he has to take exercise-books home, or stay after school hours to revise his pupils' work, the task is an extra service for which Authority should make allowance. A minimum expenditure of such time is incumbent in all schools and colleges, even in Schools of Art and Technology; it is more oppressive in written work because of the amount which the pen can turn out, and of the details which have to be noticed.

The burden cannot be escaped, but it ought to be lightened; and it can, if we consider the issues at stake. Let us distinguish sharply the two purposes for which such work is examined. If our task is only to assign a mark then no correction is needed: any memoranda we make are for the use of co-examiners, who may need an explanation of our decision. It goes without saying that this labour should only be undertaken when there is a positive need to investigate the progress of our scholars, for if we multiply these tests we are wasting their time as well as our own. We are doing them even more harm, for every time that they perform work badly they are

repeating bad habits, getting used to failure, accepting as fate their permanent disability to rise above a low average. How often one hears of pupils who exclaim, "I always do badly in French," and both they and their teachers are ready to leave it at that, repeating the injurious experience as often as required.

The situation clearly demands that work performed solely for assessment should take a very small place: ideally it should be banished, except at the last lap, when a certificate is attached to the performance. Granting this position the root principle involved in correction becomes manifest, viz. that correction is only valid, only real correction, when the error is set right *by the pupil.* I may diligently blue-pencil his error in a sum: have I corrected *him*? By no means. My labour is only worth while when the error is set right in his mind, in his habits. Hence the law of economy which at one stroke would abolish a large percentage of this industry:—never spend time on correcting a point unless you can anticipate that your industry will lead to reformation.

This law compels us to analyse, first, the varieties of error, secondly, the types of habit of which they are evidence, and, thirdly, the modes by which this or that habit is overcome. Some people, for example, habitually spell wrongly, add up wrongly or write obscurely when they are fatigued or when they are careless, but keep to the straight path when they are alert and watchful. In such cases you do not correct by blue-pencilling a series of mistakes each of which the offender will be required to set right. But if the errors are due to lack of knowledge or skill in some detailed point, the attention must be fastened on that point. In many walks of life and in learning many forms of skill we do not gain by constantly noticing our errors; some of these are just

smothered (the wrong habit, i.e., just falls into disuse) by increased care in following up new paths.

Our anxiety to secure uniform functioning in mechanical procedure is entirely justified, and foresight at the period when habits are set up is imperative; at a later period, if it is found that these habits are not functioning automatically, we must decide whether special procedure is necessary to help the pupil to re-educate himself therein, or (alternatively) whether we can risk his making a small percentage of errors in the belief that his *general* advance in control and care will suffice to restore him to order. Only after reaching such a decision can we judge whether it is wise to call attention to any detail by the use of our blue pencil, or (alternatively) to neglect the fault.

Other rules follow from this position: thus the longer the lapse of time between a pupil's performance and your correction the harder the task of amendment; the best time to help people to do right is the actual occasion when they are practising an art. Hence plans for collecting Home Work on Monday and 'returning' it for revision later on in the week display faulty management.

Home Work.—Although voluntary exercises are sometimes prescribed in the higher classes of primary schools and welcomed *con amore*, our English [1] law of compulsory attendance does not permit of the inclusion of such work as part of the regular programme; in secondary schools the opposite position prevails. Sometimes it prevails to such a degree that the scholar does the bulk of his work at home or in 'preparation' hours, coming to the class-room chiefly in order to have that work tested and marked. This is not a fair arrangement if one agrees that advice and correction are needed at the

[1] For France, see p. 218 below.

very time and place where new habits are being practised. Home exercises should, therefore, *be* exercises, that is they should only demand attention to habits in which reasonable practice has already been secured. If, for example, lines of verse are to be learned at home, the habits of memorizing poetry [and prose] should have previously been studied in the class-room.

We need not discuss the pros and cons of home work in general: they are one of the first topics on which a body of parents (see Vol. I, pp. 239, 240) speak their mind when invited to discuss school management with a staff: the interchange of view benefits both parties. For an explanation *is* required, especially in urban communities where the average business man does not willingly take work home; he rather seeks to have the home circle free for leisure after the day's work is done. We often justify the compulsion imposed in the secondary school by throwing the blame on Examining Boards, yet the parent can make more than one effective reply to this plea. We are on sounder ground when we point out the need for individual effort, for training our pupils, on the Dalton principle, to some independence as to time and other conditions; we can show how unnecessary it is for them to remain within the school walls if the work we assign can be as well done apart from the teacher's company.

Interruptions to Unity.—Perfect class management, therefore, is a social process in which attention ebbs and flows: the common purpose is shared by all, though some scholars forge ahead with individual assignments: unity is not attained in a goose-step. When the members are working separately or in small groups distractions may occur without much injury: the teacher, indeed, may leave the whole company to itself for a while and be satisfied that

they are making progress. But disturbance arises now and again from the intrusion of external business, and needs to be watched, whether it affects the pupils or the teacher; the spirit in which such interruptions are treated is significant of the attitude a school takes towards the class-room. Messengers once and again must intrude; the school principal, an inspector, a student visitor may be admitted; and when a class, engaged in collective learning, is thus disturbed an appropriate etiquette is required. Visitors, however exalted in rank, should feel that they are intruders and behave accordingly: the proceedings have to pause until the intruders have taken a retired position where their presence is speedily forgotten: if the school principal has to intervene he will apologize for interrupting and will certainly not desire to attract attention to himself. And yet one knows schools where the pupils are instructed to rise when the principal or other important person appears at the door: this is surely a training in bad manners. Fire drill, once or twice a year, seems to be the only disturbance which can properly break the thread.

These may be called foreign or extrinsic hindrances to unity: they are sometimes increased by the teacher himself when he indulges in mannerisms or asides which carry attention away from the business in hand. Some old-time disciplinarians used to be very strict with teachers on such points, especially in Germany: the desk had to be in exactly the right position and the teacher was to keep his position there. Such regimenting was necessary when several classes were at work in one large school-room, and to-day it is still the lot of many teachers to take their classes with the buzz of other groups in their ears. It is a marvel to many onlookers how habituated children become, so that in many cases

both they and their teachers can 'carry on,' as people have to do in other noisy surroundings: yet no one should acquiesce in these arrangements, for if we believe at all in the principle of unity, we must plead for reasonable conditions. No wonder that principals and visitors, bred up in the older traditions, think too lightly of the injury caused by breaking the unity of collective learning.

The intrinsic disturbances to unity have been before us throughout this chapter, beginning with the inevitable imperfections of the syllabus and ending with the varieties of energy, of capacity and of disposition in the pupils; these topics will occupy us in Chapter VII and will conclude with a consideration of incentives (rewards or punishments), since the teacher has to settle how far, when attention wanders, he can employ resources to bring the wanderers back. This most practical of all problems of management is postponed because it can best be reviewed after studying the general problem of response.

Self-government.—All the themes so far handled fall within the sphere of 'Staff Management': they are discussed and decided by the teachers without delegation of responsibility to pupils. Yet the trend of reform in the whole field is to seek for unity by letting the scholars share in the execution of details, when once the staff have decided on the general lines for securing uniformity. Now when we turn our attention from these topics to the large principle of co-operation on which all group life reposes, we are supplied with the technical term '*Self-government.*'[1] It has been restricted of late years

[1] The term has been taken from politics and transferred to the schools; and was used in this sense by Herbert Spencer in his famous chap. iii. It is really a misnomer, for it does not mean the art of controlling or governing oneself, but of uniting with other members in a social process I believe, however, that its use to describe a pupil's share in schoo

to denote methods of management based on 'meetings,' Courts or Committees, Mayor and Council, and on the election by the scholars of leaders to whom they entrust the execution of the common will. "Self-government in the schools of to-day may be defined as the entrusting to a group of children of full power to determine either the whole or a part of their school life." [1] The definition will not hold water, for the power can only be delegated; the teachers are themselves only entrusted by the community with the power; what they delegate to the children is a mandate that may be resumed. The school cannot be managed like an adult group incorporated under rules that give democratic power to each member, for its members are *in statu pupillari*. But the definition is useful as indicating the teacher's policy: he temporarily and partially hands over some of his power, knowing that the young can only learn the arts of democracy by practice, knowing also that if they feel themselves to be 'free' they will come to behave as freemen. This attitude of mind, this disposition, is surely the kernel of the situation: it is witnessed in family and church life as much as in politics; in those circles also the junior members are oftentimes restricted, yet if a man *feels* himself to be free,[2] he is already a freeman. We are consulted, are allowed to make mistakes, encouraged to choose between leaders; we may be at times overruled, our voice may be rejected,

management can be traced to the seventeenth century, but I am unable to verify the reference; in the early nineteenth century Hazlewood School, conducted by T. W. Hill and his famous sons, illustrated the doctrine in a limited form.

[1] C. H. C. Osborne in *Experiments in Self-government in Secondary Schools* (Essay in Adams's *Educational Movements and Methods*, 1924). A bibliography attached to this essay shows how the recent movement originated.

[2] See p. 242 below.

yet the experience aids us to attain to inner freedom, and this is the pearl of great price.

Some of those who experiment to-day on new plans for self-government draw a sharp line of distinction between the present and the past. "The prefect system is the antithesis of self-government in the modern sense of the phrase."[1] I cannot agree, unless one has to limit our notions of freedom to the exercise of a voice in a meeting. "The elected servants of the community" in Mr. Osborne's definition are chosen by the whole group, and for some school duties one may well believe that such procedure is sound; yet a great deal of delegation, of true self-government, can be adopted in situations where both the selection of officials and the adoption of rules is by no means left in the hands of a scholars' meeting. These reformers tend to overlook the psychology of development (Vol. I, Chap. IV); a child of eleven, of fourteen, of seventeen, has passed successively through changes which reshape the terms on which we can grant powers to a group. At each of these ages, and at still younger periods, we need to help him to feel his feet, and at each of these stages to act in many spheres, both for himself and with the *alter*, without our intervention.

Leadership.—We therefore view the problem in historical perspective, recognizing the earliest forms of monitor and pupil-teacher government, of prefect and præpostor systems, as modes of self-government equally with these latest plans for Meetings and Courts. When so regarded we see that the sociology of leadership, represented in politics by aristocracy and in Church government by episcopacy, will continue to be significant. The essence of such government lies in the span of development lying between the leaders and the led. The

[1] Osborne, p. 177.

elder scholars in a Primary School[1] no less than the Sixth Form in a Secondary School, if happily educated, stand on a plateau well beyond that of their juniors, and are looked up to in a social situation comparable to that of a highly civilized man amid a community of inferior social capacity: the analogy suggests a like peril, power may be abused and the lust for power exhibited. It may well be that the earlier forms of delegation need to be modified since the days when monitorial or prefect systems were set on foot in the last century, modified both by our better knowledge of children's capacity and our clearer insight into the value of discussion in meetings: yet if we discount the psychology of leadership we leave out one of the capital features of impulse in school life. "In face-to-face relations the natural leader is the one who always has the appearance of being master of the situation. . . . Emotionally his belief is the strongest force present and so draws other beliefs into it. Yet while he imposes himself on others, he feels the other selves as part of the situation, and so adapts himself to them that no opposition is awakened."[2] When a leader secures ascendancy without this sympathy, just by browbeating, he is a tyrant: experience in a well-managed school helps both leaders and led to discern the difference. Let us emphasize the point that impulses to follow are as much a part of human nature as impulses to lead: we are leaders and led by turns.

Thus the problem of self-government in schools turns largely on the best device for choosing leaders, suitably adapted to acting for and with a group; when so chosen, either by vote or appointed by

[1] See *Suggestions*, loc. cit., p. 8.

[2] From Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Chap. IX, "Leadership or Personal Ascendancy." This chapter is a classic on its theme.

authority, they become officials; if they discharge their office well they do not cease to be leaders, for their saving quality springs from unity with the mind of their followers. The chief ground for delegation to these (immature) elders in a school is that they actually find it easier to share that mind than we, who are separated farther from the young both in age and in interests. If this psychology be accepted we cannot regard it as a matter of indifference, or of small moment, whether or no a school is soundly organized in its corporate life. As we saw in Chapter III, our English tradition has always been to admit its importance; experiments made in recent years are not to be underrated, even if the experimenters seem to ignore some of the factors relevant to a happy solution: their swing 'to the left' on behalf of what they call democracy or republicanism is to be welcomed as criticism of methods which were tending to be too stereotyped.[1] If the new style of self-government is not found to work, then our teachers must study more closely the principles of social action until more efficient devices are forthcoming: to stand by and merely emphasize weak points in our neighbour's experiments gets us no farther.

Every social experiment in its early days runs in hazard simply because it *is* new. Examples have recently been conducted into the fortunes of Self-government in a Girls' High School which pioneers in not a few directions. The principle has been at work for some six years, and a recent report shows that it is well established: that in fact it would be difficult to go back to the old days before Court meetings and elections were sanctioned. A generation of girls had

[1] For example, Mr. J. H. Simpson's *Adventure* (in a Form Room of Rugby School) must certainly have been a fine tonic to that community.

grown up familiar with the routine, first as juniors, now as seniors, and custom now carries the system along by its own momentum. Every teacher knows how rapidly custom establishes itself in a youthful society: "It isn't done" gives a sanction that few care to violate. Those, however, who wish to establish a tradition must be steady and consistent; rules must not be altered every week, nor must the novelty put an excessive strain on the members, either on staff or on senior scholars.

Range of Self-government.—Nervous strain on senior scholars has proved one of the chief obstacles to success, for the effort involves more than merely the time spent in meetings and in office duties. The origin of the new movement indicates this as the point of danger—in England it was adopted as a remedy for ill-discipline,[1] derived from experiments with youths committed by magistrates and applied among boys and girls of very different breeding who, however, were not making the best of their schooling under the normal control of the staff. So a school 'tries' self-government, not always with the goodwill of the staff; it is introduced as a device which the older scholars must take up 'for the good of the school.' The result is that the most conscientious among them are really distressed,[2] for they have to handle difficult problems of behaviour, which are complicated by the confusion I have noted between the leadership congenial to adolescents and the full democracy of adult groups. The organization has been devised as remedial,[3] to meet contingencies in the realm

[1] See Osborne as above, Bibliography.

[2] I am reporting what has happened in another Girls' High School, in contrast with the happy result recorded above.

[3] Mr. Osborne, loc. cit. (p. 180), is quite clear on this point; and in advising that a fully armed 'system' should not be introduced until by tentative experiments on a small scale both teachers and senior scholars of their own motion are ready to welcome the new attitude.

of misbehaviour and penalties (Chap. VIII), matters which, in a happy, well-ordered community, lie well out of sight. In the school above noticed which has survived those risks I am informed that, while the Courts still function for matters of discipline, this aspect of the meetings has fallen into the background (although by no means lost sight of): the scholars chiefly discuss matters of immediate interest, subscriptions for benevolent enterprises, excursions, matches, etc. There is no reason why in Secondary Schools and Colleges the range should not extend until the scholars come to take a genuine interest in management as affecting the central purpose for which the community exists, viz. to learn lessons. When that point is reached the distinction we have made between topics for Staff Management and topics for Pupil Management tends to disappear: Dalton ideas will then have a much better chance, for the excess of individuality which they threaten will be leavened by the sociality of Self-government. One may anticipate[1] that the spirit animating these reforms will find reinforcement from the influences of a like sociology operating in the mind of Authority outside the school; for reformers must take Governors and parents into their confidence[2] if sound principles of internal management are to secure a fair chance of stability.

[1] See Vol. I, p. 164.

[2] See p. 292 below.

CHAPTER VI

CO-EDUCATION

Definitions.—A *co-educational* or mixed school receives both sexes on equal terms and provides both men and women teachers for its pupils. A *dual* school receives both sexes, but educates them separately as far as possible. A *separated* school receives only one sex; it may, or may not, engage teachers of both sexes.

AMONG all problems relating to the congregation of young folk in schools co-education is the most important, because the attitude of human beings to each other as regards sex counts for more than any other region of experience. Man joins and forsakes many groups; among them all those in which the man-woman relationship comes to the fore are always asserting themselves: for this relationship is the earliest in organic nature: sociology turning to biology learns that this duality is the basis of community. Conflict and harmony in social organisms cannot be imagined apart from variation, and sex is the first, the fundamental variation. The problem in the school is, obviously, settled by public opinion rather than by the views of teachers, and it therefore claimed some notice in Volume I (see pp. 150, 151); but it is more in place when treated from the standpoint of corporate life, i.e. taking into account the effects of association of the two sexes within the school itself. In this as in so many other great affairs teachers may have to accept conditions which they know to be far from ideal; nevertheless, let us start out from data which rest on ground more lasting than public opinion. We will first of all see what boys and girls really need, while

still boys and girls, as regards sex; we can then consider how far these needs are being met, in school and out of school, at the present day.

Expressed in simplest terms, the need is an understanding of what sex means and how life can be adjusted to achieve the maximum of harmony in sex-relations. In the nature of things sex involves *some* amount of rivalry and jealousy: just as the propertied man and the propertyless man are in conflict, just as the 'natural' man and the 'spiritual' man are opposed, so the masculine group and the feminine group in the very nature of things occupy a territory which belongs to each alone. And yet the two sexes share a common ground; one of the adventures of life consists in finding solutions which minimize the inevitable antagonism. It is helpful at once to envisage the problem in this wide aspect, since, whatever sort of school boys or girls attend, they can overcome the hindrances to harmony presented at school if the rest of their life is well balanced in this sphere of sex.

Already in infancy differentiation of the sexes is impressed upon the little creatures, greedy with curiosity to understand the world about them. Freud has startled the world by his theories of infantile sexuality, and in another connexion (Vol. I, p. 47) I expressed reluctance to accept his conclusions in full. I have, of course, no warrant either to deny or to accept the Freudian doctrines: no one can pronounce an opinion who has not undertaken laborious and prolonged study of patients. Nor is it necessary for the layman to take sides with Freudians or with their opponents, for neither party disputes the leading facts (1) that our subconscious life plays a very important rôle in development, from the very dawn of life; (2) that sex, using this term in its narrower sense as concerned with the

sex-instinct and its physical manifestations, attracts *some* attention in infancy, if only because the primary organs of sex are so closely related to the organs of excretion [1]; (3) that the conventional and necessary repressions of ex-instinct in early years at times establish complexes in the unconscious: these add to the difficulties felt by the young of both sexes in matters of sex, difficulties which may indeed come to a crisis at any subsequent period. We have already (pp. 32–35) considered these data in their relation to physical education, and they are equally relevant to the theme of this chapter. For the differentiated behaviour of men and women comes into the baby's consciousness just as soon as he is handled, spoken to, cared for by father and mother respectively, or by any other person: the attitude of each of these seniors is the outcome of life-long experience and habits, of social heredity: a boy's treatment of a baby girl is a summary of his entire attitude toward the opposite sex.

Is there any conclusion to be drawn from this? Certainly there is if we allow weight for the subconscious influences of social behaviour, for the grand and final situation to be achieved in all conflict is to understand differences without enhancing antagonism: in this case it is obvious that if the child is surrounded by people who love each other, people, i.e., who have largely overcome the conflicts of sex, they will show their disposition by their manner, both in treating the infant himself and in treating one another in his presence. The result is really immense in the remote effects. I am not adopting any sentimental pose by dwelling on the effects of emotion on behaviour: it is strictly matter of fact that the first and deepest impressions which either sex gains about the other find their origin in the infant's impression of the looks, the gestures, the voice and tone of those who

[1] See McDougall's *Social Psychology*, Appendix I.

habitually surround him. These impressions in normal circumstances should be reckoned along with the more overt phenomena which the psycho-analyst digs out of the subconscious mind of his patients: they are universal, and to some extent every parent and every physician recognizes them; thus when fathers and mothers quarrel they seldom choose the nursery as the theatre of combat.

Now, this position has a direct relation to the problem of co-education. For if the historical position of antagonism, of sex-competition, be admitted, it is obvious that the female sex by claiming (since matriarchal epochs [1]) the absolute care of the young during infancy has secured a great advantage in the sex-conflict: the fathers, to say nothing of uncles and brothers, see little of the babies during the first years of life by comparison with the womenfolk: feminine presence and care therefore has its innings, and when their intuitions are sound, women make the most of the opportunity while it lasts. As soon as infancy is passed, a difference is witnessed in the treatment of the two sexes by their parents: the girls continue to be 'left to the women'; but (as regards the boys), impulses for maintaining male power lead men to take the boys away from women's influence and put them under schoolmasters: the boy must not become effeminate, he must assert himself as a "he-man" with virility and manly virtues: only thus can he grow to such a stature of heroic grace as to win the regard, in later life, of the woman who, for her part, has grown apart in the

[1] It is alleged by some anthropologists (see, e.g., Mathilde und Mathias Vaerting, *The Dominant Sex*, 1923), that when (if ever) woman was 'dominant,' the matriarch, she forsook the cradle at the earliest feasible moment, as some of the lowlier species do, leaving her man to play the nursemaid. This may be history or myth, but the balance is obviously now reaching equilibrium again, and the approach to harmony will involve a greater interest by men in infant life. The 'new woman' implies the evolution of a 'new' father. Compare p. 146 below.

seclusion of the girls' school and the boudoir to become a true woman ("eternally womanly")—the complement of the true man.[1]

If this line of approach to the problem be followed, we shall recognize that the influence of a mixed *staff* is a factor of importance, equal to that of mingling boys and girls under the one roof. The traditional separation of the sexes is maintained in European schools by the man because men desire to "keep the upper hand"; and by the woman, when she sought emancipation in the last century, because the separate girls' school gives independence and power to the woman as teacher, and also trains the 'separated' girl to feel pride in her sex. Both parties, however, maintain that this separation during childhood and youth need not involve alienation: some people would in fact deny the reality of the basic conflict with which this discussion opened; or if they admit it they refuse to acknowledge its relevance to the problem of the mixed school.

[1] I am writing these sentences after reading and trying to interpret the classical sketch of the education of girls, written by Stanley Hall, many years ago (chap. xii in *Youth* and chap. xvii in *Adolescence*). Hall would not of course accept my explanation of the history of sex-relations: he himself is certainly no misogynist: he adores Woman and desires in youth to separate her from Man just in order to achieve a finer re-union at the later stage. Hall's attack on co-education must be interpreted in the light of American social conditions to which European civilization affords no parallel. The woman in America has extended her influence over the young right through the period of childhood and on to the co-educational high school where the majority of teachers are women, although the principal is still usually a man. This has not happened by any design, or by agitation for women's advancement: it is the result of economic and cultural tendencies which indirectly exert this potent influence on school life: the same tendencies are at work in Great Britain, but proceed much more slowly. On the Continent the man continues to be employed almost exclusively for teaching boys and sometimes even for teaching girls.

But now we must inquire: if both parties, from their own point of view, agree to keep boys and girls apart after the close of infancy, why should any question arise? why should co-education be seriously put forward as a demand by educational reformers? On the other hand, why should the high schools in the cities of the United States, in spite of Stanley Hall's criticism, continue almost without exception to receive both boys and girls? The arguments are put forward in this country by various advocates of co-education: the most distinguished of these are Sir Benjamin Gott (Middlesex Education Committee), and Miss Alice Woods.[1] The evidence from Middlesex is the more important, for its mixed secondary schools have flourished for many years and their reputation stands high. We need not repeat the arguments; their basis is the denial of any claim to superiority for either sex, and the consequent desire to minimize the area of conflict and alienation; "if there be any difference in the kind of influence exerted by the adult members of the two sexes upon a younger people, then a co-educational school is the only one in which both points of view can be preserved and both kinds of influence exerted." [2]

There is, however, another argument concerned not so directly with the ideas of young people about the opposite sex as with the need for a harmonized and disciplined development of the psycho-physical organism. The plea here is concerned more pointedly with boys' welfare, for the facts relating to self-abuse are too notorious to be concealed from print. A few years ago the public was startled by the notorious public-school novel written by Alec Waugh, although there was little reason

[1] *Educational Experiments in England* (1920). See below, p. 264.

[2] Gott on p. 32 of *Educational Movements and Methods*, edited by Adams (1924).

for sensational discussion, since similar facts had been treated many years before by Stanley Hall.[1] Now it appears to be undisputed that all the abnormalities witnessed in these modes of behaviour are diminished, greatly diminished indeed, if boys and men share the society of girls and women. Exactly how these influences operate is a question for the expert psychologist and need not detain us. Few people now question that on this particular point the mixed school, boarding or day, is a 'safer' place for the average boy or girl as regards harmonious sexual development than the average one-sex boarding school. The term 'natural' (p. 250 below) may here be properly applied, for in other animal species when a large group of one sex are continuously kept together sexual perversities are reported by observers: what is unnatural in the organization of a group will produce unnatural effects in individuals.

Yet one doubts whether this grave aspect of the problem influences public opinion very much: the public are being turned towards co-education more by subconscious trends such as have operated in the United States. The general current of democracy, of the mixture of classes and of the sexes in industry and in the jostle of the streets, the emancipation of women in politics, the spread of popular amusements such as dancing, the decay of stern domestic discipline, these are the trends that lead people to question why boys and girls should be kept

[1] While admitting the gravity of these facts, one should protest against the assumption that *all* boys and young men yield as a matter of course to the vices of sex perversity. The evidence of one individual can of course only count within the range of his acquaintance; but I have been, as boy and man, sufficiently intimate with both day schools and boarding schools to give evidence, if required, that a substantial minority pass through childhood to manhood without practising any form of self-abuse. As regards Great Britain and Ireland I know no evidence to contradict this opinion.

separate in the class-room when they meet on equal terms everywhere else. The supporters of the old order answer: "The separation should be enforced in school just because it has broken down elsewhere": per contra, he who wishes to swim with the tide will desire the tide to rise. Throughout the world since 1914 wherever democratic sentiment has spread—as, e.g., in Germany—the sense of comradeship between the sexes has advanced, and it has become more difficult in any given case to show why a difference, an exclusion or separation congenial to an older generation, should be maintained with the new generation. For it must not be forgotten that the trend towards equality between the sexes has been accompanied by an all-round freedom to the young; the current of fashion is to extol youth (especially since the older heads made such an obvious mess of things between 1914 and 1920). Hence it does not help us much to allow freedom and equality between the sexes at twenty-five years and upwards, while insisting on separation and chaperonage for younger women; the tendency of 'progressives' of all sorts, who entertain vague sentiments of freedom, tolerance, goodwill, is to accept the general position that this like other barriers should be broken down, that girls and boys should be 'enlightened' and then trusted to work out their own salvation better than their parents have done.

There remains the most difficult aspect of the whole problem, viz. its relation to marriage. Let us go back to the primary basis in sociology: quantitatively the group in the woman-man relation differs from all other groups in being complete with a pair: 'the eternal triangle' is the antithesis to marital happiness; furthermore the harmony of this group depends upon the two members accepting and enjoying the relationship in permanence. The community, adhering to this attitude, desires that

its sentiments about wedlock should be imbibed by the young many years before the period of nubility is reached. Now our present age has come to discuss all problems relating to marriage with a frankness, and a hardness, shall we say ? that would have shocked our fathers and mothers. The romance, the 'bloom,' which Stanley Hall longs to retain, appears to have gone : and if youth still seeks the mysterious and the romantic, he (she) is discouraged from looking to the opposite sex for the satisfaction of day-dreams. I, for one, am not prepared to forecast the effect upon marriage in a community where birth-control and divorce are alleged to be familiar topics of conversation among the young folk.[1] It is difficult to realize what this means in the inner psychology of girls and boys of sixteen and twenty. The biological purpose of appetite is not to satisfy an immediate sensual end, but to conserve and to continue life : hence any vision of marriage which centres the interest on immediate enjoyment at the cost of racial function and remoter purpose *must* be injurious, for the ultimate fortunes of society are threatened if the grosser aspects of love are allowed to absorb attention at the cost of true affection. The ultimate and final purpose of any arrangements for sex-education must be to help the young (from infancy, the point where we started) to a right attitude towards the opposite sex, so that in due course a happy marriage shall be anticipated as the natural sequel. This dictum may sound like bathos, at a time when there are so many marriageable young people about who remain out of wedlock : yet all wise parents who love each other and love their children desire their children to find a mate.

[1] One of my readers who has an intimate knowledge of working-class girls says that this is an exaggeration. "Fundamentally the majority of young folk want to be parents. The talk about sex is more open than it used to be : that is the only change."

Thus in any system of education which touches sex, the final question is just this: how far can your system, co-educational or separate, men teachers or women teachers, help my child when grown up to hold sound views about sex and find a congenial life-partner? The old-time method was to take the problem out of the hands of the young, finding partners *for* them: prudent parents no longer interfere in the choice of a mate, but they arrange the social environment (including, if possible, a choice of school) of their children, so that both boys and girls will be disposed towards marriage.[1]

This is the goal, but as one saw just now, one can scarcely expect celibate men and women, such as are the great majority of teachers in our schools, to be enthusiastic on behalf of the eugenic ideal. All one can say is that this is an excessively imperfect world, and that in spheres of eminent importance failure is often most frequent. The fact that many teachers have to go through life caring for other people's children when they might, under happier social conditions and with larger knowledge, have also had children of their own to tend is an outstanding tragedy of the scholastic profession, happily alleviated in many cases by sublimation, by the diffusion of affection over a wide area, by adopting the boys or girls of a school as if they were their own. One knows schoolmasters who have found this outlet for their affections; they are often antipathetic to co-education and even to association with women as colleagues, for they can only maintain a smooth passage by keeping women in the background. Sometimes, of course, the attitude is strengthened by instincts of self-assertion and dominance, belief in male superiority, resentment of the modern advances towards equality:

[1] The argument here runs parallel to the plea of the eugenist (Vol. I, pp. 16–21).

when the disposition takes such a trend we cannot wonder at the opinion expressed by the National Association of Schoolmasters, viz. that no man should lower himself by accepting an appointment under a woman principal. There are of course similar evidences of sex-bias among women teachers, but one need not enlarge on the more unhappy aspects of a situation which will remain for many years to come one of the gravest hindrances to harmony in the calling of a teacher.

So far in this analysis we have kept away, so far as may be, from the physical or physiological aspects of the problem: not because one ought to evade the facts of appetite and instinct, but because the tendency of late years to discuss behaviour so largely in terms of inheritance (aided by the influence not so much of Freud himself as by the exaggerations of his psychology) has overstressed the physical aspect at the cost of the mental. We are on firmer ground when we keep close to the image of a body-mind (Chap. IV, Vol. I), accepting the 'concomitance'[1] of physiological changes with "reference in the order of mind." On such a method one attains a truer perspective of the entire problem of co-education than when one discusses chiefly the phenomena of sex in physical aspects. Nevertheless there is one point in the development of the body-mind at which physiology properly claims our attention: this is at the onset of puberty, the period of change from childhood to adolescence (see Chap. V, Vol. 1). There are many parents who, like Stanley Hall, have no sympathy with the sex-war, who are anxious to let the sexes associate in infancy and childhood, but are unwilling to allow girls and boys to be much together during this unique period of life. They hold that children themselves for a time

[1] Lloyd Morgan's term (*Journal of Philosophic Studies*, vol. i, No. 2, 1926).

desire to hold aloof from contact with the opposite sex, that in fact it is just as 'natural' between twelve and sixteen for the sexes to be separated as it is natural for them to be associated up to twelve years of age and after twenty. No one can seriously dispute the fact: one can only differ about the stress to be laid upon it: it certainly constitutes the strongest argument for separate schools and colleges between twelve and twenty, although mixed schools may be so conducted as to make allowance to some extent for the special needs of each sex.[1] The strain seems to be greater on the girl than on most boys, for indeed the racial purpose of puberty is to prepare the girl for the period when she will bear children, and she needs therefore to be more sheltered from overstrain: hence where mixed schools are conducted the girl must be helped more than the boy. Thus the opposition to co-education, in all countries, springs in part from a sensitiveness as to what happens in the inner emotional life of the young adolescent: parents are not usually afraid of immorality or of undue familiarity between boys and girls: their motives simply rest upon an intuition as old as the human race, that in these years the sexes need to see less of one another than at other times.

It has been necessary to define this period of change in terms of physiology, and yet the reader will agree that the change is rather to be described as a novel *mental* outlook which colours the whole of one's subsequent existence (Vol. I, pp. 68–70). It is a discovery of new meanings in life, of the portentous import of dualism: not necessarily of conflict or of sex-war, but of a position which has to be reckoned with in all subsequent adventures. In other words adolescence gives to the boy

[1] Recent reports from the United States show how this is being arranged for in some large co-educational high schools.

a male 'point of view' and to the girl a female 'point of view,' and neither can escape. As we have seen, these attitudes take their rise in the first months of life, but normally they only come into the focus of attention in adolescence. And having once come into the focus, having, for a year or two at least, led the youth to seek withdrawal from the opposite sex, the tendency is not normally broken even when the years of change are complete and sex-attraction exerts its full force. The young man falls in love: very good, but he does not wholly forsake his own sex; he is henceforth double-minded and is capable at one time of absorption in his mate, at another time of desire, no less strong, to join his 'mates,' the other fellows in his club or team. And what is true of men is equally true of women, although until recently married women were presumed to be satisfied with the seclusion of the domestic circle.

Now it is evident that all secondary schools and colleges have to reckon with this psycho-physical change: yet the controversies about co-education are often confined to differences between boys and girls in respect of choice of studies. While this is an important feature of the problem, it should not be unduly stressed. Every large school, confined to one sex, seeks to meet demands for variety—some boys want to be engineers, others to study languages, and so forth: some again are backward while others press on rapidly. The presence of girls just adds another complication to the time-table, and makes demands for qualifications in some of the women members of the staff to teach special subjects (e.g. domestic arts) which some girls favour. If *on other grounds* the public wants a mixed school or college, such questions are easily adjusted. Similarly with regard to the conditions sometimes put forward that if boys and

girls are taught together and if men and women are colleagues on a staff, the numbers of each sex must be fairly balanced. Certainly let it be so, if possible; but if the numbers are unequal, it does not greatly matter. For example in our Medical and Law Schools at the Universities the men are greatly in the majority, whereas in most departments of the Arts Faculties the balance is on the other side.

It is also a matter of minor importance whether this or that subject of study is congenial to one sex or the other; whether, for example, boys excel in science or girls in art. The elaborate statistics made out are valuable for psychology, but once you agree that boys and girls ought, on other grounds, to be educated together, you will not trouble greatly about these varieties of choice. The statistics are sometimes used as evidence of sex-incapacity: it is held, for example, that because boys usually outstrip girls in mathematics there is some congenital defect in the female make-up that leaves her helpless in front of quadratic equations, and the argument can be reversed when the boys are set to write essays on Keats and Shelley. In both cases the hypothesis is not proved: the facts can be more simply and quite adequately accounted for in terms of desire: the whole environment and outlook of the average girl leads her to become comparatively indifferent to mathematics; and there are many tendencies in the present-day environment of boys that lead them away from poetry and indeed from every form of fine art. If either sex wishes to prove incompetence in the other there are plenty of statistics to work on.

There is however one point, relating partly to curricula, which has arisen in the United States: it is found that in the ordinary American high school the girls outstrip the boys in most studies, for girls' development

all-round proceeds faster than boys' up to about sixteen years of age[1]; it is also found that boys will not stay on at the high school or proceed to college in such large numbers as the girls; and it is inferred that, if the boys were taught separately and taught chiefly by men, more of them would take to scholarship. One may doubt if the inference is valid, for America differs widely from Europe in the whole attitude of the sexes towards each other and towards problems of culture. The Woman's Club, e.g., in an American city has no parallel in Europe. In most circles of American society what we call secondary education, as distinguished from technical, is regarded as largely a woman's affair: men administer it but women do most of the teaching and girls make more of it than boys. If co-education from twelve to eighteen spread extensively in Europe we should have to ensure that men were induced in adequate numbers to share in the teaching and that the place now given to boys' technological interests was preserved. So long as that were the case one might doubt whether 'the inferiority complex' set up by the precocious advance of girls between twelve and sixteen would seriously affect the boys: for, after all, their superiority in physical prowess is a factor which more than balances the account.

A quite different effect is often alleged to influence injuriously the health of girls when they study side by side with boys. They are supposed to be stirred to rivalry on behalf of their sex, and to work harder than they should in order to make the most of their advantages. But there is really little evidence here to relate cause and effect. No doubt if boys and girls are deliberately pitted against each other, if, as is sometimes done both at home and at school, a girl is always being reminded

[1] E.g. Irving King, *The High-school Age*, chap. iii.

that she *is* a girl, serious harm may result.[1] In this country at least one might well maintain that the girls' high schools are far more in danger of stimulating excess of industry in girls: they started on their career seventy years ago with the avowed determination to show by rivalry and competition that girls and women could equal boys and men; they have proved their case, but at what a sacrifice! Questions of overstrain, of injury to health by excess in lessons or in sports, scarcely affect the co-education problem one way or the other: where teachers and parents get a powerful hold over the suggestible mind of youth any amount of overstrain can be enforced in any type of school. Put the sexes in antagonism to each other and you will get overstrain, whether the rivals sit in the same class-room or are jealously kept at arms' length in separated schools.

The above paragraphs have, one hopes, covered the main ground of to-and-fro argument. Let us now, at the cost of some repetition, summarize the position, as it is likely to develop in Great Britain during, say, the next half-century.

1. Co-education in school is only one aspect of the general situation. It is in the homes that the problem has first to be settled, for whenever a married couple behave to each other as equals, complementary but on a level, the new generation of that household intuitively copies the pattern set them. For—

2. The essence of the problem is in accepting the doctrine of equality with all its consequences: a doctrine

[1] Some co-educational schools have been guilty in this respect. The promoters of a new movement are liable to overstress its importance and so they talk about it constantly. It is a serious mistake for any mixed school to magnify the fact that it is co-educational: scholars and teachers need to be treated and to behave in accordance with the fact, viz. that this relationship is natural and ordinary and requires no comment.

which is spreading in all sorts of undercurrents,[1] especially among the middle classes. This doctrine assumes that, in any factor or 'character' where the sexes are observed to differ, the difference must be credited to environment, unless it is plainly due to differences in the psycho-physical organism. For example, the woman's functions of childbirth and of infant nurture are bound to give the average girl a bias of interest in home life; alternatively the man's exclusion from those spheres tends to make him a rover, an organizer, less of a family man, more of a citizen of the world.

3. But while such differences will always be accepted as common sense, the tendency to equality will make both parties more ready to share each other's interests, enjoy the contrasts of variation, and *minimize differences even in spheres where they are most pronounced.* Equality in fact implies exchange of sympathy, and to some extent exchange of duties. The most striking example at the present moment is Mr. Bertrand Russell, whose book *On Education* (published 1926) displays him as taking an intimate interest in his two little children far beyond what is common among fathers. The most striking feature of that book is that although we know that the wife and mother is somewhere about and is doing her share, the whole experience is set down as the natural occupation for a father. Now if Mr. Russell were a professor of education, or a physician to children, this close intercourse with babies would be quite understood,

[1] One ought to note that some religious communities, especially the Roman Catholics, are absolutely opposed to the whole tendency, and their opinion, the outcome of a long tradition, is entitled to respect, although one dissents from it. This opposition is strong enough to weigh against the establishment, or the continuance, of mixed schools in areas where many parents would approve. One or two determined men on a local governing body will often turn the scale, unless the proposal is zealously supported by its defenders.

but when one compares *On Education* with the contributions of, say, Locke or Rousseau on the same theme, we see how great an advance has been made in the practice of equalitarian doctrine.

4. Having got so far, the theory of co-education works itself out smoothly, as a special case of the larger problem. You first stipulate that men and women, boys and girls, will be partners and will want to associate, except at times and seasons when a good case can be made out to the contrary. Thus you will approve unhesitatingly of co-education up to twelve years of age, and at the opposite end of the educational system, beyond twenty years of age. Between those periods you may entertain doubts, or, if you accept the general rule, you will desire to impose conditions so that possible dangers may be anticipated.

5. These conditions all spring from the realization of dualism (p. 137 above). The change of outlook at puberty requires that both at home, at school, and everywhere where the sexes have forgathered in childhood, each should now have its own times, places, occasions, where separation is arranged for. Thus Houses (p. 86) in mixed schools may be organized separately for boys and girls; separate classes in domestic subjects for girls and a workshop for boys will help: although, again, if a girl wants to carpenter and a boy wants to cook, why should they not be accommodated? Separation in sports is still more to the point, for ages will pass before the average girl's physique develops so that she can play football or even cricket with the boys. In other words the co-educational secondary school should recognize that nature demands partial segregation as well as partial association.

6. Where co-education in school life cannot be secured, a like effect on the inner life of the young is sought by

wise parents through other means: that is to say, the parents see to it that their boys, from infancy onwards, enjoy companionship with girls, and vice versa: not by overt, painfully forced arrangements, but by taking it as a matter of course; the consequence of equality in one's domestic and social circle will afford chances of friendship to the young of both sexes *whenever they wish*. During the years twelve to sixteen they may tend to keep apart: well and good, let there be no pressure in the other direction: leave things to take their natural course without calling attention to the change of attitude. Presently, as the advance towards later adolescence approaches, they will tend to seek out one another's society: once more, give opportunity, but do not enlarge upon the relationship. If during these years, as is still the rule, a separate school is attended, it is all the more urgent that the home life should be co-educational. By this one does not mean that a boy should always have girl acquaintances and friends of his own age (or vice versa), but that the social circle at all periods of life, including the years twelve to twenty, should be social in this fundamental sense. In the houses of very poor folk, where there is little room for retirement, where much of the life *has* to be lived on the streets, there is not much escape; but in middle-class and in wealthy families, when the two sexes attend school and college confined to their own sex, it is perfectly possible (even when the attendance is at a day school) for children in small families to grow up remote from the other half of the social universe.

7. One or two corollaries affecting teachers remain for notice. Wherever a co-educational school is supported, not only should regard be paid to the condition mentioned in 5, but efforts must be made to secure teachers who accept the equalitarian doctrine.

(*a*) Sir B. Gott refers to the reluctance of governing bodies to appoint a woman as head of a mixed school, and he himself wonders[1] "what would be the attitude of boys of seventeen and eighteen towards a school of which the head was a woman." The question takes us straight back to the root principle: when such boys are accustomed to real equality in the home, in the professions, in Parliament and in public life, the question will not arise in school or college. Psychologically it is similar to other cases where authority is claimed by a new class; e.g. in the Army or the Church, when 'a rank outsider,' sprung from the lowest ranks, is elevated to high office. The real obstacle here is not so much sex jealousy as rivalry for *power in general*: progress hinges on the partnership of friends: real partners cease to worry about 'holding their own.'

(*b*) The acceptance of equality inevitably carries with it the welcome to married women on a par with married men, difference in treatment only being acknowledged when the wife becomes a mother and must for a period be replaced by a temporary substitute. At the present day the problem tends, like so many other matters in education, to be handled as a money matter: if man and wife both teach, then "two salaries are going into one home." We must not digress into economics: and in any case the only rational way to deal with wages and income is first of all to see what is the right and healthy way to handle a social situation and then to see how economic difficulties can be adjusted. Nothing is more contrary to public policy in education, i.e. to the public welfare than the clause inserted in so many contracts in the engagement of women teachers, which declares the contract void if the woman marries: if, that is to say, she enters into the one relation between the sexes which exemplifies most naturally and perfectly the basic

[1] Loc. cit., p. 31.

doctrine of harmony on which the whole structure of sex life must rest. The penalty for becoming wife and mother is to be excluded (unless the husband dies) from any share in the care of other people's children. This position only shows how very far public opinion stands from recognizing the importance of the principles here analysed.

In secondary boarding schools opportunities often permit a schoolmaster's wife to be of some use to boys: and in the rare cases where a married woman and her husband unite to conduct a girls' school, a similar advantage is given to girls. If any men who read these pages were brought up in a boys' boarding school, they will be able to recall what it meant to have one or two educated women about the place: boys are not acutely conscious of such matters at the time, but in memory one gets a better estimate of values.

(*c*) *The Staff in Separated Schools.*—We noticed above that separation of the sexes, women to teach girls, men to teach boys, is a normal consequence of establishing separated schools. This is not a universal rule; in Protestant Germany, for example, it was the practice thirty years ago for men to be directors of girls' high schools: but the advancement of women is causing them to be replaced.[1] All the countries engaged in the prolonged War of 1914–18 had to admit women to a large place in education because the men were called away to fight: in Britain this brought women teachers into boys' secondary schools, and the general verdict was that the plan was good for the boys, even in day schools, although in some instances they found difficulties in discipline. The arrangement ceased when the soldiers returned; but the experience has certainly proved to

[1] A similar change has taken place in English training colleges for women, where clergymen have been replaced by women.

many headmasters that when men and women sufficiently respect each other's point of view it is a benefit to all concerned to have a mixed staff in the ordinary separated school for boys. Logically the same point of view should be accepted for girls' schools, both secondary and primary; but it will be a long time before opinion, either among women teachers or among the general public, accepts this advance. In the early days of girls' higher education,[1] men were engaged a good deal as visiting teachers, for women could not be found with the necessary academic qualifications; they were dispensed with as soon as this lack was supplied, without any further consideration of the values of a mixed staff or of the disposition of the girls. Men still undertake some of the lecturing and tuition in the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and they will for a long time to come be in request in separate colleges of higher education for women all over the world. One can be certain on this point, however greatly the number of women graduates is increased: for the lack of distinguished scholars and researchers among women is not to be attributed to inferiority in capacity or in energy, but to those dispositions, traced back to infancy, which have been indicated above. In the twenties, after the first degree has been completed, these dispositions (conscious *and subconscious*) gather force and lead many a capable woman scholar to fall short in research at the very period of life when the man is launching into new intellectual adventures. In the United States, where equality in higher education is admitted more fairly than in Europe, the disparity between the sexes in original work is explained on this ground; and the explanation can be sincerely accepted by both parties. Thus while one anticipates that a far smaller percentage

[1] E.g. at the Cheltenham Ladies' College when founded by Miss Beale.

of women than of men scholars will reach these higher levels, there should be 'a fair field and no favour': whenever, that is, the woman reaches the required level, either in scholarship or in organizing ability, her qualifications should entitle her to full partnership and authority. When this point is accepted in the great corporations of learning and administration it will follow as matter of course in those of lower rank. Progress is necessarily slow: advance in academic and scholastic society cannot proceed beyond what is approved by general social opinion: fortunate indeed is the country where the educational system keeps step with progress in other spheres of public welfare.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESPONSE: A. ENERGY, INTELLIGENCE, DISPOSITION

We now come to a third corner-stone in our design: we have reviewed the many pursuits with which the educand may be occupied; we have noted the data consequent on his association with other learners, and with his teachers; we now have to look at the educand himself, responding—or refusing to respond—to a curriculum, and to a corporate life which he is invited to share. It need hardly be said that this is a modern problem: the old dictum reads, "Train up a child in the way he should go"—in the way, that is, which we have laid down for him; if he refuses, coerce him. The old pedagogy denied that there was any problem: parent and teacher commanded, the pupil had simply to obey: at the opposite pole, the all-or-none reformers, whom we notice in Chapter X, reject all regulations, dismiss all the data so far considered and would say that the child is to be our guide, that pedagogy begins and ends with watching the powers and needs of the pupil, giving him liberty to express himself. Between these two extremes a careful student of the facts steers a middle course: he gives his mind to child-study because he is not satisfied either to drive the young indiscriminately into a fold, or to let them roam freely over the wilds: either of these 'methods' is easy, is an escape from responsibility, from the rigours of scientific research.

Let us note in passing that Pestalozzi is acknowledged as the founder of pedagogic science for this very reason, that he sought the middle way, accepting the exhortation

of Rousseau to study children and give them elbow-room, but rejecting Rousseau's anarchy. Rousseau discerned the paradox between the innocence, the wisdom, of childhood and the experience, the authority, of the elders, but instead of studying it he wrote a classic about it: Pestalozzi read the classic, then worked at the problem with rare patience and zeal, and presently wrote his own classic, *Lienhardt und Gertrud*. Not that Pestalozzi and Rousseau were the first to admit the necessity for studying children: the founder of Christianity was of course a precursor, and their immediate predecessor, Locke, had applied his common sense to many problems of child nurture, in the face of the reactionary schoolmasters of his generation. But it is only with Pestalozzi that we recognize the need of a *Pädagogik*, fully committed to research into the whole field, into the nature of the child, into the meaning and value of school pursuits, and into the social affections that spring out of school life. Before his time all sympathetic teachers had paid regard, intuitively and casually, to the child's standpoint; but a science takes its rise when a theoretic field of inquiry is marked out as an advance on intuitive sympathy and casual observation. Of necessity Pestalozzi's achievement was imperfect: he blazed a trail: as he himself said, he psychologized education: all who have taught children since his day with any pretension to systematic method are his disciples. A similar position has arisen more recently in other callings, in medicine, e.g., as well as in industry and commerce: although psychology has come to the aid of these vocations a century after Pestalozzi began his studies, they bid fair to surpass the schools in the employment of this science. We are not altogether to blame for this, since in psychology itself the approach to scientific method has been very, very slow. The successful employers have not, however, waited for "Scien-

tific Management" to come along: they had always, of necessity, taken account of human nature, *so far as they understood it*, in dealing with employees: when the psychologist comes to their aid he in some cases confirms existing industrial practice, in many other instances he transforms this, and henceforth we have in existence a new science, a system of thought which can be labelled Industrial Psychology. Most employers and employees will ignore its findings for many years to come; nevertheless there is no going back. Nor can we in education go back to the pre-Pestalozzian era when hand-to-mouth tradition was almost the only guide to the schoolmaster. Possibly the Centenary Commemoration (February 17, 1927) of Pestalozzi's death may help us to see what he did for us, and what remains to be done. No contributions to pedagogic method are of abiding value except so far as the contributor has followed Pestalozzi's principle, his laboratory method, so to speak, of working with children and gaining power and insight by daily contact and diagnosis: his two immediate disciples, Herbart and Froebel, were never far from contact with children, and later workers whose contributions count in the history of teaching have either established their own schools (see Chapter X) or have investigated children's behaviour on other clinical methods.

Nowadays all teachers pay lip service to Child Psychology and many of them treat it seriously, otherwise there would not be so many books, and able books too, written about children, or so much research attempted by trained psychologists. What happens with most of us teachers is that we make a bowing acquaintance with the findings of these experts and then assimilate the ideas we get from this source with miscellaneous impressions, gained from contact with young folk. There is obviously a similar situation in many other occupations, in farming

and engineering as well as in medicine, but one must not digress into an argument with sceptics; in Chapter VIII of Vol. I the case for professional studies was made out:—psychology, functional psychology, must be the centre point of pedagogics just as functional physiology is the centre of all the sciences presented to the medical student.

In the first volume a chapter was in place dealing with individual development, for subsequent chapters of that book, where we discussed types of school, called for an explanation in terms of stages of development. Here we need to look at the child in another aspect—he is brought to school to gain certain experiences and we have to see what is involved in his reaction to these, in his *response*, to repeat the term used in the title of this chapter. The psychologist supplies us with a description of general human nature which helps us to see some of the conditions attaching to success or failure; it is true that these vary with the pupil's advance in stages of development, nevertheless they are of a sufficiently general nature to be considered apart from changes due to growth.

The description supplied by the psychologist may be conveniently summarized under three heads, following the universal categories under which all behaviour is viewed—viz. conation, intellect, emotion. We can ask three questions about any achievement which we desire our pupil to follow: has he the energy? has he the intelligence? has he the desire, the disposition? The day's proceedings, for example, may require him to learn geography at one hour and to play football at another: his disposition may be contrariwise; if so, his mind will be elsewhere although he makes attendance: or he may be willing enough, but his intelligence is feeble: finally, he may both be well-disposed and clever in these pursuits, but on any particular occasion he may fail of

success because he lacks what we can only call energy, force of body and mind to meet the situation. Several points must be noted to make these distinctions clear.

(*a*) First of all, each of these categories is an affair both of body and of mind: energy or power[1] or efficiency is obviously so: the intelligence, subject of such exhaustive research during recent years, is certainly an attribute of mind, but no one disputes its relation to the nervous system, and as regards disposition, the emotional aspect, here again the physical basis of emotion is not in dispute.

I might well have used the term *capacity*[2] or *ability* as accepted equivalents for *intelligence*, but it helps to clearness of thought to distinguish the capacity tested by measurements of intelligence from that which arises from the more primitive springs of life indicated by the popular terms *energy* or *force* of character. It is true that all tests of intelligence are at the same time tests of energy and tests of disposition, for the 'testee' is a human being who at every moment feels and wills and thinks: a test is more distinctively one of intelligence when it is carefully planned so as to diminish variations due to conative or emotional aspects. I therefore use the term intelligence as defined, e.g., in Ballard's *Group Tests of Intelligence*,[3] but I avoid the terms *ability* or *capacity* just because they may be confused in the popular mind with qualities that are non-intellectual and are yet equally necessary to success.

(*b*) The next point need only detain us a moment[4]: all three are the product of hereditary factors; they are inborn but they are also educable, that is they may

[1] Compare Hocking, *Human Nature and its Remaking*, pp. 96–100.

[2] As in the *B. of E. Report on Educable Capacity*.

[3] P. 144, quoting from Burt: "Inborn, all-round mental efficiency."

[4] Compare the discussion of eugenics in Vol. I, pp. 16–21.

be improved by culture, whether by the interference of society (teachers, parents and the like), by the undesigned influence of environment, or by the effort of the educand himself. And while this improvement may reach a certain standard it is well recognized that every individual has his limits: you cannot "make a silk purse out of a sow's ear": a child born with infirmity of purpose cannot rise at any time to the resolute energy of a master mind: tests of intelligence have shown that mental capacity and alertness vary within limits which the best efforts of the schoolmaster will fail to overpass: and while the disposition is more open to amendment and lies more within the range of influence, here too the congenital cast of the body-mind provides a setting in temperament beyond which no environment can offer full escape.

(*c*) A more difficult and disputable problem is presented in the distinctions drawn between *general* and *specific* response. As regards intelligence the psychologists have convinced most people that the capacity for 'putting two and two together,' for thinking out relations, is of a general nature and can be applied to an endless variety of situations. They also make it equally clear, as is indeed evident to daily experience, that in actual affairs this general capacity is applied by the same individual with wide variation of achievement. How else can we account for the skilled musician who fails to distinguish the parts of speech in Latin: for the distinguished classical scholar who is 'ploughed' in elementary geometry? In general intelligence they may be on a par, but when it comes to the employment of this capacity their performances vary simply because they are influenced by interests and habits, both of disposition and of energy, some congenital, some acquired from infancy onwards.

With regard to energy, the distinction between general

and specific has not been investigated, so far as I am aware, except on the physical side. Popular thought and speech take it for granted that men differ in general energy, in 'spirit,' as we say, as much as they differ in intelligence: everyone has acquaintances who are poor in physique but are full of resolution. This is a general quality: they are brisk, forceful, in everything they take up. And yet in practice is not the display of energy quite specific? This certainly appears to be so, for if you put such a man in a situation that does not 'appeal' to him, he seems lifeless, incapable, even stupid. In other words, energy is specific in its range, just as is intelligence.

As regards disposition, one should be much more cautious; I at least cannot see that we can apply the epithets *general* and *specific* with any success. Dispositions are classified on the basis of temperament, and these can, if we choose, be regarded as general indications or types of disposition: one individual is cheerful and oncoming in disposition, another is morose and holds aloof. It looks as if any kind of test or examination to determine the trend of a man's likes and dislikes would be fraught with difficulty, for the conditions of time, place, opportunity would lead the subjects of an experiment to vary their response indefinitely. This, I am told, is the reason why tests in the fine arts, drawing and music, are so unsatisfactory.

(*d*) *Limits of Age.*—A fourth question, which again has been much to the fore in experimental work, concerns the course of development from infancy onwards. Investigation seems to have shown that intelligence grows more or less steadily till it reaches a maximum at fifteen or sixteen years of age,[1] and that subsequent

[1] The reader specially interested will find in Thomson, *Instinct, Intelligence and Character*, a warning against being *too* positive about the limit at sixteen.

displays of intellectual power do not expose a higher range or grade of mentality: they only exhibit us as applying our powers to new situations, as novel interests, enlarged opportunities, make call upon our intellectual power.

How does the case stand as regards energy? An active, healthy child of ten responds to a congenial invitation with an outflow of power which seems to be inhibited in older folk who have learnt to think, i.e. to look before they leap. The ordinary intelligence test, with rigid time-limits fixed for each performance, is a test also of energy, and it seems impossible to gauge 'pure' intelligence apart from 'pure' energy. Until the psychologists are experienced enough to isolate energy of purpose and steadfastness as a quality to be measured apart from thought, one cannot discern any point in life's years where one can say that a maximum has been reached for energy, analogous to the maximum, at fifteen or sixteen, discovered for intelligence. Yet there are many types of effort where a maximum age for success in skill or output is readily ascertained, e.g. in the repetition work of factories, in cricket, football and sports: here, the skill is specific and depends partly on native energy, partly on native intelligence, partly on disposition; and, along with all these, on opportunity for habit and practice. But in each type of performance a time comes when a summit is reached, after which the performance, when reckoned over a period of time (a football season, or a week's output in the factory), will be lower than the result recorded over the previous period.[1] Now when the performance, as in sports, depends largely upon physical energy, muscle or nerve, strength of limb or hand, you can properly speak of this maximum as depending upon physique, since the performer has not declined

[1] This does not refer to the *plateau* (see Pear, *Skill in Work and Play*, chap. iii), but to the summit of attainment.

either in steadfastness and purpose, in intelligence or in liking for the game. But at what age is the nodal point, the summit of success, witnessed in billiards or in chess? I presume the statistics are to hand, perhaps they have been collated showing the average age of the champions: for boxing this has certainly been done. We must not wander off into side-issues; it is enough to note that the issue raised by fixing a limit for intelligence at sixteen compels us to ask similar questions about all types of activity, and that the answers will be just as important in many concerns of life as for the work of the schoolroom.

What, then, can be said about our dispositions, our likes and dislikes? There is no analogy here between intelligence and disposition: we learn to like, to love, to hate persons or groups of persons and we may be "off with the old love and on with the new" at any time of life. This is not so often true of habits of disposition formed in relation to ideas: if in youth we learn to enjoy, e.g., mathematics or literature, we are not prone to turn against them at a later age: yet we may neglect them, whether it be because circumstances prevent us from pursuing them or because other competing interests absorb our powers: yet they will linger in memory with goodwill. But since a general disposition cannot be envisaged as a distinctive quality of mind like intelligence, it is useless to seek for any maximum point of intensity. As we shall see below dispositions are also habits: they grow by what they feed on.

(*e*) *Precocity and Retardation.*—The time of life at which any quality of mind, intelligence or energy, general or specific, reaches its maximum is quite apart from another question of time, which is indicated by the terms *precocity* and *retardation*: any individual may be earlier or later than the average of his generation, or he may be

non compos mentis, briefly described nowadays as 'M.D.' We have already referred to this problem in another connexion (Vol. I, pp. 59, 60), but we must not overlook it for our present purpose. We can picture every human being as bound within the limit of a fixed circle: thus far he can go, in music (a specific response), in intelligence or native energy (a general response). Now he may enjoy an excess of power which enables the investigator to rank him as supreme among his contemporaries when tested, say, at fourteen: granting this fact of endowment we propose a wholly different question when we inquire whether he is better or worse for the exercise and display of it *at any given age*, twelve, fourteen or sixteen. Power is there, inborn[1]: it is called forth, exercised, turned into specific channels of habit and taste by scholastic and other environment: alternatively, this or that mode of exercise can be postponed, or even neglected. The teacher and parent usually seizes upon evidence of early manifestation as *ipso facto* a ground for special exercise, believing that success depends upon immediate achievement and that happiness springs forthwith from the exercise of faculty; our plans of promotion from class to class are based upon such views of progress.

Thus if a boy at six[2] is precocious in one of the fine

[1] The latest investigation of precocity is in Gesell: *The Mental Growth of the Pre-school Child* (1926), chap. xxviii. His warnings both to those who would stimulate precocity and those who regard it as "necessarily unwholesome and unnatural" are worth considering. His clinical experience has led him to be "extremely cautious in his philosophy of infant education."

[2] The following from a daily paper (1925): A picture of Master W. S. F., "who is not yet six years of age and has given four organ recitals at various churches." Abnormalities of this kind (always described as genius, although precocity is all that is definitely asserted) are constantly recorded, especially as regards music and drawing, in the popular press.

arts it is assumed that this talent must be forthwith cultivated, regardless of all other factors: if at ten he can work problems in algebra which others can only face at fourteen he is straightway picked out as a budding mathematician and prepared for a scholarship examination. In other words, his elders settle his destiny on evidence which only testifies to one side or aspect of his nature; by so doing they may, and often do, throw his development out of gear, securing no doubt immediate satisfaction both for themselves and for their pupil, but running grave risk of ultimate disharmony and failure. Teachers who have had the handling of all sorts of children, clever and stupid, over a number of years, will have memories of conspicuous cases of this kind, as well as of cases where intelligence was below par, but was compensated by practical gifts such as find scope on the playfields, or by æsthetic gifts in some form of art.

Now the psychologists have provided tests by which these powers can be graded in quantitative terms, and no doubt they will in due course provide us with standards by which every kind of inborn ability can be assessed[1]; but it is not their business to do more than help us to make the diagnosis: when we know the facts what are we to do with them? What 'use' are we to make of them? Some years ago the Board of Education referred to its Consultative Committee the following query: "What use can be made in the public system of education of psychological tests of educable capacity?", and the inquiry resulted in the valuable Report to which frequent references are here made (p. 157 above). They, however, interpreted the term *use* in a restricted sense: they considered simply the

[1] As regards musical ability, recent tests by Professor Seashore (Iowa, U.S.A.) and Révész (Amsterdam) seem helpful (reported in *Child Life*, June 1926).

extent to which the tests so far 'used' were to be accepted as reliable and to be employed along with, or as a substitute for, other modes of examination.[1] They assumed that, when a diagnosis had been made, the teacher or administrator would know how to use the result, would know, that is, how far to exercise a capacity which he had discovered to exist; the test is an instrument like the physician's stethoscope:—its 'use' is ended when the physical facts it records are accurately noted. This is a quite proper employment of the term *use*, but when the physician proceeds from the diagnosis to prescription he 'uses' the results in a different sense: and before he advises upon the patient's future he uses not only the report given by the stethoscope but many other data as to his patient's condition. Already the physicians who help teachers in dealing with mental deficiency [2] are using intelligence tests as a supplement to other diagnosis and as a guide to treatment: the Binet Tests were originally invented for this purpose; it is quite certain that as regards retardation and deficiency the teacher-psychologist will in days to come be able most effectively to treat all children who show pronounced inborn deficiency. And the more accurate and complete the diagnosis the more confident will be the prescription, for the problem is analogous to that presented by a patient suffering from some illness: in both cases the treatment is directed solely to achieve harmony or balance in the different sides of human nature. Thus a child may be blind or crippled or of scanty wits: whatever the defect, the educator aims at raising the level of response, alike in energy, in intelligence and in disposition, to such a grade that hereafter he may live happily and usefully among his fellows. The problem of the mentally deficient is comparatively simple because the aim to be

[1] See pp. 60 and 111 in the Report. [2] Report, p. 126.

sought, viz. a simple, useful life, is restricted in outlook and scope.

But when we turn from the deficient to the supernormal, from the backward to the precocious, we are confronted with problems far more involved and abstruse. Since talents are to be used and not hidden in a napkin, it is assumed without further inquiry that any ability revealed by scholastic or other tests should be forthwith cultivated to the utmost, regardless of other factors which a more complete diagnosis would reveal: it is assumed that precocity, even in your infant organist of six, justifies immediate specialization: it is assumed further that the road to success, either in the vulgar sense or in the highest sense, is to be sought by advancing on the lines which precocity suggests. In other words, the view of educational aims opened up in Vol. I, Chap. IV, tends to be ignored; instead of harmonious development, which gives a place to all constituent values, school and college are regarded as agencies for developing specific talents. We must grant, of course, that the demands of a vocation will finally narrow our range of interests, that in any event the universe is too vast to engage all of us in all of it; grant also that the possession of inborn specific ability justifies the possessor in expressing himself on the lines which nature has marked out for him.[1] Hence, therefore, teachers who have sought out and encouraged precocious ability and sent its possessors to college on the strength of it may, if they like, rest content in the belief that the use made of this rough-

[1] As Tennyson says in another connexion, "To rust unburnished, not to shine in use" (*Ulysses*). The point of this reference is that Tennyson is dealing with an old man long after education in the conventional sense of the term is done with. And the conclusion surely is that the demand "to shine in use" is just as legitimate at forty and at sixty as at twelve and twenty: and since *ex hypothesi* it is inborn, we must give it scope, all through life, not merely at the school age.

and-ready diagnosis was justified. But the question needs far more scientific investigation than has so far been at our disposal.

We are not concerned in this chapter to discuss methods, but only to define the position, to get at the data. When we describe a pupil as precocious or supernormal, what exactly do we mean in terms of response? We mean that at any given age, say six years in music or twelve years in intelligence tests, he displays powers which his contemporaries do not display at two, three or four years beyond his age: powers that are inborn, brought to light indeed by the exercise and opportunities of the school, but existing and abiding, independently of any special measures that have been and will be adopted: once intelligent, always intelligent; once musical, always musical.[1] What will you conclude from that fact? Just this, that precocity is merely another term for first-class ability as shown by intelligence or other tests: the bare fact that the ability is displayed at twelve or fourteen should not by itself be accepted as ground for specialization. For example, Cizek's young pupils at Vienna [2] displayed remarkable power in picture making: much of this was due to teaching and other favouring environment, but much was no doubt due to native power, which had already been precociously displayed and had probably much to do with their coming to his studio in the first place. The popular inference on observing this capacity is to assume (1) that precocity implies exceptional, first-class ability (which is true), and (2) that such ability must be utilized until it becomes the master-impulse for life, a conclusion for

[1] An exaggeration, of course, since energy and disposition may be so modified as to cause disuse of capacity; in this brief sketch one cannot follow up the by-paths.

[2] See p. 78.

which there is no warrant unless reached on other grounds. The only warrantable conclusion is that the impulses and tastes here displayed must not be thwarted or despised. On the other hand, it is far too soon in life to let such powers be exclusively exercised at the cost of other interests and opportunities.

Let us now give separate consideration to the three aspects of human nature, the energetic, the intellectual and the effective, always bearing in mind that in actual behaviour each plays its part in manifestations of the other two.

Energy.—The Report[1] indicates that the conception of mental energy, the will to live, to achieve, has not been investigated by experiment except on the physical plane, as motor ability: and many people would not agree that there is any distinctive factor in our make-up that can be described as mental energy, apart from powers of nerve and muscle. Yet in conclusions about our fellow-men we recognize a sharp distinction between physical condition and mental effort: we use many terms such as endurance, tenacity, efficiency, and their contraries apathy, slackness; these terms have a mental as well as a physical connotation. While the behaviour as actually observed is necessarily displayed in specific activities which the subject enjoys, it is reasonable to assume that every child differs from his neighbour in the amount of intensity, of *general* energy, with which he encounters all life's occasions. If this be so, it is evident that the opportunities afforded by schooling influence at every turn the extent to which this native endowment is fostered or, alternatively, repressed. The apostles of freedom or self-expression (Chap. X) are usually supposed to be concerned with the child's desires, his appetites and instincts, but the basic fact which they

[1] Pages 9, 10 (see p. 163).

have in mind comes from witnessing the perpetual display of sheer activity which is characteristic of all healthy infants. With every year of life this activity *appears* to be less in evidence because intelligence is at work to encourage self-control: that is to say, the organism can look ahead and thus the rhythm between thought and overt action is spaced more widely: *reculer pour mieux sauter.* The inner, unobserved energy, as of a child drawing a picture or wrestling with a sum, may be as intense as the explosive here-and-there movements of the same child dancing in the playground.

If this view of basic energy be accepted it would seem that a full life, whether of a child or an adult, is one in which every waking moment is occupied; the energetic person is never idle, unless he has indulged in some excess, eating too much or studying too much or straining his muscles too much; then for a while he has to rest, recovering from the effects of specific fatigue.[1] It is always a question of what is 'too much': if appetite has not been indulged to repletion the healthy child does not want to rest after meals but at once puts his energy into something else: movement, perpetual movement, is the normal condition of healthy existence, at least during waking hours. Negatively one sees that energy by itself has no direction, no 'point' beyond the general will-to-live, to fulfil the demands of primitive appetite, to display energy, i.e. through all the organs, ears, eyes, limbs, which the creature possesses. It is the function of education to select experiences which shall enable the possessor of this energy to keep it going at maximum pitch, inhibiting here, giving freedom there, so that as the intelligence discerns a wider scheme of

[1] Not always recovering, since excess may have gone too far so as to permanently disturb the rhythm of the organism: he is then, so far an invalid.

values the life is felt to be increasingly a 'good' life. A man who decides that life is not worth living has lost his energy because he has never learned to distinguish good from evil: or, having learned to make such distinctions, he had never learned to control his dispositions.

Intelligence.—The function, then, of intelligence is to supply *meaning* to life; our lessons in science, language and the rest are offered to the child as clues by which he can see a little further into the unknown of his universe. Does he *want* to see? he does, so far as he is (natively) intelligent and is also endowed with energy to tackle any and every situation of the day's adventure. As we shall see in the next chapter, his desires change, his curiosity may be stifled in many directions if he is taught foolishly, if, i.e., his lessons do not help him to find meaning in experience. This is not to say that every lesson in a time-table, every subject of study must be immediately related to affairs of the moment, but it does justify the insistence (emphasized first of all by Herbart) that our schemes of teaching must provide an '*aim*,' they must bring the 'new' which we desire the child to learn into relation with the 'old' which he retains in memory or affection.[1] And since these memories are always specific and definite, the intelligence which our pupils exercise is likewise specifically concerned within some confined field. We recognize that the original endowment is general, that in testing our pupils we seek to discover the capacity in its general form. And yet in actual practice, and in the performance of any individual test, the capacity always shows itself as specific, as a sequel to habits and dispositions which have been fostered in that one field. Hence what the psychologist discovers through his tests as general intelligence

[1] Compare Chapter XV on Teaching Procedure.

is seldom found operative in later years over a wide field of activities.

Let us illustrate from school practice: you pick out an intelligent girl at fourteen and train her for a scholarship in history: eventually at twenty-three she emerges as a history specialist, M.A. by research. Now, have you trained her in general intelligence? It is surely an abuse of language to make any such assertion, for while the native capacity is 'general,' its exercise *has* to be specific: the older our pupil gets the more inevitable are the restrictions imposed on her range of interests. If you look at the world for ten years from the windows of a library you cannot see it during the same period through the microscope of a laboratory. These facts, borne out by universal experience in intercourse, ought to modify the assurance of advocates of this or that study that it provides a unique weapon for training intellectual faculty. The man who is trained in chemistry becomes increasingly intelligent in chemical matters and in themes allied to chemistry: yet his absorption in molecules and atoms, if so excessive as to exhaust his energies, may lead him to be positively stupid in handling affairs outside the laboratory. The well-educated man simply cannot be produced by excess in any direction: the contrary belief so fondly entertained by eminent men is mere superstition or vanity. Capacity to 'do' History shows capacity to do more History, and to do other things of a like kind: it does not show capacity in the differential calculus or in ruling a city.[1]

[1] So far as industrious habits of reading documents and intellectual habits in the interpretation of these are of value in politics, History is certainly a training-school for statesmanship; always supposing that such habits are not fostered at the cost of other habits even more necessary to that career.

The theorist in search of a formula which will ensure general mental efficiency sometimes turns to the opposite extreme; he belauds an all-round curriculum, an extended course of so-called liberal education, a pass degree with snippets from every Faculty. But this prescription seems even less calculated to meet the case, for students who are real students want to arrive somewhere, even if the goal of their endeavours be shrunk within a narrow field. If experience with school and college time-tables prove anything it has shown that widely scattered courses of study without any special objective fail to satisfy. The whole argument springs from groundless hypotheses about mental power. Because the existence of inborn general intelligence is admitted it is assumed that it can be extended by this or that training: and that systems of education can be pitted against each other as favourable or otherwise to such extension. All the argument to find specifics for mental training is as useless as the disputes sometimes conducted by rival practitioners of physical exercise: general physical fitness can be maintained and increased by adequate exercise of many kinds: an appropriate choice in any given case depends upon all sorts of conditions, none of which depend upon a theory of general physical energy.

For in both cases the result of any 'course' is a specific result. Physical development is promoted both by football and by squash racquets, but the football player develops also the special adaptations of mind and body which make him more capable in football than in racquets. In other words, every sort of employment, physical and mental, is specific and the discovery of 'g,' the inherited 'factor' of intelligence, in no way alters the situation. The psychologists indeed warn us against attempting to pursue this will-o'-the-wisp, for while they seem to have

identified the general power they assure us that along with this power our clever boys and girls also manifest "specific abilities," and by way of caution they add, "The measurement of the specific elementary functions of the mind has as yet hardly begun." [1]

Now when the theorist who seeks to apply psychology to education has arrived so far he tends to be disheartened; having hoped to secure from mental science an argument to defend his empirical practices, he tends to throw scorn on the investigators: they have not proved what he desired them to prove and therefore their results are worthless! But this is not the way of science. The psychologist has at least made it clear that intelligence demands exercise, that a man's way of life, whether at school or outside of school, should be so conducted as to allow full scope to his intelligence, whether the original intelligence be great or small. It gives a fresh plea for education, viewed as experience in which deliberation and reflection find full scope: by demonstrating the intimate connexion of intelligence with energy and with disposition, it justifies the distrust which the common man has always entertained against systems of schooling where pedantry is encouraged at the cost of education. Character can only be defined in terms of disposition and of habits of disposition: these present the final field for observing the response of the educand to the appeals made by the school.

Intelligence in Skill.—By retaining the term *intelligence* as equivalent to capacity or ability we may be misconstrued: many people are disposed to assume that skill, whether in fine or useful arts, is capacity displayed by common folk, at a lower level than the 'brainy' folk whose knowledge is well organized. The countryside adage is recalled—"Derbyshire born and Derbyshire

[1] Report, pp. 19–22.

bred, Strong i' the arm and weak i' the head." Professor Pear has done capital service[1] in elucidating the distinction between knowledge and skill. The latter he defines as kinæsthetic intelligence, the use of complicated muscle groups.

There are many reasons why skill is regarded as remote from intelligence; at the lowest levels, where our muscular behaviour is of a very simple pattern, little demand is made on our minds and hence it is assumed that higher, more complicated performances are equally devoid of thought. Professor Pear points out, however, that there is another ground for this low estimate: "Skill is difficult to communicate to others because until recently there has been no easy means of making the paths of rapid bodily movements visible or of adequately symbolizing them in verbal formulæ."

Now since the teacher by tradition is a person who uses language to explain procedure, he is gravely handicapped when seeking to help his pupils in skills which cannot be understood in the terms of speech at his disposal. Hence the entire scholastic world, that to begin with is prejudiced in favour of knowledge acquired solely through verbal imagery, through sight and hearing, extends the prejudice to the disadvantage of all forms of intelligence associated with kinæsthetic imagery. Incidentally this explains why the psychologists have found in industry rather than in schooling a fruitful field for their investigations. If the same attention had been given to dealing with skill in modern languages or in music as in the movements of a navvy or a miner the teaching of these subjects would surely have advanced more rapidly. I myself realized many years ago the need for such applications and sought to apply what psychology was available in those days to the practice

[1] *Skill in Work and Play* (Methuen & Co., 1924).

of the class-room.[1] Now that handicrafts and the fine arts are being admitted to a more honourable status in the schools one may hope that the psychologist will find the teachers of these subjects ready to respond; ready to reshape their methods of instruction on the basis of experiments in the acquisition of skill instead of trying to put the new wine in old bottles. So long as lessons in music and carpentry continue to be imparted on methods invented by those who teach history and science, confusing intelligent knowledge with intelligent skill, the teachers of these arts are bound to fail (compare Chap. XV).

Disposition.—The terms *disposition* and *dispositions* are to be preferred to instincts, desires or sentiments, because they cover a wider field. Dr. Thouless's definition[2] is serviceable: "an enduring structure of the mind which is postulated to account for uniformities in experience or behaviour. A sentiment of hatred . . . is a disposition. We do not feel the disposition as such; we feel the various emotions and impulses which spring from it. An *instinct* is also a disposition: and what we mean by a person's *character* is the sum of all his dispositions." He writes ostensibly for students of economics, but those who write expressly for teachers are equally concerned to tell us what is known about these aspects of mind.[3] And they do well, since the teacher finds himself confronted every hour of the day with problems arising out of his scholars' dispositions. He may be excluded from controlling the choice of studies

[1] *Principles of Class Teaching*, chaps. xiv, xv, The Acquirement of Skill (1902); and see Chap. XV below.

[2] *Social Psychology*, p. 4.

[3] See, e.g., Lothian, *Outline of Psychology for Educators*. A comparison of Mr. Lothian's chapters with elementary text-books of educational psychology written even ten years ago shows how rapid has been the change, a great change both in selection and in emphasis.

where varieties of energy and of intelligence are involved: if, however, he can influence his pupils' inclinations he can often achieve most successful results, even where at the outset their attitude towards the situation is contrariant. Such success is not always to be commended: but whether or no we approve the results it seems obvious that the teacher must become familiar with the tastes and desires of young people, whether by the intuitions of experience or by the guidance of psychology; otherwise the scholastic machine revolves with incessant friction.

When our scholars commence school attendance some fundamental dispositions are already firmly established: bodily appetites, for food and other creature comforts, have already in many cases assumed a dominant position in the hierarchy and maintain their prominence throughout life. If this were not so the sweets and tobacco shops, and their rivals all along the street, would not attract as they do. Against the current of these dispositions, and of a theory of happiness based on their satisfaction, the school has to make what headway it can, seeking to establish higher dispositions towards art, towards knowledge, towards social behaviour in an Ascending Effort.[1] We cannot deny, even if we would, the function of appetite, and yet it would seem at times as if our 'boasted civilization' had not yet got beyond the endeavour to consume time in the creation of 'novel wants,'[2] to be shared by multitudes reaching only to the level of sensational happiness. We must not digress to repeat in other words the themes of Vol. I, Chaps. III

[1] The title of a remarkable description of this progress by the late George Bourne.

[2] An alternative term to 'dispositions' used with great effect by G. Garratt in *Ouroboros, the Mechanical Extension of Mankind* (in the Series *To-day and To-morrow*: Kegan Paul, 1926).

and IV; the cross-reference is useful just to demonstrate that these two volumes constitute a 'system,' in which each portion is related to the whole: and more specifically to stress the theme of this chapter as reaching far beyond its direct purpose.

The practical situation, as the teacher meets it in daily practice, is to secure a working harmony between conflicting desires: for the time being, at any rate, the child should be disposed to learn what we want him to learn. We call this disposition docility; it arises, as Dewey points out,[1] partly from inexperience (which leads the infant to imitate patterns), partly from plasticity, capacity to fit into any new mould offered to him from the environment. The dilemma cannot be escaped: we know, as a first fact, that we can within limits mould dispositions; and as a second fact that an excess of docility, be it due to a weak yielding temperament or to the influence exerted by adults, is fatal to the expansion of power, to the grasp of the great virtues that develop from self-control; the final disposition, to "delight in the law of the Lord," with affections set on "things that are above," is suppressed by a premature insistence on fear, even if it be that "fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom." Fear springs from inexperience, and the only justification for appealing to

[1] In his ruthless indictment of much that passes under the name of education: "To be truly docile is to be eager to learn all the lessons of active, inquiring, expanding experience. The inert, stupid quality of current customs perverts learning into a conformity, constriction, surrender of scepticism and experiment. When we think of the docility of the young we first think of the stock of information adults wish to impose and the ways of acting they want to reproduce. Then we think of the insolent coercions, the insinuating briberies, the pedagogic solemnities by which the freshness of youth can be faded and its vivid curiosities dulled. Education becomes the art of taking advantage of the helplessness of the young." (Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 64.)

it is the trust that the child's docility will presently be replaced by self-confidence; he will then be released from our controls.

Let us illustrate from a common experience[1] wherein all normal children should have opportunity between the ages of ten and twelve: the study of elementary algebra. Here is a pupil, energetic with a hundred immediate purposes that are far removed from (a + b), but also intelligent in the sphere of things we call arithmetic. The curriculum makers want him to learn algebra because they know that the mastery of this technique will help him in dealing with matters of importance to him hereafter: they know also that mathematics, when once the taste for it has been acquired, can be liked for its own sake with intrinsic interest, securing a momentum of its own. Nevertheless this is *our* knowledge, hidden from him until he has actually taken the plunge. So we rely on his docility, upon his readiness to do as others do, or upon his fears, fears of failure to acquire merit in lessons, fears of disapproval, if not of positive penalties: he must take our word for it, until an algebra habit or disposition is created with an enlarged sense of power in a fine realm of intelligence. But the wise teacher, who is also a sympathetic student of disposition, does more than this: he reduces the appeal to docility or emulation to a minimum by smoothing the introduction to algebra on the principle noted above, relating the 'new' to the 'old.' The disciplinarian scorns the pains which we take in devising the bridge between arithmetic and algebra: he sometimes claims that the intelligence is 'braced' (a fashionable term with unintelligent teachers) by ignoring the demands of interest, that the only way to 'make' a mathematician is to cut off the

[1] See below, p. 213.

study from the immediate concerns of common life. They can point with pride to eminent mathematicians who acquired the algebra disposition without any introduction (this they would ridicule as sugar-coating); but their diagnosis is *ipso facto* incomplete, for a critic can well maintain that these docile pupils would have been still more eminent if they had realized in early life the relations in which mathematics stand to all mundane affairs. Moreover, for one distinguished wrangler who emerges triumphant from the 'bracing' effects of careless elementary teaching a hundred contrariant boys and girls may form a distaste for mathematics, with an enduring habit of scepticism as to its value in science or art: if their docility leads a few of these, under pressure, to satisfy algebra examiners in a leaving examination that is as much as can be expected.

This illustration makes it clear that dispositions are always being formed, willy-nilly; the teacher may not know that he is moulding taste and conscience: or he may know what he is about and then determine with all the zeal of an apostle to 'make' the young follow in his footsteps: or at the opposite extreme, he may seek to release them from the power of his suggestion. This last is a more subtle process, for which there is much to be said, as we shall see in the next chapter; for although the sense of freedom thus secured by the disciple is largely an illusion, nevertheless it is real and effective at the moment and thus fosters an attitude which in riper years will make a freeman. Thus it comes about that John Dewey and Bertrand Russell are apostles, in their own despite, although they would fain hold aloof from the fellowship of Thomas Arnold: they are moulding the disposition of immense numbers of teachers throughout the world by helping them to a new consciousness of freedom.

Appreciation.—Thus the range covered by disposition has no limit; the studies which appear to appeal solely to the intellect become matters of taste equally with those which are relegated more directly to the province of 'appreciation.' This last term has come into vogue of late years and has reference to all arts and crafts, although just now it seems to be appropriated by the teachers of music. Lessons in appreciation are only to be distinguished from other art instruction by two features, each of them excellent in its place: they present the pupil with good models to which he can attend; and by the use of speech, in lecturette or talk, they call upon the intellect to do its part in discerning æsthetic values, helping out the intuitions of the artist with the analysis of the critic. Let us not however limit the field of appreciation: it extends to matters of conscience, of social behaviour: it takes hold of biography and history, using these subjects as unrivalled means for enlarging our experience of right and wrong, of good and evil. To know history or civics up to the standard of matriculation is a trifling affair: to learn from such pursuits how to feel rightly towards one's neighbour, towards our city, our country, our League of Nations, is a great affair.

Teachers shrink from these weighty obligations and well we may, but if the argument of this chapter be accepted, we have no option. If the teacher be ill-disposed, either towards his pupils, towards the subject to which he invites them, or towards pedagogics, i.e. towards the principles on which they learn to like the subject, he will usually establish a contrariant disposition in their hearts. And yet no one can command love! Education Committees demand qualifications, but this supreme equipment cannot be assessed even by the most exact Burnham Scale.

The crown of all dispositions is precisely noted by the term *goodwill*, an attitude towards life, towards school as a microcosm of life, which does not reject the sphere of individuality and of self-assertion, but absorbs these in a conviction expressed once for all in the gospel dictum about saving the life by losing it. Our schemes of education emphasize energy and intelligence because these can be measured in terms of power and self-display; and because, whether or no we can assess them in quantitative terms, we desire to reproduce in the young the qualities which we have been taught to admire. As our rulers come to a finer appreciation of values they all will be more disposed to goodwill and harmony as the guiding principle in our school systems (Vol. I, p. 56).

Fleeting Dispositions.—By definition a disposition is enduring; it has all the marks of habit, something to be acquired and then to 'stay put.' And yet our whole argument is a plea for alteration, conversion, ascent from the lowly to the highest. There is, however, no real dilemma here, beyond the final paradox between the absolute and the relative, the dynamic and the static. Yet sometimes confusion is made between momentary excitements of emotion which are enjoyed as they pass and the deeper effects which constitute stability of character.

Habits of disposition are indeed only valid when they operate in acts of behaviour: a teacher, for example, who cultivates a sensitive, kindly disposition but laments that in the class-room he has to behave as a tyrant may deceive himself; he may even deceive the public; but his colleagues and pupils will know that he is double-minded. Our dispositions, if they are more than emotions, are active: they are in fact postulated as the middle term between emotion and behaviour: we only

know of their existence when they emerge in deeds: the deed is overt, the disposition lies in wait.[1] This does not justify us in neglecting dispositions, for these inner habits afford explanation of the consequent deeds which to the world outside may be accounted failure. "What I desired to be, and was not, comforts me."[2] We give a sum a fair mark even if the answer is incorrect. If a desire is genuine it will achieve result, even though the outcome be very different from the hopes with which the vessel was launched. The educator therefore is seeking all the time to help the young towards forceful effective dispositions, which will act in a large variety of situations, and will be confirmed and enlarged by exercise.

A world which moves so rapidly in cars and kinemas tends to mistake thrills for dispositions: we tend to be satisfied by 'feeling good' at one hour, even if at the next we enjoy the mortifications of dejection. A lecture or a lesson by an 'inspirational' teacher is admired as an 'intellectual treat,' adequate sustenance for adults who as children were nourished on chocolates. Our distrust of these butterfly stimulants, which only lead to new demands from jaded appetites, may tend to a morbid scepticism as to the whole theme of this chapter: a daily diet of inspiration becomes in the long run dis-gusting.

And yet due recognition must be accorded even to thrills. The problem is really twofold: one aspect is concerned with *time*, a disposition which is fleeting or momentary seems to pass and leave no trace. But in our early years, when we are forming our dispositions, a short span of emotion is inevitable: we are selecting, tasting, choosing, rejecting among a crowd of evanescent

[1] Compare again Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, chap. iii.

[2] Browning, *Rabbi ben Ezra*.

impressions. The harm comes when these impressions are thrust upon the young so that they form *a habit of liking thrills*, an enduring disposition towards excitement as an end in itself, rather than a 'means whereby'[1] some worthy object of regard may become habitually prized. So thus, secondly, as a means towards this end the *intensity* of an emotional experience should be fully acknowledged. Conversions are sometimes sudden, but none the less may be effectual and may direct the whole current of a life. For if the current is to be changed there must be a beginning at some definite time and season: if the stimulus to this new venture be accompanied with an intense glow all the better, so long as the subject does not rest satisfied *in* the emotion, but follows along the new path with the discipline of effort and intelligence. A moving drama, an eloquent discourse, a dramatic tale are often essential not only for the young but for the old: if only to wake us up from the sloth of lazy habits. The mischief is seen when not only the audience but the performers, in pulpit, in the class-room, stay content with the thrill, with the performance. Life then becomes for both parties a round of intoxicants: both parties make a play of emotions that sap the energies of a settled disposition and lead only to one habit, a craving for change; "never at one stay, changing every hour": no wonder that erring man, wandering to and fro, images God as the absolute, the unchangeable. A community that seeks to enjoy such a mode of existence will provide itself with schools and teachers of a similar pattern: and its children will lose the persistence of energy which distinguishes organic life from the helplessness of stocks and stones.

Evidently we must reckon here, as in all these chapters, with conflict: conflict within the pupil's self, which

[1] Dewey, loc. cit., pp. 25–32.

the teacher should understand before he interposes and takes a side. It is a conflict of inner dispositions: a boy wants to learn algebra—a good boy we say; but he also wants to have a joke with his neighbour—bad boy! Let us not be too hasty either in praise or condemnation. The variety and strength of his desires are evidence of power; the adventure of life is in meeting conflicts, which are all the more acute with those who command large resources in desire. Feeble appetites, lack of curiosity and sensibility, provide us with docile pupils fit for serfdom, the robots of Kapek's drama. The war in the inner self can only be waged within the self, and a plan of education is finally tested by its success in aiding the pupil to self-mastery. He is moved this way or that by particular dispositions which we call motives: a little child, for example, dislikes the drudgery of doing sums, but likes sweets: we have the sweets to give or to withhold and can induce him to do the sums and to get them right by the promise of sweets. This is the method of the animal trainer, and of all mothers with those charming animals we call babies: but we have to be very careful, for unless the new disposition becomes well established neither animal nor baby is the better for our interference, since the conflict has not been resolved. The issues here opened up carry us back to the theme which we postponed at the end of Chapter VI, the very practical problem of rewards and punishments.

School Reports and Child-study Records.—This chapter has reviewed the behaviour of young people as they respond to what is offered them at school: the teacher witnesses this response and occasionally makes notes upon it, 'clinical' observations as they are called in medicine. It is seldom, however, that time can be found to keep regular memoranda and we rely upon our memories, as

busy practitioners have to in other callings. Yet a great deal of information about our pupils' progress takes written shape; some of it is gloomy, as when the Log-book has to note occasions for corporal punishment. Records of marks for school work, of places in class, are more in evidence and serve as the main source from which teachers and parents estimate the worth of school lessons. In secondary schools they serve as a basis for the judgments recorded in terminal reports: these documents are sometimes highly prized, sometimes they cause needless anxiety; I have known them, once and again, to excite much mirth when parents showed them to their volatile offspring. A far more serious judgment is pronounced in the Leaving Certificate, to which frequent reference has been made in both these volumes.

In all this field of observation and judgment a wide gulf should separate the tentative, confidential record of the practitioner, based on a scientific judgment, from the open decisive record of attainments to which reports and certificates should be confined. The latter records facts (the facts may of course be misleading), the former is an attempt at diagnosis, interpretation of the facts, helped out by other facts which are not published. The distinction between what is confidential and what is published is sometimes overlooked, but it needs to be stressed, for while at times our pupils do well to examine their own behaviour, at times are the better for hearing what their elders think about them, one doubts how far young people are aided by deliberate attempts to foster introspection. The doctors at least are cautious in telling patients all that they infer from the data of a diagnosis.

None the less it is important that diagnosis should be made; important that the teacher should reflect more upon behaviour than does the common man who, as he

passes to and fro among his fellows, keeps in memory their response to circumstance. Many teachers, and a few parents, have not only carefully noted children's ways, but have recorded them, and *child study* serves as a useful technical term to describe such work. As used at first by Stanley Hall and his School, the term was restricted to the questionnaire method, but it was obvious then, and is nowadays still more recognized, that the widespread questionnaire is only of value to an investigator who has already gained skill as a close observer of a few children. Used in that sense of the word the founders of child study were the great private tutors,[1] beginning with Locke, whose *Thoughts* were the direct outcome of his observations of a few children, patiently carried out for many years both as physician and as teacher in the true Baconian tradition. Without such scholarly equipment Pestalozzi bettered their example, as witness his notes on the waifs of Neuhof and on his own son's development.[2] Herbart made even more of child study when he wrote every two months a report to the father[3] of the three boys whom a shrewd merchant of Oldenburg entrusted to the young philosopher. The great days of private tuition have passed: later records by men of philosophic power have usually been the outcome of observation of their own children.[4] Yet there are hazards in attempting to diagnose and prescribe for one's children: some notorious examples in America are well known, where a proud father or mother, blessed with a precocious infant, pushes him forward years beyond the average pace and

[1] See Vol. I, p. 112

[2] See De Guimp's *Pestalozzi*, translated by John Russell, chaps. iv and v.

[3] J. F. Herbart, *Briefe an Herr von Steiger*.

[4] E.g. James Sully in the '90s and Bertrand Russell at the present day: see references in Index.

then writes a book on education based solely on this experience.

We are now in an era when child study is given more systematic treatment: the children's clinics established in different parts of the world are no longer confined to records of health and physique: aspects of mental behaviour are of equal importance. It is from establishments of this kind, and from work like that of Professor Burt among delinquents, that teachers have been for some time drawing the best counsel. The bridge between these elaborate scientific records and the summary procedure for which alone the ordinary school teacher has time ought to be made in the demonstration school, where teachers and students-in-training devote special attention to a few scholars at a time.[1] There can be no doubt that the future of psychology in the teaching profession depends largely upon the opportunities afforded to young men and women, while undergoing their course of training, to come into contact with a few children for at least some months, and to study these under the guidance of skilled observers : in other words, to assist in clinical observation at the same time that they assist in the education, or re-education, of these children. If space allowed it might be helpful to offer examples of the forms used by psychologists who keep continuous records of children's development, but the references to authors given above may serve the purpose.

[1] See Dr. Thistleton Mark and Miss B. Foxley in *The Fielden Demonstration School Record*, vol. i, chap. i. See also *The Forum of Education*, February 1924.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RESPONSE (*continued*): B. INCENTIVES (REWARD AND PUNISHMENT)

IN normal circumstances extraneous motives do not come into consciousness: if the work before us is congenial we need no introspection to explain why we undertake it; and what is true of adults is still more true of children: they are thrown off the track when we heedlessly present them with incentives, whether of reward or of penalty.

This is the general position and it needs to be emphasized only because society, both in the State and in the school, has so often ignored it. The State is pictured as an institution concerned largely with courts and jails; the schoolmaster by tradition is the man who wields the rod. These are false images just because they misconceive the facts: treating the exceptional, the abnormal, as the regular process of human nature. The general position has already been illustrated by practical problems raised in Chapter V. School attendance, for example, does not require enforcement under normal conditions.[1] Children come to school simply because it is the custom: if a motive is to be diagnosed the routine habits of custom become positively enjoyable by the opportunity of meeting their fellows; even the dullest of schools is welcomed unless its stupidities are exaggerated by malevolent harshness and tyranny.

Sinister repression is, however, less and less in vogue:

[1] Compare p. 101 above.

on the contrary the school of to-day is a pleasant place for most children; above all in congested areas where its precincts supply a welcome refuge. No doubt there are a few impish spirits ready once and again to play truant, breaking the monotonous round of custom, displaying here and there an energy which may be full of promise, although the law has to frown upon the specific act. Yet since such variations are only exceptional they do not warrant the action of some Authorities, who reward the school which can total up the highest percentage of attendances with an Attendance Shield; or even with an extra holiday, releasing the children from a meeting which they enjoy.

The persuasive force of custom extends to the day's routine: teachers often forget this, especially in their student-teacher days. They are urged to 'maintain' discipline, and older teachers often exaggerate the difficulties which may be encountered. Yet the chief difficulty may lie in their own minds, which image a social situation contrary to the facts. Young teachers should assume that order will prevail in their presence just as older teachers assume it: discipline does not always maintain itself, yet it is nearer the truth to say that the machine will run smoothly unless you wantonly put it out of gear.

The problem of incentives then only arises when the machine *is* out of gear: whatever be the cause, we find our pupils are contrariant, unable or unwilling to give spontaneous attention to the business in hand. How are we to bring them back to attention? The influence of custom and routine has failed: custom is indeed only effective as a preliminary to the active flow of mind, attending to an engrossing theme. But, let us suppose, the force of custom, the example of fellow-scholars, the stimulus of rivalry and fellowship have all

failed: twenty members of our class are attending, but ten others are absent in mind, occupied with other matters. The problem of incentive now arises as a specific problem, relating not to the general disposition or motive which stirs the young to effort, but to a definite topic for which *we* desire their regard while *they* remain indifferent, even perhaps hostile. The teacher has to make up his mind whether he shall stimulate attention to this topic or leave the wanderers to go their own way.

To think out the situation clearly we must rule out irrelevant features. Some of our scholars, e.g., may be fatigued or positively ill: short-sighted scholars can scarcely be expected to attend to a blackboard which they cannot decipher. Further, we must assume that we have done our best not only to reckon with such positive disabilities, but that we have provided an occupation for our class which is reasonable and under normal conditions enjoyable, 'introducing' (see Chapter XV) novel demands with care and preparing the lessons with due foresight. These preliminaries are to be assumed before the question of incentive, i.e. of extraneous motive, arises: what are we to do, or are we to do anything, when the disposition of one or more of our pupils, or even of a whole class, is still contrariant? Are teachers justified in copying the method of animal trainers and of mothers by appealing to incentives, i.e. to ideas which are not *ad rem*, which have no logical connexion with the subject in hand, but will act as a temporary stimulant, on the analogy of a physician's drug, arousing emotions adapted to bring the wanderer back to the fold? The doctor's medicine is not prescribed as nourishment; it is an alien intruder taken simply to induce a condition in which the normal operations of nature can again hold sway. The physician of the 'nature-cure' school, if he is a whole-hogger,

throws away the entire pharmacopœia, believing that the physical like the mental life can best be renewed from within. The analogy is fairly close and the pros and cons of the argument very similar: but in medical practice the results can be tested far more accurately than has hitherto been found possible in our schools.

The analogy may be extended to cover other points in the use of incentives that are pretty obvious, e.g. the application should be *prompt*, otherwise the relation of cause and effect is not perceived. It must be *forgotten* (so far as any experience can be dismissed): if the mind dwells on extraneous hopes and fears interest flutters around the exciting episodes, shutting out intrinsic interests of permanent worth. A new start is to be made as soon as the incident is closed, the teacher regarding the pupil as restored to health, requiring neither indulgence nor the opposite: there can be no ticket-of-leave system in education. However much one may be tried by the continual repetition of small follies we add to the folly if we feel resentment: or, *per contra*, make favourites of the 'good' scholars. Again, *the minimum dose* must be applied, whether positive or negative; a sound caution, but it is not always easy to weigh out the right quantum.

The educational reformer, whose efforts we notice in a subsequent chapter, is here diametrically opposed to the conventional teacher who has to steer the team in a large 'system' side by side with other teachers, with parents, with Authorities, all of whom are part and parcel of a huge social institution. The reformer holds that the only activities worth our regard spring from the spontaneous absorbed attention of teacher and pupil in a worthy pursuit; that incentives, whether in the mind of teacher or scholar, are a disturbance, an intrusion, having the effect of breaking the rhythm.

This is undeniable, as we all know when we are disturbed in any train of thought. These great teachers, who work out new curricula and new principles of method, have no use either for reward or punishment, since both they and the absorbed scholars whom they educate have something better to attend to. We humdrum folk who have served our day and generation in the public system cannot dispute the logic of their position. We are all too prone to forget that absorption in the business of the moment is essential to achievement *when the mind is breaking into a novel field of effort.* Hence when pupils are working on a mechanical level, doing sums, copying an exercise, or other forms of drill, they can endure interruptions without loss and resume where they broke off: but when the mathematical principle on which the sums are based is in question, intrusion of extraneous idea or impulse is fatal. There is a rhythm in these processes: we must plunge, head and ears, into the new sea; and then return, shaking our heads, looking about us, feeling the new experience at leisure in its relation to other concerns: it is in these times of leisure that we can allow the intrusion, if need arise, of incentives.

When the position is so defined one may maintain, in the face of the most ardent reformer, that incentives are not only legitimate but are as much matters of fact, of daily experience, as are the facts of that absorption in learning which is the ideal of class-room activity. And being myself on the side of the reformers I would fain bring their philosophy into harmony with that of the practical teacher.

I call to mind, for example, two head teachers of a pronounced bent towards radical reform who were allowed a free hand by the goodwill of L.E. Authorities in the North of England: their work was well known,

visited to excess by inquirers and constantly discussed and 'written up' at education conferences. I had the privilege of spending a day in each of these schools, time enough to form an impression though quite inadequate for a scientific inquiry; this would have needed a month, since a fair judgment could only be made after detailed investigation of the life-history and record of a number of pupils. For example, in one of these schools a lad of ten or so spent the day doing nothing; he was not asleep but just looked on, ready to play with anyone who would amuse him, but his comrades were happily occupied and left him alone. It transpired that the boy had been in this condition since he entered the school two or three weeks before, having come recently to the neighbourhood (to which his parents had flitted from a large city). The boy did not display any vicious habits, he did not 'hate' school or his teachers, did not play truant: he simply was not interested. The diagnosis pointed to the source of this indifference in the previous schooling of the lad, which had steadily undermined his active interests, with further depression induced by mean streets and a sordid home. The treatment consisted just in leaving 'nature' to work slowly back to the normal, in the confident belief that the intrinsic interest of the pursuits in which his fellows and their teachers were engaged would in time—perhaps in another month—effect the desired change in disposition without the intervention of incentives: all the teachers were concerned about was to regard the boy with goodwill, only interfering if he actively interfered with others. Some visitors were shocked by what appeared to be sheer neglect, but I am by no means sure, and I greatly regret that I did not follow up the case to ascertain if the treatment achieved its end. One defect in the treatment was, however, apparent: the

apathy had been partly induced by the home environment; and yet neither of these schools was solicitous to establish harmony between school and home (see Vol. I, pp. 237–40): the teachers regarded the parent community as outsiders, who, if anything, were hostile to the novel practices here adopted; rejecting incentives, they relied solely on the power of a reformed school society to re-educate the forlorn attitude of a rebel[1]: the loss of a few weeks in time would be amply compensated for by the abundance of mental health and energy evinced when the patient had found within himself the motives for activity. Timid teachers would fear that events would not work so happily; they would anticipate that this lad's example would prove infectious, for they would not have confidence in the normal health of the school to resist the infection.

Now this illustration is an extreme case, only possible in a school where the staff were united in a thorough application of theory to practice. They sought to develop minds which of their own motion would all the time be happily energized in spontaneous effort. Yet one doubts whether the enjoyment of such efforts will carry all pupils over the points of strain where drudgery, attention to details, regard for convention, are inevitable. These youngsters, for example, were keen in their reading and lively in composition, but their spelling was at fault. Now it is not fair to the young for us to relax our discipline, to withhold incentives, in matters for which their own experience affords no clue as to the demands of society. Accuracy in arithmetic, care in handwriting,

[1] Compare Tompkins, *Philosophy of School Management* (1895), pp. 162–8, for a piquant example with older scholars. "The pupil who breaks the unity must, by his own act of mind, restore it." Both this and the companion volume by the same author, *Philosophy of School Teaching*, are by no means out of date though out of print.

sometimes even cleanliness and courtesy, need attention which is often not forthcoming apart from specific inducements. This is the fact in the happiest of schools and of homes: still more in large communities where the system of necessity places all sorts of obstacles in the way of 'natural' development. The physician tells you the same story about drugs: if he had complete control over the patient's behaviour, his diet and exercise, for a sufficient length of time, he would venture either to dispense with drugs or reduce them to a minimum: but he interferes with nature because the environment in which he has to cope with the disease is far from ideal. The analogy may be carried further, since most patients believe in the medicine bottle and trust in the power of its suggestion rather than in their own power of recuperation: school children also 'believe' in punishment, as was demonstrated long ago by Earl Barnes in his investigation of *Children's Attitude towards Punishment*.[1] This is what one would expect, for the young can only form their notions from the society around them: they are not educational reformers. They are much less inclined to the sentiment of 'soft pedagogy' than we are: they see no reason why naughty children should be happy any more than naughty men and women. The best help we can give them is to clear up their minds in due course as to what sort of conduct is to be labelled 'naughty.'

A sound view of incentives can indeed only be secured when we look at human nature in general before adopting a *yea or nay* position in the school. Inner conflict between dispositions continues at all stages of life: he who would declare himself above the hope of reward or the fear of penalty has not adequately searched his own heart. He

[1] *Studies in Education*, vol. ii (1898). Another important contribution to research from U.S.A. which is by no means out of date.

may certainly claim that he faces his fears and discounts his hopes; that by such introspection he exalts his motives and harmonizes the ideal with the practical. But the hopes and fears that have hung about him since he entered the world, the dispositions of a 'lower' self, are never wholly extinguished. What happens with the saint, the truly great, is that the incentives themselves take on a higher quality: his reward is 'in heaven' and he is content to wait for it: nevertheless he still hopes, still looks for a reward: and unless this promise were in his mind, unless some sort of heaven loomed ahead, might he not fail of his sainthood?

The classic example is in the parable of the Talents: "Well done, good and faithful servant"; this is the first reward:—praise; even the best of men seem glad to be well spoken of.[1] Thereupon follows a second reward: more work, more opportunity: faithful over a few things, ruler over many things. For the life, normal, harmonious, wants to flow on, absorbed in achievement, too busy to think about the sequel. Hence it may be fairly objected that this second reward, as I have named it, is not really an incentive at all. No more it is, unless the 'servant' thinks of it in that way, distinguishing between himself as an organism needing opportunity and the service wherein the opportunity finds its goal. The conflict between dispositions is thus resolved: incentive, as we agreed, has no place when the work itself absorbs the whole of one's energies. The one-talent man, envious and fearful, gets all the blame which he anticipated from his 'hard' employer, but added to that is the real punishment:—to weep in idle-

[1] At the lower levels many will not use their talents unless their success is published. Yet in spite of the orthodox economists one hears that many workers prefer the reward of praise to a rise in salary: they may be foolish, but we are only concerned with facts.

ness, out of a job, without another chance. The operation of incentives is as clear in his case as in that of his diligent comrade: he had allowed his disposition towards work to be overlaid by emotions of envy and hate. Was it a punishment to him to be deprived of his talent, of the opportunity for work? Undoubtedly, and the same attitude is to be seen with the most inveterate of idlers, found either in prisons or in schools. Thus the problem of incentives resolves itself partly into differences of kind or quality: a low-grade incentive may help along an infant, or a man who is arrested at a childish stage of development; the loftier spirit will only be incited by higher types of stimulant. And these we call ideals, for ideals are hopes of finer issues, whether for ourselves or for our kind.

Positive and Negative Incentives.—We have spoken hitherto of reward and punishment as equally available. In many situations both are at our command: is it immaterial whether the one or the other is employed, so long as the patient reverts to normal activity? Assuming that incentives, of this or that quality, are in operation, shall we select those that exhilarate and promise, or those that threaten and forbid? Off-hand one would say 'Promise' by all means, for we do not want to add to the depression, the dark fears which already make life so gloomy: with the young especially one ought to be buoyant and encouraging. In the face of what seems so obvious it is surprising to see how full our pedagogic traditions have been of punishment and correction, in contrast with the small notice claimed by the 'plus' incentives. Is there some malevolent disposition lurking in men's hearts that lets itself out in sadistic wishes to get even with the contrariant creatures we are set to govern? No doubt there is a bit of Squeers in all of us, yet the position is not justly explained on Dickens's

hypothesis. The truth is that one cannot set reward (+incentive) and punishment (— incentive) over against each other in simple antithesis, plus versus minus. For while punishment is designed to anticipate or hinder mischief, rewards, as we have seen, operate also in the regular course of smooth progress. Good conduct gets its reward anyway, even if the teacher does not say 'Well done': the plus incentive need not be symbolized, even by a word of praise: it operates in the mind, in the sphere of motive, so that success in achievement does literally constitute its own reward, as the parable shows. But since punishment means inhibition and the thwarting of impulse, the check, warning or penalty must be more in evidence.

All plans of government therefore indicate, implicitly or openly, the consequence of failure, the negation of loss or penalty. No one, for example, expects to be rewarded for good conduct in a railway compartment: if, however, a passenger is freakishly inclined to pull the alarm signal, he is inhibited by a threat "not exceeding £5." If he is not so inclined the penalty is not a punishment to him: it is in fact an added security against the possible whim of a fellow-passenger. The whole doctrine of punishment rests on the frailty of human nature, and our attitude, both in administering and in receiving, is wholesome or otherwise just so far as we both acknowledge the possibility of error and determine to keep the procedure 'in the background'; normal behaviour should advance without the intrusion of any incentive. The law is "not made for a righteous man, but . . . for sinners," for those who already in intention are wrongdoers. Hence law making, in all communities, is hedged about with warnings and penalties.

This position, however, does not justify us in making a parade of regulations and threats. Just as the physician

seeks for the minimum dose which will effect a cure, so the wise governor reduces government, with its minus incentives, to the lowest point consistent with safeguarding the smooth working of the social order. Rules are necessary, and penalties attached to the breach of them may be specified in advance: so long as the necessity is evident no infringement of liberty is felt by those who fall under the yoke. They operate in the school as in the State, over all behaviour which can normally be expected from normal 'citizens.' Children, as we have seen, do not resent such a régime: when they are permitted, as in self-government schemes, to bear a hand in constructing rules and codes they are often more inclined to severity than are their elders.

Thus a sphere for negative incentives seems well marked out: and if the school had no other responsibility for the character of its citizens than is assumed by the State we could leave the matter there and decide that when incentives *are* needed the negative incentive must always be selected. The school, however, holds itself responsible for individual progress (Vol. I, p. 24), for character, which we have defined as the sum of dispositions: sound political science assigns no such function to the State. Indirectly no doubt the influence of good government in the State, as in all well-conducted groups, assists us to right behaviour[1]: yet it has no business to interfere with our morals, beyond checking us when we transgress the law. If a man declines to improve his

[1] The ethics of State government lie outside our discussion: and are only useful here by way of analogy. All societies which evince a keen sense of fellowship 'delight to honour' those who render conspicuous service, i.e. they offer positive incentives. Some of those who receive honours accept them in response to ideal sentiments and are not incited to patriotism in the hope of securing 'recognition.' On the other hand, the lavish distribution of titles is symptomatic of a government which holds human nature in low esteem.

mind or to cultivate his tastes, that is no concern of the commonwealth. In these days this position is compromised, for Education Authorities discharge onerous responsibilities towards the young; yet the whole trend of argument in Section II points to limits of State usefulness in Education, limits set by its inability to interfere directly in these higher matters of personal development. As an official organ of the State the school tends to become a mechanically ruled society, skilled in the prevention of misrule but weak in the promotion of energy: statesmanship in Education is therefore seen in those self-denying ordinances by which Boards of Education relinquish direct control in all possible ways (Vol. I, Chapters XI and XII).

The fact is that in all places of education positive incentives are always being employed, even by the most pronounced reformers, who detest the very idea of punishment: they detest equally the appeal to reward and stigmatize the appeal as bribery,[1] yet their pupils are certain to be encouraged by their praise, by a smile and a 'good word': in the calm indifference of an essay on education we may discount these influences, but we may be sure that Professor Dewey would not hesitate to say "Well done." Disagreements at this point depend in reality on our theory of development, on our view of the status of a child which we have already discussed. One may hold that it is right to encourage progress in the young by definitely offering them inducements which would degrade[2] if offered to them in excess

[1] See p. 176 above.

[2] These gradations need to be followed up in detail, distinguishing the operation of promises and rewards in different types of school, from the infant class to the university, and to adult education. The older our pupils the less ought they or their instructors to be disturbed by extraneous motives. Degrees and diplomas are not primarily designed as titles of adornment, but as evidence of qualification; the incentive comes from

or if continued as an habitual appeal into adult life. We may hold to an ideal conception of conduct for the grown man, while admitting that the young can only develop to adult status by the aid of props adapted to their halting steps. On the other hand, there are many people who profess a belief in low-grade incentives as operating at all stages of life: thus many economists still base their theory of business, of the relations of the employer and the employee, on the sole incentive of gain: both Adam Smith and Karl Marx founded their doctrine on this contention. Yet in business affairs one can emphatically repudiate the doctrine of 'the economic man' with its consequent theory of incentives, while in pedagogics (both as parent and as teacher) one can accept a doctrine of development which allows, with due caution, of a place for both rewards and punishments.

. Assuming then that incentives operate, the question is now reduced to one of choice between the negative and the positive poles: and it seems clear that the positive alone is in place in furthering the distinctive aims of the school.

"What sort of incentives are in place when we urge our scholars to improve themselves? In other words, what sort of associations are we to set up as between incentive and achievement? If, for example, I want my young friend to draw a

the hope of entering on a profession. Stipendia and scholarships are sought because the money will provide further opportunity for study. Our best students are like good citizens, caring little for symbols and prizes which have no remoter end in view. Benefactors who found special prizes, associated with their names, with special regulations, often cause grievous waste of energy, as may be seen on perusing those pages of College Calendars allotted to scholarships and prizes. Just now (November 1926) Mr. Bernard Shaw contributes a sparkling illustration: he has been compelled to waste some of his energy in expounding (*coram populo* of course) his views on the Nobel Prize for Literature. Even at seventy, it appears, a man may be still jealous for recognition, even though he can afford to repudiate prize-money.

good design and he is disinclined, am I to threaten or encourage? The classic instance is that of Dr. Keate—of enduring fame as a flogger. Keate is teaching the New Testament on a Sabbath morning and reads the beatitude 'Blessed are the pure in heart.' 'Now, boys,' says the genial pedagogue, 'you must be pure in heart. If you won't, I'll flog you till you are.' [1] The conclusion is evident. If our purpose in teaching be to secure a formal external result we may rely on fear dispositions to secure it: but the association thus established between school study and school penalty makes the memory of these studies a hateful memory. You cannot drive anyone, young or old, to scholarship, to taste, to virtue. The more intimate and personal the culture you offer him, the less can you hope to *make* him take his share through your superior power. 'But,' it will be protested, 'are children never to be punished if they neglect their lessons? If they are idle and inattentive at their sums are they always to be bribed rather than coerced, for fear of their getting a dislike of mathematics?' Our analysis has supplied an answer to these questions. If the scholar's failure is due to general habits of idleness and carelessness, then government *may* step in with the penalties of government. But if failure is due to a specific defect in the mastery of number, then a pleasure incentive *must* be selected: you may punish a dog for running away, but not for refusing to eat his dinner. It is true that school is provided to enable the scholar to improve himself and since incentives affect him they should be admitted. But, after all, school is not life: there are some to whom scholastic pursuits do not appeal: such natures have their rights, and if the horse being led to the water refuses to drink, let Nature have her way. Even in medicine physicians meet with patients, now and again, whom they cannot cure: we too may be permitted a percentage of failures." [2]

Care is not always taken to make sure at which pole any given incentive is operating. Schools devise ingenious

[1] See Lyte, *History of Eton College*, where the legend is recorded in a slightly different form.

[2] From a contribution by the present writer (*Educational Times*, March 1909).

plans to stimulate effort, but sometimes the incentive proposed does not move the minds of pupils; in other words it is not a real incentive, and the plan is just a distraction and a waste of time: sometimes worse happens, what is meant as encouragement operates as depression and punishment. In a certain girls' school it is customary to award a prize to every 'leaver' who has spent six years in the place without receiving a bad conduct mark. Now, Lilian X had achieved this reward (a prize, be it noted, for escaping penalties), being a model stupid person: her fond father, thereupon, urged Mabel X, a lively younger sister, to achieve the same proud distinction. This stimulus proved to be an intolerable punishment: day by day she went in fear of being caught in some impish outbreak: her happy genial nature was depressed. What the teachers devised as an ongoing stimulus became a decisive chilling deterrent. The effect of incentives on the mind is at least as difficult to trace as the effect of drugs on the body.

Varieties of Incentive.—While the distinction between positive and negative is the most important division to be kept in mind, there are others which need consideration. We note below[1] the distinction between natural and artificial on which Herbert Spencer enlarged. His famous essay deals very largely with punishment, defending what he calls the Normal System or the Natural System with extraordinary vivacity. The following is a characteristic passage: "Let your penalties be like the penalties inflicted by inanimate Nature—inevitable. The hot cinder burns the child the first time he seizes it; it burns him the second time; it burns him the third time; it burns him every time; and he very soon learns not to touch the hot cinder. If you are equally consistent—if the consequences which you tell

[1] See p. 250.

your child will follow specified acts, follow with like uniformity, he will soon come to respect your laws as he does that of Nature. And this respect, once established, will prevent endless domestic evils." He was addressing mothers with some leisure to train their children in a nursery and was not concerned to think out the problem of discipline in a class-room; nevertheless his leading principle is sound: he asks for consistency and uniformity in relating cause with effect: children at school look for consistency in our treatment of their behaviour.[1] But the argument is really not strengthened by using the analogy with Nature, even with a capital N. For, as he admits elsewhere, the mother should show affection for her child, and Nature stands aloof from emotion. He enjoins the mother to show parental displeasure, as a "secondary kind of punishment," accompanying the "natural penalties." The epithet 'natural' is sadly overworked: both at home and at school we employ artifice, we think and plan, so that the young may be saved from some of the suffering which ensues when left too much to themselves. The hot-cinder episode is a useful illustration of the need of uniformity, but it does not satisfy a teacher who desires the child to learn something more about heat than merely to avoid its excess. The impulse of curiosity is a welcome display of energy: what the child ought to learn is the method by which both housemaid and man of science can master cinders and flames until they handle them without dread. Such a mastery can also be called natural, if we like to attach this epithet to scientific study: a school course on Heat is 'natural.' All arguments which appeal to Nature are shifty; they tempt one to abandon thought and prevision. If the term be

[1] Compare again Earl Barnes, *Children's Attitude towards Punishment*, loc. cit.

employed at all one should confine it to desires and motives which arise out of the activity itself, apart from extraneous inducements. Thus, if I like algebra it will be natural to me to want further opportunities for the study. Or as in the parable :—having enjoyed trading with five talents the worker is rewarded with an enlargement of business and of service. But by our definition of an incentive we are dealing with situations where this natural process has broken down : hence all incentives, whether plus or minus, are to be classed as artificial if we wish to introduce the question-begging analogy at all.

The analogy, however, may help us to see how by artifice we can associate cause and effect in a child's mind. Herbert Spencer supplies excellent illustrations : the children are untidy and impulsive, they neglect to put away their toys : Jane, the maid, is instructed not to wait upon them and tidy up for them, but to refuse on the next occasion to let them have the pleasure. This, says Spencer, is natural : we should rather say that it is an artificial rule, which a good many Janes are unwilling to carry out : it is an artifice, planned to imitate what sometimes, but by no means always, happens when Nature is left to herself. A penalty is devised which will suggest to the child the need for tidy habits, by withholding a pleasure relating to the offence. This principle is followed when detention is imposed as a punishment for tardiness, when a lesson neglected at home has to be learned again out of school, when a bully is flogged in order to make him feel what it is like to suffer pain . . . and so on. We may describe such a principle as *representative*, but I hesitate to suggest new epithets lest one should fall into the same snare which, to my thinking, entrapped Herbert Spencer. For if we justify a formal code of penalties merely on the ground that they are representative or imitative of

Nature we may easily go astray. Are we, for example, justified in using corporal punishment on a bully? We may be doing right, if the shock of pain will lead him to self-control. Yet if our treatment stops there he has not been cured of the deeper malady in his disposition: he may continue to be a bully in disposition, an enemy of his kind, open to learn more cunning tricks by which to assert his power, becoming then a more dangerous enemy of society. Or are we to keep children in after school-hours as the just or natural or representative penalty for their tardiness and idleness? The pros and cons about detention are almost too familiar for repetition: to jail an offender in the school leads him to look upon the place *as* a jail: to keep him within doors, when his health demands free time in the open air, is an injury (to the teacher as well as to the culprit). On the other hand it is quite certain that the fear of losing liberty (with its corresponding plus incentive, the hope of being free) is an inducement that often works: furthermore, the elementary sense of justice, of fairness, leads children at an early age to agree that work ought to be done, and to accept a moderate amount of detention as a just penalty for neglect: they accept this relation of cause and effect as a part of the natural order of things and do not feel resentment: always assuming that the work which had been neglected was itself a just demand.

Symbolic Incentives: Marks and the Like.—Now while it is of capital importance that the dispenser of rewards and punishments should be just in his dealings, justice alone will not carry us through. If we are simply traders, exacting so much work at the price of an assigned reward or penalty, justice is certainly the one virtue to be held aloft. Our purpose is otherwise: we are concerned to affect the pupil's disposition, and if we can achieve this end without a debit-credit account, if we can replace

solid incentives by symbols which affect his emotions equally well, so much the better: we have economized in time and effort. Thus many schools adopt a scale of marks both for work and for conduct. Marks assigned for work serve a double purpose: they are a quantitative representation and record enabling all parties concerned to weigh up the progress of a scholar, just as a labourer's work can be measured on a scale; at the same time they may serve as an incentive, if the record actually stimulates the worker to improve. Conduct marks are more sophisticated: they attempt to measure what cannot be reduced to scale; they can only be justified as an economic form of incentive, creating an impression which may lead to improvement. Their value depends upon a kind of pretence or fiction, valid just so far as the pupil feels the effect. One finds, for example, that so many marks are credited to a pupil for Good Conduct over a stipulated period of weeks: if he offends he may forfeit one or more of these. In reality he is being marked for bad conduct, and the disguise is pretty thin; as we have seen, good conduct is its own reward; the good-conduct mark is invented because the teacher anticipates that everyone will not be 'good': whether the pupil forfeits a good-conduct mark or receives a 'bad' mark, the mental process is the same: the record is expected to cause pain and lead to amendment. If it is found that an offender is callous about the procedure further treatment may be kept in reserve: thus if he forfeits so many good marks or receives so many bad marks within the assigned period[1] he may be actually

[1] At a school within my memory Saturday was made a cheerful day of reckoning: the register of bad marks was read out to the assembly: those who had got six were detained for the afternoon: the rest were let off with a warning. Smart boys aimed at five, but sometimes over-reached themselves!

punished, by detention, by reporting to the principal, in extreme cases by being required to withdraw from the school. In other words the mark stands, a record of past history, a defaulter's bill which may or may not be presented: the police follow this principle when they bring up the record of an old offender.

In all matters of behaviour this generation has come to take a standpoint very different from that witnessed, for example, in the '70s, when the present writer was a schoolboy: we are not, one hopes, more lax, more indifferent, but we are less censorious and more cautious: "Judge not" is more often on our lips than formerly. The change, whether it springs from charity and tolerance or from indulgence, has not openly affected the schools, for teachers must be conservative (Vol. I, pp. 25–9); yet it justifies one to-day in advising that as little as possible be noted, either in speech or in written reports, about *general* conduct, whether good or bad. In reformatories or in schools for backward children (as in the Army and the Navy), plans for behaviour incentives both symbolic and tangible may be necessary: where they are still organized in normal places of education they are a survival of habits of mind which should yield to a juster apprehension of the springs of conduct. The defence made for these representative marks is the same as that made for corporal chastisement: they are economical of time and they are often effective at the moment. We distrust them just because an immediate result is so often secured at the cost of subsequent injury to character.

Social Pressure: Influence of School Opinion and Emulation.—Marks set down as a quantitative estimate of work are on a different footing, and belong to the system of examination and record, of correction and amendment, which we have already discussed. It is

true that they also serve as an incentive, yet they need not be planned for that purpose and the less we use them as 'double-purpose' machinery the better. Thus an examination list is posted; A gets 40, B 70 and C 80 per cent. Our concern with each pupil is to put him in relation to the maximum: teacher and taught both need to know that fact. Since however the examination covers many pupils and all are examined together, each is compared with the rest; rivalries friendly and unfriendly play their part, and the teacher, if he likes, can play upon these social impulses, just as one does in games and races. The text-books label the impulse *emulation* and are uneasy whether to approve or to frown upon it. Bagley [1] strikes a balance, "the evil must be measured up against the good" . . . "not, Is there any danger in using this method?, but rather, Are the possible benefits numerous enough and certain enough to warrant the risk? If this test is applied to emulation as a school incentive, especially during the pre-adolescent period, there can be little doubt of a favourable verdict." This weighing up of 'dangers' and 'methods' is a hazardous proceeding: we are all too prone to take up the scales and settle young folks' destiny for them. We certainly cannot deny that emulation is a fact and that the pleasure of comparison and competition, so long as it is friendly, is wholesome. We must also admit, if we allow any force to moral ideals, that 'envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness' may sprout in this same seed-bed. The way out of the dilemma is to leave it alone and keep to our proper duty, which is to award marks for work done and leave emulation to play its part, without being either fostered or censured by our interference. Being ourselves human beings (with, one may hope, still some trace of pre-adolescent impulses to enjoy a fight)

[1] *Classroom Management*, p. 180.

we shall also make comparisons, but we have no call to use our scholar's social impulses as a 'method,' as an incentive, since our business is to get him to care for the work as such. Thus B and C may run one another pretty close both in classics and in cricket. The rivalry may stir both of them to exertion; the publication of the score is an incentive to effort, and it is folly for us to deplore this cause-and-effect fact,[1] or to refuse to publish the marks for fear lest ideals will be lowered. On the other hand, if we 'use' the method we are teaching these boys a bad lesson in morals, we are helping them to believe what is *not* fact, to believe that it is more important for C to beat B than to improve in cricket and classics. To pose as a moralist is to be a prig: yet to use emulation as the Jesuits used to do, and perhaps still do, may lead in the long run to those anti-social attitudes which intensify the antagonisms of business and politics.

A similar position may arise in the rivalries of Houses and of the teams and groups reported from the primary

[1] A University woman in her freshman year opens her mind to me on the state of things in the vigorous High School she has just left. She and her friend Gladys had great sport one year seeing which could beat the other in class work, and then cheerfully told the Headmistress of their rivalry. "No, my dear," was the reproof, "there must be no competition; that is unkind and unfriendly; your only competitor is yourself." Lists of marks are posted in alphabetical order for fear lest personal rivalry should be stimulated. The more knowing girls think this is 'all rot': they are sharp enough to see the difference between competition and comparison in business, where your gain is the rival's loss, and in geography where you both gain by scoring against each other. Half the fun of school life springs from making comparisons between one and another. And while this school dreads the excesses of individual emulation it uses without stint the social pressures of house and school 'loyalty,' until the girls 'get sick,' as they say, of the very word. The teachers are plucking fruit before it is ripe: "raw haste, half-sister to delay."

schools of Sheffield.[1] If this social pressure passes beyond the sphere of games and lessons, beyond the conventions of external custom and form to deeper concern of behaviour and good conduct, one begins to have doubts: the passage quoted from C. E. Montague [2] indicates the dilemma. On the one hand one knows that the leaders and elder scholars are often well adapted to help their comrades; on the other hand it is questionable how far a school staff should transfer the duty of curbing the recalcitrant on to the shoulders of older pupils.[3]

The Teacher's Personality.—The incentives so far discussed are designed apart from personal relation between teacher and scholar: yet the attitude of a teacher and of a staff towards the whole problem affects their operation at every turn, as is very clear from the topic of the last paragraph. When we come to the daily routine of the class-room these personal relations are paramount: the rules for punishment, for reporting to the principal and the like, when adopted in large schools, are really based on the frailty of the average teacher who cannot 'keep his own discipline.' Experienced teachers aim at securing their scholars' attention and inducing them to work without extraneous aid. One

[1] See p. 91 above.

[2] P. 64.

[3] Stanley quotes the following from one of Arnold's school addresses. "When I have confidence in the Sixth there is no post in England which I would exchange for this; but if they do not support me, I must go." This was a dramatic gesture, written and spoken in all sincerity, yet it does not ring true. If it had been addressed to colleagues or to a Governing Body it would have been more in place. The protest sprang from Arnold's psychology of adolescence "anticipating the common term of manhood" (p. 63 above and Vol. I, p. 68): some of our self-government reformers fall into the same snare. Modern youths bred in the less docile atmosphere of modern homes are not so easily beguiled to exaggerate their own importance. No headmaster in our day could utter such language: if he did his præpostors would scoff.

might therefore close the discussion at this point, and leave personality as too intimate a matter for analysis. Yet this is unjust to the young teacher, since our experience ought to be at hand to help him to adapt himself to the professional situation. Personality is no doubt a baffling theme,[1] yet disposition can be studied, and, if need arise, can be improved.

In Chapter V we noted the tendencies which aid the teacher in his relations with his class and, so far, enable him to dispense with incentives. If these tendencies are allowed full weight the first conclusion is that the thought of personal incentives while at work should be dismissed from the mind. The staff enter on the day's work, the teacher starts with a new class, without anticipating even in thought that anyone concerned is contrariant. Yet some experienced advisers take the opposite view: they caution the young teacher to be firm at the outset: "The great thing is to *begin* well, to show, to put it plainly, that you don't intend to 'stand any nonsense,' and when once the fact has been established, to win them over by kindness, and by taking an interest in their work and games alike. . . . This, coupled with the knowledge that is a reserve force behind, will make him both popular and respected."[2] But normal pupils, unless they are jail-birds, do not need to be won over by every new teacher: he has no business to be thinking about either popularity or respect, but to get on with the job. The emotional attitude betrayed by this passage was natural in an epoch when boys, either covertly or openly, were far more hostile to schooling than they are in these days. But the advice was surely wrong, even for those days: a prudent governor does not suppress incipient rebellion by showing his teeth like a

[1] See Vol. I, p. 36, for use of this term.

[2] Poole on *Form Management* in *General Aims of the Teacher* (1883).

dog in a farmyard. The teacher's inner will and determination are kept at a smooth level by beginning as he means to go on, i.e. by being just and friendly from the first moment, knowing that he has reserve force to meet obstacles if they arise, undisturbed by any thought about disorder until it actually occurs.

The most powerful weapon in the teacher's armoury is his tongue.[1] He can encourage by praise: he can repress by threats and sarcasm; looks and gesture are also effective. The value of these incentives lies in their economy: if they work so as to save the need for further stimulus they are good substitutes: if they need to be repeated until the scholars will not attend of their own motion they have failed. Sarcasm is out of place in the class-room, although it has a place in political oratory.[2]

[1] The late Mrs. Sarah Fielden came as a witness before the Royal Commission of 1888 and engaged in a lively discussion with them for an hour or more. At last a questioner turned to the problem of discipline: he asked whether she needed to use the cane in the elementary school on her estate at Todmorden. "No," replied the sprightly dame; "I can keep them in order with my tongue." They agreed and passed to another topic.

[2] "A clever young man comes as an assistant from the Universities where talk is keen and eager, and satire, good and bad, is rampant, and he is set down—by the wisdom of headmasters—to teach small boys. When they are ignorant or inattentive or stupid he begins to be sarcastic—i.e. to show a far worse ignorance and stupidity than theirs. They don't know what he means: they think he is hard on them: they are aware that he is laughing at them: they set him down as dull and bitter: and all his good qualities go for nothing. Moreover, it feels to them like an abuse of his position. He is older and cleverer than they are, and of course can 'score off' them if he tries, and say clever things at their expense: especially as they cannot reply. They think it unfair: and they are right. I knew a boy who said to a master in a moment of intimacy, 'Oh sir, I'll tell you a story which will amuse you, *as you are fond of bullying.*' It is difficult to imagine a bitterer thing said by an unconscious boy to an earnest teacher, as he was: and I know that the man felt it deeply." (Arthur Sidgwick on *Stimulus*, p. 42.) See Vol. I, p. 210.

Threats and warning, if given without anger, stand on another footing. First offenders are frequently 'let off with a caution' in police-courts: why should we be more drastic in schools? Of course if the offender has already been repeatedly threatened, by oneself or by others, if he already 'knows the ropes,' let the law take its course: yet none of these mottoes, such as "Never threaten, punish," "Put your foot down at once," are fair to the young.

In noting that threats should be given without anger a further question is raised: ought our feelings to be reckoned in as an influence upon the scholars? When we praise a boy for a performance which has really pleased us must we scruple to show our pleasure? And when we chide him are we to show anger? To put the question thus is really to answer it: it is no use pretending that we are without feelings, but it is equally useless to try to *employ* our emotions as a further stimulus to those we address. Our behaviour as normal adults, neither lavish in panegyric nor bristling with resentment, gives the clue to our demeanour at school. If we find ourselves short of self-control we can study the psychology of that disposition, and can re-educate ourselves both in our professional intercourse and in other spheres of life. The one error is to assume that we have a duty or a right to adopt attitudes in school life either of severity or of sympathy which are not natural to us at the time.

The same applies to what used to be called keeping up one's dignity. "Try to cultivate by your own example the high principle of work for the work's sake, and develop the ideas of honour and duty as the best education you can give your pupils. Be friendly with them without lapsing into familiarity, and sometimes unbend from the high position in which you are placed.

A brow of severity is not always needed." This extract from a text-book of Management surely strikes a false note? It smacks of my lord and lady 'trying' to condescend to the tenantry for their good. If a teacher is so self-conscious of his position his example will probably suggest anything but a meek and mild response from the children of our generation. We may exalt the obligations of our high calling to the highest in our private meditation, and when our conduct answers to our ideal all the better, but unless a spice of humour salts the attitude it may easily be mistaken for cant. The best thing to do with dignity—as with indignity—is to forget it: and to forget at the same time all other incentives that arise from gifts of temperament personality. If they operate of themselves, well and good: employed they become a pose.[1]

Now while the stand-offish attitude of the superior person defeats its end, in school as elsewhere, teachers occasionally fall into the opposite snare; they 'believe' in freedom, and when young were inclined to chafe at the necessary conventions of school life. They think that their example will afford the best incentive if they adopt the go-as-you-please policy and let the scholars feel that the teacher is one of them. This is, however, just as false to fact and may also become a pose. If you want to play with the boys in the playground or elsewhere by all means do so; they are glad to have you as a partner or coach: but if you are not so inclined, keep away; for your influence deserves to be lost if you join their company in order to show that you are a

[1] A famous teacher in his day, H. E. Bowen, of Harrow, wrote a scathing satire on such attitudes, which ought not to be forgotten: *Arnoldides Chiffers* (*Journal of Education*, 1895). Bowen's school songs, *Willow the King*, and the rest, set to music by John Farmer, are still treasured here and there.

good chum, when your real impulse is to seek the society of older folk. This same reaction against convention leads to confusion between the postures of superior dignity and the necessary acceptance of form and ceremony. Every community must have its occasions when order and punctilious procedure are appropriate: when you go on parade, you must be 'properly dressed.' Children have, or can readily acquire, a fine sense of what is due on these occasions and if we display indifference to form we may expect them to find us out. For example, if academic costume is the rule of a school or college, then we had better respect the uniform: we can assert our independence otherwise than by displaying a tattered gown. One may hold that the use of this costume should nowadays be confined to ceremonial assemblies, but, where the custom continues, its observance should be accepted: indication, superficial no doubt, but quite instructive to the young, of the readiness of the teacher to fall into line. If the illustration seems trivial for a book which has to get to The Foundations let the principle be accepted, for it is easily missed: ceremony has its place in all community life[1]; if we join the group we take our place in the procession: liberty is not endangered unless by excess of parade the life of our scholars is reduced to mechanism. If such happen, then our conscience may make us an objector and we shall withdraw: but we shall think twice before we identify temperament with conscience.

Coercion and Physical Pain.—We have already glanced at detention and corporal punishment as modes of incentive; their prominence in school life demands separate consideration. They have this in common as distinguished from stimulus due solely to the teacher's voice or manner:—they affect the physical frame directly.

[1] See p. 79 above.

Too much, however, should not be made of this feature in view of the cardinal doctrine of the body-mind; even a word of praise or blame stimulates bodily reaction. Harsh words which make a child weep may be as cruel as a blow: our praise and our prizes may not excite visible signs of pleasure, none the less the blood and nerves respond.

Coercion, restraint in any form, definitely appropriates the scholar's person and fixes him in place and time. School attendance already does this: the extreme advocates of freedom would abolish compulsion even here, and logically they are consistent. But they should push their logic still further and be challenged as to how early in life they will release the infant from coercion, for it is evident that few babies would survive if incentives, both oncoming and restraining, were not available. Now pain, i.e. physical pain, is the sequel to restraint: if the orders of the restrainer are resisted then the culprit is 'made' to obey, by laying hands on him: his struggles for freedom are countered by the physical assertion of superior power, and pain ensues. This is the case for corporal punishment stated in the simplest terms, and so stated, few will dispute the sheer fact, viz. that all compulsion rests ultimately on the power of authority to interfere with the body, and that this interference is a corporal punishment, a negative incentive to induce submission.

And there is another fact, less recognized in discussions on corporal punishment: every human being coming into the world as helpless infant experiences coercion and therefore comes to recognize, if only in the background of consciousness, that restraint is in the order of things and may be expected. Now along with the development of the self a sense of respect for the body grows: *noli me tangere* becomes a sentiment, until

sometimes we hear clap-trap about 'the sacredness of the human body,' as though the physical frame were an arcanum to be worshipped whatever be the state of mind. Yet this is not mere clap-trap if we give mind and body their due as an entity to be respected, whether the person in question be that of an English child or a black adult. We *may* claim a mandate to coerce either or both, yet how terribly open to abuse is the 'superior' mind of teacher or of colonial governor in the discharge of his office! The popular resentment in our epoch against corporal punishment, either in the family, the school or the State, is part and parcel of a general widening of sympathy, sympathy which extends, if it be genuine, to the whole condition, body and mind, of those over whom we exercise power.[1] The public mind is right in its resentment, because we discover more and more that if we are just to our neighbour we have less and less reason to exercise power over him. Opinion fastens on corporal punishment as a concrete sign of what is the root trouble, the excesses of authority claiming to coerce free men and free women. If the will-to-power be there, cruelty in physical coercion and pain will be an outcome sooner or later. Throughout the globe, as the sense of freedom extends, classes and races show in different ways an advancing sense of resentment against the form in which coercion is exercised; in America and Great Britain opinion has advanced with great rapidity during the last half-century on every

[1] The terrible years from '14 to '18 brought all Europe face to face with the issues here raised. Some came to believe that this sympathy is merely on the surface and that atavistic impulses to savagery lie concealed in modern man. Others (see, e.g., Stephen Graham's *A Private in the Guards*) hold that humanitarian impulses were deliberately thwarted in order to manufacture the efficient fighter. In education at least we have passed beyond the epoch (p. 201 above) when professional custom sanctioned a reversion to barbarism.

aspect of penal treatment.[1] Let us, however, not be too complacent: the advance is not wholly towards finer sentiments of pity and love: the standard of comfort has risen and extended among all except the "submerged tenth": material pleasure looms larger and by reaction we have recoiled from pain both for ourselves and our kin. The hardships of war helped to reveal the inwardness of these tendencies.

The will-to-power *has* to be enforced over children and minors, as we have seen, by parents, by teachers, and if need arise, by actual functionaries of the State. What the humanitarian public resents, when confronted

[1] In America more rapidly than in Great Britain: but with us too penal reform has made headway, especially since 1918: the corresponding change in the schools has not been noticed so publicly, but I am sure that the more kindly sentiments advance year by year. *The Cyclopedia of Education* (Vol. V, 1913) gave England an unenviable position over against other European countries. "As in Italy and Belgium, corporal punishment is entirely forbidden in all types of schools in France . . . the regulation must be displayed in the elementary schools." Alternatives, such as "bad marks, reprimand, withdrawals of periods of recreation, detention after school, temporary exclusion up to three days," are legally sanctioned. Yet these national differences are indicative of racial history and temperament, rather than of advance in humanitarian sentiments. Thus an Italian of the fifteenth century contrasts the attitude of the English gentry towards their children (a "want of affection") with that of his own countrymen (see H. Bennett in *The Paston Letters*, p. 82). It would not be just to say that the English are more brutal because they allow children to be caned: as regards the treatment of animals one gathers that the sentiment is reversed. But the contrast shows what is possible: and the history of this subject (summarized in the above article) shows how even in England, from the days of Locke, reformers have stood aloof from the cane, among the rest Bell and Lancaster in the Monitorial Schools. The most striking feature in this history is the absolute change in conviction: our ancestors all over Europe devoutly accepted Solomon's dictum. We no longer believe in the mechanical efficacy of corporal or of any other form of punishment, either in schools, in barracks, or in prison: the public mind is ready to listen to the psychologist if not to the moralist.

with this position, is not the actual mandate given to the teachers, but excess in the use of our power. For this lust of power is not a chimera, it is one aspect of brute self-assertion: the parent who clamours against a teacher for coercing her child knows that she herself also exercises this will-to-power. And the display of this power, when we lust after it, tends to be accompanied by the corresponding emotions: the executor of the mandate is angry: his arm smites with satisfaction. The public know this too, for they share these dark satisfactions: and since parents are often resentful of their fractious offspring they become still more distrustful of pleas for the retention of scholastic power over children's bodies.[1] The teacher is between two stools: citizen and humanitarian; he too is against coercion and hates to be regarded as a jailer. The arguments here set out are not pleasant reading: if one could honestly adopt the all-or-none convictions of the reformer *à outrance* this chapter would be easier to write. The pains of corporal punishment are not 'fun' to either party, as in boxing or football: nor are they justly to be compared with the violence of war.[2] One may conscientiously 'object' to war, one might even decline all participation in warlike measures, and yet consistently

[1] As Mr. Dooley put it when he heard that "school teachers down east have been petitioning to be allowed the power to slug the young . . ." "They want the bard iv eddication to restore what's called corporal punishment—that is th' fun iv licking some wan that can't fight back."

[2] One great educator, the Spaniard Francisco Ferrer, found the chief inspiration for the philosophy on which he conducted the Escuela Moderna at Barcelona (1900–7) in his detestation of violence in any form. He taught his children to hate war with a burning zeal; and a cowardly government made a martyr of him, shot in the barracks of Montjuich. His logic in details was faulty, but his influence was immense and he is not forgotten. (See article in Vol. II of *The Cyclopedia of Education* and references there.)

allow *some* place for both coercion and the infliction of pain on the young.[1]

The defence sometimes advanced for chastisement presents it not as the logical sequel to other incentives which have failed, but as a wiser, even kindlier alternative: it is more severe for the moment, but the shock creates a more powerful impression and is soon over[2]: boys certainly prefer at times to be caned as an alternative to long detention or punishment drill. But this choice of theirs only confuses the issue, for the purpose of the transaction is to induce amendment; the teacher's only concern is to select an incentive which will lead to a better state of mind. Hence the cane or its equivalents are now commonly reserved 'as a last resort,' which means that the amount of pain and shock is not estimated at its face value but as a symbol of degradation. The ground for corporal punishment is thus shifted to a new principle: public opinion, in school and home alike, is led to accept this punishment as a grave sign of reprobation. The teacher represents society; sometimes he is actually asked by a parent to inflict chastisement for behaviour which does not show itself within the school precincts. The offender is judged to be

[1] Compare Bertrand Russell's experience, loc. cit., p. 64. I refrain from recalling my own experience, for many years have passed since I was authorized to wield the rod. Headmasters of the present day have to meet the exigencies of to-day and they would not be helped by the reminiscences of an old-timer.

[2] If this be the only purpose in view is it necessary for the teacher to bear a hand, to be at once both judge and castigator? One has heard of schools where the surgical operation is handed over to the drill sergeant. Better still to contrive a wholly impersonal tool: a machine could be readily fitted up in the laboratory (ominous of the guillotine!) which would dispense a graded amount of 'shocking' pain, nicely calculated to effect the required change of mind. If men believed in this simple relation of cause and effect, judges and teachers would have contrived it long ago.

beyond control, his disposition is one of active ill-will :— a condition which we shall notice below when we distinguish types of contrariant behaviour. The cane is chosen as a vehicle for inducing shame, as a symbol of alienation, and it works just so far as the offender and his comrades consent to the idea. In some schools this reservation of corporal punishment achieves the end desired : where this happens and where the proceedings are hedged round with precautions against abuse, one should hesitate to withdraw the power from any head teacher. Yet if other symbols would have a like effect, if, that is, the inner disposition of young offenders can be changed by milder forms of reprobation, our sense of respect for the body-mind is leading present-day teachers to leave the cane alone. All that is now demanded in good schools is that the power should be granted but should be held in reserve, so that in case all other measures fail this acute symbol of disgrace may be eventually employed.

Three Types of Contrariant Behaviour.—We have now exhausted the types of incentive which move young people to modify their behaviour. The choice is large : is there anything more to add as regards the child's behaviour to direct our choice between this or that incentive ? It will be found, I think, that all the instances of disorder which have been mentioned in the above paragraphs fall under three heads, and our treatment of any incident should be radically different in each case. The first and simplest situation cannot be called misbehaviour, for it rises from the undeveloped uncurbed nature of the child. We may label it the *skittish* type of disorder : self-control has not been acquired : sights, sounds, movements carry off the attention, limbs want to be moving, tongue will always be a-talking. The teacher cannot ' allow ' such conduct,

but it takes time to break in a colt and it takes time to accustom our wild young folk to bit and bridle.

Quite otherwise is the position when a scholar has learnt the preliminary arts of control, but consciously chooses to have his own way rather than follow the beaten track: he 'doesn't care' to play the conventional game: this is the 'don't care' attitude: the term *dis-order* exactly hits it off.

Thirdly, and again on a wholly different plane, is behaviour that springs from a deeper malady:—from a positive rejection of what we know to be right, what we 'ought' to do, and yielding to our cruder impulses. The theological name for such behaviour is sin: negatively it may be called immorality or unrighteousness. This is not an ethical or religious treatise and we must not trespass beyond our province. Let us accept the superficial observation of behaviour, viz. that from earliest infancy every human being develops through social contacts an accumulating sense of moral values, sentiments of right and wrong: the source of these judgments is to be traced to community, whatever view we may hold as to ultimate origins. When once formed into habits these judgments become conscience; they establish a standard of self-respect, of ideal: and at every moment conduct is governed, with more or less deliberation, by these standards. True the standards themselves change, for we regard education as consisting in part in the enlightenment of conscience: yet at any given moment behaviour is known, by the subject who behaves, to be right or wrong in accordance with the standard so far attained. This third type of offence can briefly be called *wrong-doing*.

Granting the logical validity in the distinction between these three types of contrary behaviour, what is to be said as to the choice of incentives which will bring back

the mind to order? This at any rate must first be said: the three types stand in wholly different regions of conduct and to treat them by the same devices is to ignore the first elements of training. If a teacher's list of penalties allots half an hour's detention for neglecting a lesson and two hours' detention for telling a lie, the culprit's conscience is confused.

For each of the three types of mis-behaviour there is a logical principle of treatment. In the first type there is no offence; we have no right to give pain to a child because he displays the energy of his overflowing nature. But you restrain him, otherwise he will hurt himself: bit and bridle, clothes and meal-times, social conventions by the hundred have to be introduced if the child is even to survive. Many of these cause pain, and to alleviate the discipline, mother, nurse, teacher, offer positive incentives of low grade: the process, as we have seen, is analogous to the methods of the animal trainer: they incite by the prospect of pleasure: if pain is caused this is only because the momentary suffering will lead to subsequent relief. It is obvious that the attitude and temper of the trainer, even when reproving error, must not suggest blame: scolding simply diverts the attention of the learner from the habit which is being exercised to his social relation with the scold.

The second type presents a wholly different face: there is no lack of power to control but a refusal to conform. The refusal may be concerned with some definite requirement, such as attendance at a given time and place; or it may touch behaviour which is not covered by a rule, but is none the less an obvious assertion of self-will to the inconvenience of others (as, for example, foolish behaviour on the streets). This type covers all the ordinary faults with which the school has to deal:

the logical treatment is by penalty unless you can let the rascal off, in the faith that mercy will be a better incentive than justice.

When we come to the third type we are again in a wholly different region. What is the logical punishment of sin? In other words, what incentive can you employ to check the untoward disposition? You have none except as an agent of community, to express its reprobation of the trespass. Any other act on your part, any penalty, can only operate on his mind as a symbol of that attitude. For example, a miserable scholar is sometimes caught stealing: if he is caned, that punishment is absolutely different from the use of the cane (where it is still used) to check the follies of our second type; the physical pain is of small moment compared with the disgrace. Failure to adopt the right attitude cannot alter the disposition; although it may teach the culprit to abstain from theft while at school, it will leave him with a mind open to still graver temptations. Furthermore, while on behalf of society we represent virtue reproving vice, we fail equally if we forget our own frailties: we are bidden to "hate the sin but love the sinner" because we also have been wrongdoers and enemies of society.

The teacher's difficulties lie not so much in recognizing theoretical differences between the three types, as in diagnosis: most offences are not 'pure,' not solely due to high spirits, *or* to folly, *or* to vice, but to a mixture of two or even of all three. Thus the lad caught stealing may be only 1 per cent. vicious and 99 per cent. silly or wild. In schools as in other communities officials have often little time, even if they have the taste, for diagnosis: so punitive treatment, and conversely recompense, are handed out rough-and-ready; if mistakes are made, well, the sooner children learn to take the rough

with the smooth the better: a little experience of injustice at school will get them ready for a world which pays little heed to motives.[1] This is all too true: we certainly cannot expect a teacher, confronted right away with a misdemeanour, to undertake an elaborate diagnosis before dealing with the 'culprit': all that we can ask is that by reflection, such as this chapter has been designed to assist, he may find it easier to come to right decisions with the promptitude required by events.

If space allowed the problems of this chapter could be elucidated by turning to jurists such as Bentham and to the moralists, all of whom seek to relate the action of society, in its judgment and its courts, to the inner motives of the individual: and again by observing in adult communities the force of incentives, both positive and negative, moulding the behaviour of ourselves and of our neighbours. The children, after all, are like us: and we never quite eliminate the traces of our unlicensed franchise. A little time spent in sympathetic observation of their wayward motives may help even the best of teachers to a better diagnosis of that greatest puzzle of all—himself.

[1] Once again we can rely on Earl Barnes. His skilful questionnaire (p. 194 above) showed that children expect this sort of petty injustice and as a rule regard the treatment with equanimity; but there are exceptions.

SECTION IV

METHOD

" The fault of our educational method is not, therefore, the stress which it lays upon generalized knowledge—for generalized knowledge, rightly understood, is merely an economical and convenient concentration of stored experience. What is amiss is that the whole period of school life is handed over to the acquisition of masses of generalized knowledge, and the means of applying such knowledge to the particular circumstances of life is delayed until schooldays are over. By that time learning has become in the minds of our pupils a thing apart—the business of childhood and of a special childish institution. To be interested in learning is the mark of people of retarded growth, for that is the character which the scholar presents to the mind of the man of the world. Life is now beginning, and the youth, going out to face its problems and its dangers, feels like David in the armour of Saul, and is glad to lay aside the cumbrous, ill-fitting equipment which he has never learnt to use. The method of our education in general is still the method which has long been discarded in the teaching of Latin, when the pupil spent a year or two in committing to memory the rules of grammar and syntax and was then supposed to be suitably equipped to face the difficulties of translation and composition. Precisely the same process is being followed in our schools to-day, except that the moment of application is delayed until the pupil passes from the care of his teachers and is left to make the experiment alone."—From a paper on *The School of Experience* by F. H. Cecil Brock, Vice-Principal, Goldsmiths' College, in *The Educational Outlook*, January 1926.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCOPE OF METHOD

I WILL ask the reader to turn back for a moment to p. 7, where the plan of this book is forecast. He will see that we have now paid attention, so far as space will permit, to the data on which the teacher rests his practice: the basis has been laid for a structure to which we give the comprehensive title *Method*. Until recently Method denoted the details of teaching procedure, the 'method' of instruction as distinct from the 'matter': assuming, for instance, that 'London' had to be studied as a unit in the curriculum, Method explained how this study was to be conducted in one or more lesson periods. The distinction has largely broken down, for, as Professor Nunn has recently pointed out,[1] "the selection and ordering of the facts and principles are an integral and vital aspect of the method"; selection of facts raises problems of curriculum or syllabus, so a discussion of Method tends to expand into the larger issues raised by the syllabus. Hence writers on Education have chosen to extend the scope of the term Method, and we shall follow their lead in this book, dropping the restricted use of the term to which one was accustomed in earlier days.

This whole Section, therefore, is brought under the comprehensive label: it denotes the way in which the data set out in Section III serve as basis for the design,

[1] In *The Educational Year Book* of the International Institute, 1924 (Teachers' College, New York). Part II of that volume is entitled *The Problem of Method*, and roams over every branch of school practice.

foundations for the structure of school life and teaching. So used, the term is pretty much equivalent to *Practice*, the term selected as a popular title for the whole book. Practice, however, is here taken to include the foundations in child study, corporate life and the rest, necessary in systematic thought as a basis for Method. Having dropped *Method* as used aforetime, we need some term to indicate the details to which we must attend when we prepare our lessons; for this purpose *Teaching Procedure* (Chapter XV) is adopted as equivalent to Method in the discarded connotation.

In Section III frequent reference has been made to topics, especially in the chapters on Corporate Life, which in strictness belong to Method. Some overlapping is unavoidable, and one need not apologize, for every writer and speaker who aims at presenting a theme in logical order is confronted with a like difficulty: illustrations are needed to give point to an argument which cannot always be deferred to a later chapter. The difference therefore between Sections III and IV is partly one of emphasis: in Section III we have examined Practice from the standpoint of children's nature and needs; we now inquire into the possibilities of Practice, when a reckoning has to be made both with child nature and also with conditions arising out of Organization, as surveyed in Section II.

The term Method is often used in a third sense, denoting the principles and practice of some distinguished teacher, as, e.g., the Montessori Method, the House of Education Method (of the late Miss Charlotte Mason), the Matthay Method (Pianoforte), and so forth. In this sense it has replaced *System*, which was employed by some great names in pedagogic literature, e.g. Herbert Spencer (see p. 202). Anyone who likes to delve into old books will come across many sketches of educational 'systems,'

a few of them by great men, such as Rousseau, Macchiavelli, Jeremy Bentham.[1] Bentham's *Chrestomathia* was an extraordinary production, characteristic of the impulses to educational thought which agitated many minds in Western Europe at that epoch: it was by no means a Utopian sketch, on the contrary it was planned as the doctrinaire basis of a 'Chrestomathian Day School.' It was seriously believed by reformers in those days that elaborate principles could and should be worked out by a master mind in a scheme which the actual teachers to be employed would accept as authoritative.[2] In one conspicuous case, that of Herbart, the master was too great a philosopher and too practical a teacher to lay down prescriptions, yet his followers fell victim to the desire to make a party and a 'school': *die Herbartische Pädagogik* became in the hands of Ziller a watertight system, which commanded the discipleship of large bodies of teachers for more than a generation. It need hardly be said that this book offers no Method and no System. The term *System* is used in another connexion (Vol. I, pp. 1–6) to denote the endeavour which everyone makes to order his own thoughts in methodical or systematic relationships. In that sense these two volumes could be called a system of education (*System der Pädagogik*), but I should be sorry indeed to describe them in that phrase, for many people would infer that the exposition aimed at a *closed* system, at a prescribed plan of opera-

[1] Readers of Meredith will recall the System of Sir Austin in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. That novel was a satire on a good many systematic fathers of the Victorian era, such as J. S. Mill and the elder Gosse.

[2] Public Education Authorities conceived it their duty to do this, and some still make the attempt. The Bell and Lancaster monitors were of course expected to teach according to precise instructions. The changed attitude of our English Board of Education, especially in the Regulations issued this year (1926), is a striking evidence of the advance made in the last half-century.

tions. As already said, these books set out the writer's reaction at the moment to the total situation in education.

The change is something more than a change in nomenclature: it has accompanied a transformation in deeper currents of experience; for one thing the practitioner, in many walks of life, has become more independent, more democratic if one cares so to phrase it; he is no longer content to be a mere disciple. Then the advance of science since the days of Darwin has taught us to keep our eyes open and be ready to revise our practice, however much it may be necessary for the moment to pursue with our colleagues a consistent scheme in this or that school. Social science, too, has advanced; the methodizer finds himself restricted at every turn by social forces such as those reviewed in Section II: he who follows science will avoid party programmes. Even in politics, where the catchwords of the platform are common coin, the ablest men hold aloof, when they can, from strict adherence to a detailed programme.

Thus the attitude of mind among thoughtful teachers to-day is from one point of view more empirical and eclectic, from another more scientific: the chapters of this book are written with this dual reference in mind, although no doubt the attempt will fall short of the ideal. Firstly, we have taken our data from science, using that word in its broader sense, from medicine and law, from sociology, psychology and child study; we accept what these have to offer as the starting point or basis. Then we look around and see how teachers are doing the day's work and what ideas and principles lie behind the methods which they adopt. A text-book of Method seeks out the most important movements that are influencing practice, describing them and at the same time arranging the material so as to secure an orderly

view of the tendencies that are to be reckoned with. It is not a guide to conduct, a *vade mecum* telling the teacher what he should do to-morrow morning, but an aid to reflection. In this as in other walks of life the exponent, lecturer or writer of books, is less inclined than formerly to speak with authority (he leaves that to the Authorities) or to lay down precepts. We expose the facts of a situation, display the underlying principles, and leave people to draw their own conclusions as to their duty.[1]

School teaching presents a wide and scattered expanse; the methods in one quarter, e.g. in a central school, seem to have little in common with those, say, in village schools or in great boarding-schools. So to keep our survey in manageable compass we shall consider the series of types of school as indicated by the growth of pupils from infancy to adult life. In each chapter we shall look for *the growing point*, for live issues, alive to-day and in the immediate future; attention will chiefly be paid to curricula, i.e. to the employments on which pupils are engaged during school hours, for in Chapters III to VI we have already noticed many innovations in corporate life and management, and some of these—e.g. The School Journey, The Dalton Plan—have relations to every aspect of Method. When we have concluded these chapters with a brief glance at Method in colleges

[1] The exponent is of course responsible for choosing the facts which he considers relevant, and his selection will be biassed by his personal limitations: compare Vol. I, p. 2. The 'system' expounded in these two books is not a philosophy of education, constructed from a philosophy of the universe by formal deductive processes. Some great thinkers, especially in Germany, approached the teacher from these lofty heights, but the present writer has no ambition to rival them. The relations between a teacher's philosophy and his system of Education are very helpfully handled in *The Forum of Education*, November 1926: *The Incidence of Philosophy on Education*, by Professor Hetherington.

and universities, a final chapter will suffice on Teaching Procedure, method in the more restricted sense of the word.

This survey, however, taking each type of school apart from the rest, may tend to partiality and narrowness at the cost of breadth of view: the trees may obscure the wood. So a preliminary chapter is inserted devoted to more general doctrines, roaming abroad as well as in Great Britain, to bring into relief a variety of efforts or movements which may be grouped as 'advanced' or 'reforming.' The reformer in education was in earlier days regarded with suspicion. There were two hostile camps, the theorists,or innovators, as Quick[1] called them, who denounced the conventional methods, over against the orthodox majority, who disdained the reformers as unpractical and feather-brained. During the last twenty years this hostility has greatly abated,[2] and during the Great War ideas of reform even became fashionable. 'Reconstruction' was in the air, and in Education a large and distinguished body of teachers formed a Reform Council, with committees which worked out a series of

[1] *Educational Reformers* by E. Quick, based largely on Von Raumer's *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, a book which for thirty years supplied English teachers with a guide to the history of educational ideals in Europe since the Renaissance. It is noteworthy that Quick himself lived in both camps, for he was a master at Harrow and was openly criticized as a man who could theorize on education but was 'a failure' in the class-room. Nor was he alone: if it were worth while one could name others who were conspicuous as writers on theory and were openly stigmatized by that opprobrious epithet 'failure.' Only rarely was a reformer in method able to keep his footing in both camps. Among these the most conspicuous was J. M. Wilson, a reformer under Temple at Rugby in the '60s, working out new methods for science and geometry; a headmaster of Clifton in the '80s and still surviving in extreme old age to rejoice in the fruits of research which he conducted sixty years ago. Thus wisdom is justified of her—grandchildren.

[2] Compare Vol. I, Appendix II.

reports.[1] Their labours have been largely forgotten, but the impulse which inspired them has not been lost. Teachers in general are far more willing to study the efforts of pioneers: no doubt there is much chaff among this wheat, but in our profession as in others the present generation is more open than its predecessors to adopt the scientific attitude, willing to examine the grounds on which the reformer seeks to establish a new position. One can even say that the hostility between two camps has disappeared, that we are all reformers nowadays: many of the movements described in the following chapter are to be found in public schools,[2] for experiment is allowed more elbow-room than in earlier times.

Hence under the rubric *Reform* a brief survey is made of the work of many teachers in the hope of eliciting the main tendencies which progress in Method seems to be taking. I cannot pretend that this review is complete: important names will occur to one reader or another that have escaped my notice; but the net has been cast pretty widely, sufficiently wide at least to attain the end in view, which is to see some order and unity amid the flood of criticisms and adventures which fill our professional magazines and bookshelves. Here again I have anticipated in earlier chapters movements which would also find a place among notable reforms, but cross-references may suffice to avoid waste of space by repetition.

[1] *Education Reform* (P. S. King & Son, 1917).

[2] Compare Vol. I, p. 114, on the contrast in this matter between private and public schools; also Vol. I, p. 28.

CHAPTER X

THE GENERAL TREND OF REFORM

Our review is to be confined to practice; we shall not need therefore to notice the contributions of writers on education unless they have done serious work in school keeping, or, as parents and tutors, dealing with single children. It is true that 'onlookers sometimes see the best part of the game,' but plenty of other proverbs could be quoted in the opposite sense. Occasionally, as in the work Mr. Edmond Holmes,[1] I include writers who report on the work of others. We seek, as in law or medicine, for 'cases'; for instances drawn from experience. If we cannot be so certain as in other callings of results, failure or success in any experiment, we must

[1] Fifteen years have passed since Mr. Holmes, after a lifetime passed, as it seemed, in "mechanical obedience" to the Board of Education, issued after his retirement a blast of scorn on the system which he had surveyed so long. *What is and what might be* was a challenge from the reformer's camp, stirring the waters in many a stagnant pool, based on a philosophy of East and West which was strange to many of his readers. Yet I should not notice it here except that it took its ground on the evidence of practical work among children in a remote village school: the worth of this and the later volumes by Mr. Holmes rests not so much on an esoteric philosophy brilliantly expounded, as on one's estimate of what had been actually attained by the teacher of that school among her boys and girls (Miss Finlay-Johnson, *The Dramatic Method in Education*). If, therefore, some eminent contributions to recent educational literature are unnoticed, the reader will understand the ground for exclusion: Mr. Bertrand Russell, for example, *On Education*, falls within our boundary because he records his experience as a father; his experiment has not yet developed long enough for us to judge whether his pedagogic philosophy will stand the test of time.

use our own judgment, relying on what evidence we can procure that the reformer actually has achieved his aim.

There are two great men in our epoch, John Dewey in the West and Rabindranath Tagore in the East, whose wisdom not only illumines the general mind but has stooped to the level of children. Both men are now passing into old age, but it was in the prime of life, during the closing years of the last century, that both of them resolved to 'keep school.' As Professor of Philosophy and of Education in the Chicago University, the former founded an Experimental School[1] in order to test out the validity of principles to which his philosophy had led him to give a tentative adherence. After successfully directing the schooling of some hundreds of children for eight years or so, the investigation was dropped, for Professor Dewey was called in 1905 to occupy the Chair in Philosophy at the Columbia University in New York. But the task had been effectually accomplished, and from that day forward the influence of this reformer has been unique: at first in his own country but afterwards in Great Britain, and now in China at the one extreme of culture and in Germany at the other.

The school in the *ashram* at Bolpur[2] has been conducted for thirty years or more, but it is only recently that its fame has extended in the West, for it is only in the last few years that Tagore has come to be widely known and honoured in Europe. One could notice many points of difference, for the two live at opposite poles of civilization; the contrast in their outlook is, however, less impressive than the correspondence of their minds in the deepest concerns of human life and development. Dewey, democrat to the finger-tips, raised in a

[1] *The School and Society*, first published in 1899.

[2] W. W. Pearson, *Shantiniketan*, with introduction by Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

country town of a Middle State, Tagore, scion of a family of aristocrats, surrounded from infancy with the traditions of great art and the appeal of mysticism, are each of them at odds with the flash and glare of the modern world, each stands with stark simplicity for truth and justice. While the Western man has found his way to the ideal through patient experiment and mercilessly cuts down his argument to the severities of the barest logic, the seer from the East, while no less a scholar and a student, wraps himself in meditation and utters his soul in poetry and music.[1] No two types more remote from one another could be named, yet they are united by practical experience of child-life which bridges the chasm between East and West. Thus in Illinois as in Bengal the past in history and literature is cherished as essential to wholesome growth: Dewey's psychology, no less than Tagore's sympathy, demonstrates the dependence of the young upon the garnered experience of the old. What a contrast with the facile confidence of Herbert Spencer and his disciples in the undigested output of the laboratory as adequate nurture for intelligence. Tagore and Dewey also honour science and use it, but as a means to a greater end, the end being behaviour in a social and spiritual society. For both of them *the meaning and purpose of life* is the one thing that matters: the life they cherish is not some future field of activity or success, for which this or that subject or method may prepare, but the life that now is, that now fulfils itself, both in individual experience and in co-operation. Let us recognize without disguise that a gulf stands between these reformers and the

[1] Tagore, *Personality* (Chap. iv, *My School*). The student of Tagore will, however, scarcely catch the spirit of his teaching apart from his poems, especially those written about and for children, e.g. *The Crescent Moon*.

theories on which our public and conventional systems of schooling have been based.

For while studies matter greatly community life matters still more: the popular phrases on the lips of reformers are in their speech too:—freedom, activity, initiative, individuality, sociality, self-government, altruism: even interest and happiness, but these are informed with fuller significance. With Tagore the environment, the *ashram*, stars and sky, friends and neighbours, are the means whereby an inner happiness is fostered. Dewey seems to leave such influences to the subconscious; his 'means whereby' the American boy and girl are to solve the riddle of life spring from impulses of curiosity and intelligence: significance is found in relating the materials and tools of to-day with the unfurnished equipment of society in earlier epochs: pursuing the occupations presented in kitchen, garden and workshop, his children learned to enjoy the fellowship of their group, to be humane and considerate, without relating such sentiments either to the transcendental or to the sense of fellowship. You could not transplant the Shantiniketan school song "She is our own, the darling of our hearts," to Chicago,[1] for the forms of art in which the Bengalee gives voice to his emotion are the outcome of ages of culture: American culture is by comparison rough and ready: the people, even of 'the best' families, are exiles of recent date from all quarters of Europe and have had to begin again, making over afresh those constituent values of livelihood and art which we discussed in Vol. I. Yet the teachers in Chicago and the teachers in Bolpur were united both in their negations, in their rejection, e.g., of the vulgar pursuit of wealth and ostentation, and in their positive

[1] Although music and poetry played their part in the Experimental School.

sentiments towards the young. Both seek freedom from the sordid, fleeting desires of a materialistic age: but the one escapes from the entanglements of a jungle where ancient truths have rotted in decay; the other, dumped on a naked shore, has to refashion the arts of life from the materials that lie to hand. "Here and now is my America" is the motto of the West, for the past has been severed by the wide seas: the boys of Bolpur chant a Sanskrit verse,[1] *Om, Shanti, Shanti, Shanti,* on the soil their fathers trod. When Tagore delivered his lecture on *My School* to an American audience, we may be sure that it was felt and understood best by those who had grasped the pedagogics of *School and Society* and of *Human Nature and Conduct.*

Now while these two schools taken together express the deepest longings of our age both for the individual and for the race, there are others to be grouped with them, speaking the same message of peace and goodwill. Thus the reforming group of parents and teachers at Hamburg,[2] with their motto *Vom Kinde Aus,* lead one to hope that the message of Froebel is at last being accepted in the land of his birth. Our own Margaret McMillan is an apostle of the same school; her work has much to do with physiology and hygiene, for her pupils and their mothers sadly lack the means of health,[3] yet the broad sweep of her humanity goes far beyond the science of medical care. Many others whose devotion springs from the same source seem scarcely to reach the same level because they are content to speak in terms of some phrase or 'slogan'; this tends to narrow the vision

[1] See *Shantiniketan,* p. 14.

[2] See *The Educational Year Book,* p. 531: "We want above all to begin to live with our children as brothers. . . . Culture and knowledge gain our approval if only they lead to love, to co-operation, to brotherhood." To English ears this sounds sentimental, gushing, yet it is sincere.

[3] *Labour and Childhood, The Nursery School,* and other writings.

even if at the moment it rouses popular enthusiasm among those who are waiting for a message. The most popular of these catchwords have already claimed notice in earlier chapters; by adding a few words on each my criticism may perhaps be justified.

(*a*) *Freedom.*—If we really love people we cannot tyrannize over them, even to try to 'make' them good. Hence in an age which has witnessed the diffusion of education by democracy, which emancipates woman from the stronger sex, and coloured peoples from the dominance of the white man, it is not surprising that freedom for children continues as a great 'slogan' among reformers. The issue has already confronted us in dealing with corporate life,[1] and the dilemma becomes equally acute in dealing with curricula. As a positive aid to reform the sentiment carries us very little way: its value is mainly negative, a protest against excess of habit and convention both in ourselves and in the young: it bids us help children to feel their muscles, so to speak; to retain plasticity; yet in any given case *we* have finally to decide whether choice is to be 'allowed.' Thus a reformer inspector is reported to be full of zeal for free composition, a most desirable feature in achieving an English style; but when he encourages the teachers to permit free spelling as a means to that end one must call a halt. While children in certain moods and situations need to escape and 'do as they like,' they also desire guidance, simply because they *are* young and lack experience: left alone they are not original, but must imitate either their teacher or other patterns within reach. I have visited one or two reform schools where the teachers seemed determined to 'make' children free: on the balance I judged that under their régime, which seemed anarchical, the children were not learning less, even of

[1] See 'Freedom' in index, and also in index to Vol. I.

the three R's, than in many other elementary schools; yet one felt as if they were being sacrificed somewhat as pawns in a fight on behalf of the teachers' liberty. Sometimes, however, the cry is merely used as a popular watchword; thus Mrs. O'Brien Harris's [1] book is entitled *Towards Freedom*, but her philosophy is far more constructive than the title would imply. The same applies to the late Mr. MacMunn: his *Path to Freedom*,[2] followed by his self-sacrificing work for war orphans at Tiptree, went far beyond the negations of a libertarian. Liberty is first and last *in the mind*:

> If I have freedom in my love
> And in my soul am free,
> Angels alone, that soar above,
> Enjoy such liberty.
> (Lovelace: *To Althea from Prison.*)

There are many affairs which we 'leave to others,' and even if we are compelled to relinquish control over them we do not mind the 'stone walls'—always provided we have freedom in the things that matter, in realms, that is to say, where the self craves for expression, for choice. Now with children this restriction is far more in evidence, since they have small experience of the possibilities of choice: they have in fact to learn to be free, by being afforded the chance here and there. Hence their directors must watch to see in what kinds of activity they can try their wings: Sully,[3] for example, describes an infant of three who displays spontaneous activity in story-telling and in drawing; at a later age when Cizek at Vienna invites boys and girls to his studio to be

[1] Pp. 90 and 115 above.

[2] Norman MacMunn; *The Child's Path to Freedom*: Memorial Edition 1925, with Foreword by Professor Nunn.

[3] *Children's Ways*, p. 168.

free in art production the critic[1] doubts whether they are really so free as their teacher supposed. The attitude may be one of freedom, yet one can only choose from what lies within one's grasp, and the child copies what lies around.

For this desire to imitate, even to be slavish in imitation, is just as much a feature of human nature as the desire to be oneself, to be original. Sully[2] speaks of "the young stickler for the proprieties," and declares "that this respect for law is a true instinct which comes before education and makes education possible." At the same time he notes the opposite impulse, which may be alternatively praised as a plea for liberty or as the lawlessness of the rebel. "Do you know," asked a little fellow of four years, "what I shall do when I'm a big man? I'll go to a shop and buy a bun and pick out all the currants." "The common longing to be 'big' is grounded on the expectation of liberty."[3]

You cannot therefore 'give' freedom wholesale, at least to children; in small schools, where the little ones have been accustomed to large spaces, to variety in the home environment, they will respond to further opportunities of choice: but teachers are sometimes disillusioned when they seek to follow Mr. Holmes's exhortation[4] and copy the methods of *Egeria* in the large classes of a city school. The external obstacles against which the reformer fulminates are buttressed by the children's lack of experience: they do not know

[1] T. Munro: *Franz Cizek and the Free Expression Method* (*The Barnes Journal of Art Education*, April 1925). Mr. Munro traces the sources whence the pupils of Cizek drew the forms which they imitated. His criticism merits careful study as a contribution to child-psychology and to method in the arts.

[2] *Children's Ways*, p. 144.

[3] Ibid., p. 142.

[4] *What is and what might be*, p. 236 above.

what to do with your gift of freedom, for they have not in their minds the necessary images which will make choice possible. This is not to say that the city teacher in the 'stone walls' of a barrack school should abandon the struggle for liberty, either for herself or for her charges: it means that she has to think out the problem more thoroughly than was incumbent on Egeria: if in such an environment the spirit of freedom can be fostered the triumph is all the greater.

(*b*) *Individuality and Self-expression.*—The same line of thought guides us when we encounter pleas for individuality or self-expression: they came before us in Section I, and differ only from the plea for freedom in their specific reference to the community, to the social pressure in which the self may be lost. In discussing Management we have already seen how the relations between the self and the *alter* affect educational theory in all its branches. The reformer makes a strong appeal to parents when he displays the banner of individuality: for they do not cherish children in the mass, their love is individual. Yet our sentiments of citizenship, of patriotism, are equally natural: sociality, in short, can equally well be proclaimed as a slogan if we wish to display banners. In both camps we may find that these appeals disguise (a defence mechanism perhaps[1]) the crude impulse for power, for social power: to assert one's individuality may only be another name for securing points of vantage from which we may suppress the self-assertion of our neighbour. As with freedom so with individuality, the teacher only faces the real difficulty of Method when he leaves the text-book of the reformer and seeks to help individuals and groups in the actual conditions of day-to-day procedure.

(*c*) *Happiness and Interest.*—In philosophy and politics

[1] Using the Freudian interpretation of unconscious motives.

we no longer hold by the Benthamite maxim, *The greatest happiness of the greatest number*[1]: but popular pedagogics has always adorned itself with cast-off clothing. How often one hears expressions of gratification by visitors to schools on observing that the children are happy and interested: we are told that teachers should *make* the children happy and *make* the lessons interesting. If one demurs to these injunctions as leading nowhere, we may meet the retort: Do you want the little ones to be unhappy? or, Are your lessons to be uninteresting? No, we may reply, but it is so easy to please children for the moment with lollipops: so hard to plan the right environment so that more enduring joys will be experienced from their own reaction to obstacles. It would be profitable to trace the development of this demand for happiness in schools, so foreign to the attitude both of teachers and of the public in earlier epochs. However superficial it often seems the plea at bottom is one that the adult makes for himself as much as for the young: it is a plea that life shall *mean* something, shall afford satisfaction, shall, i.e., secure our happiness while aiming at something more essential. The negations of Puritanism or of any like creed are only negations: positive enjoyment of some kind cannot be denied, and if spiritual satisfactions are beyond reach, then the self will be gratified at lower levels down to the fleeting and gross returns of the appetites. In the popular jargon of to-day people ask for thrills,[2] they will reach a climax: schooling, by contrast with the blood-and-thunder of the Pictures, is felt to be futile. The class-room with its sums and exercises is unequal to the contest, and it is best frankly to decline competition and refuse to believe that happi-

[1] Carlyle, in *Past and Present*, vol. iii, chap. iv. *Happy*, long ago pricked that bubble.

[2] Compare p. 181, Positive and Negative Incentives.

ness, in that sense, is "our being's end and aim." It is all too easy to foster habits which leave the mind vacant, i.e. on a sensational level, satisfied with watching sport, with listening-in, with reading tit-bits, even with going to meetings. Mass education, perhaps, turning out its millions, may have to yield, glad to give the multitude of city folk these easy pleasures which fill the leisure hours and reconcile the worker to his round of mechanical toil: but the reformer who has pleaded for freedom and individuality seeks to break up the mass; if he cannot save society he will at least try to educate a few whose standards of value reach a higher plane. If life, school life or adult life, holds meaning, teachers and all social workers need not concern themselves with making folk happy.

(*d*) *Activity*.—When young children are free from adult suggestion they usually find their happiness, express their individuality, display interest, in *doing* things rather than in attending to ideas: hence all the above demands on their behalf can be set out in terms of the motor aspect of mind rather than of intelligence. Thus, when the reformer gets to grips with the syllabus, he secures time for what is often labelled *Activity*. This term has been associated with American reformers, but they make no exclusive claim; one should go back sixty years rather than thirty, for the Sloyd reforms emanating from Finland and Sweden, with close relation to the advance of technology, carry back to the middle of last century.[1] The dominant sentiment among these early reformers was negative, a protest against the intellectual

[1] See, e.g., J. M. Wilson (referred to on p. 234 above), *Teaching of Natural Science in Schools* (in Farrar's *Essays on a Liberal Education*, 1867). This fine volume of essays (the editor's own contribution is the only one of small merit) is indispensable to students who look at reform in historical perspective.

bias of traditional schooling; from this point of view some of them added to the syllabus a new subject, Handicrafts or Manual Training, isolated from the rest, designed to offset the injurious effects of academic studies. Such an isolation could not be maintained for long, even in technological institutes, and in due course the artists were associated with the workers with tools; it is true that Handicraft Centres, and the programmes of too many woodwork teachers, still offer children a restricted field for expression, but reform is pushing ahead, helped on the one side by leaders like Professor Lethaby[1] and on the other by the infant teachers, inspired by Froebel and his successors, who have never ceased to give Activity a breadth of meaning far beyond what was conceived by the older school of Educational Handwork. The isolation was broken down with equal effect by teachers who drew their inspiration from Herbart, and sought through correlation and concentration to bring handicrafts as well as the fine arts within a unified scheme of study. These reformers made some headway among primary-school teachers in many countries, but they only affected a few secondary schools,[2] and even in the primary schools one seldom sees a thorough-going scheme of correlation, while the strict Herbartian formulæ of concentration have been abandoned even in Germany:

[1] See, e.g., his *Home and Country Arts* (1923). The advance can be traced in the growth of the Institute of Handicraft Teachers, with its organ *Practical Education and School Crafts*. This group of teachers till recently held by the old label, *Manual Training*: the change of title indicates an advance in outlook.

[2] Dr. Cecil Reddie, who founded Abbotsholme, should not be forgotten in this connexion, for his school led the way to many other courageous experiments: Mr. Badley of Bedales was on his staff in the early '90s: Lietz in Germany and Desmoulins in France were greatly indebted to Abbotsholme. An essential feature of the life at Abbotsholme is the high rank given to handicrafts in association with other subjects in the syllabus.

harmony between intellectualism and handicrafts is to be achieved in the light of a truer psychology.[1]

There is in fact a wide gulf between present-day reformers for whom Activity supplies a watchword and all earlier attempts to give a place to motor impulses. Many of them speak of *Self*-Activity, wishing to emphasize the new standpoint: they are not concerned to quarrel with intellectualism, for intelligence is an essential factor in all experience; nor are they anxious about correlation, since they waive the demand for subject teaching until they have secured a standpoint from which the child himself can relate the subjects of a curriculum *to* himself, to his own experience of values. Here, perhaps, is the key to a variety of reforms which since 1920 have received a new impetus in many parts of the world: the pupil himself, as an active being, can be set free to display his own energy, and thus progress, both in school studies and away from school, if his teachers have the requisite courage and sympathy. In America, as we have seen, Professor Dewey has been the leader; but the most significant signs of change just now are to be noticed in Europe; at this moment in Germany the prevailing demand is for a *Pädagogik der Activität.* This 'new' education is called "integrated instruction" and has already been introduced by law into a number of States for the first four years of school (ages 6 to 10); experience has shown that a child who has selected his own objectives willingly continues at them for days or even weeks until a satisfactory solution of the inherent problems has been reached, especially because the great variety of activities prevents fatigue.[2] The teachers in Hamburg already noticed are in the same camp: and from Vienna reports come of a veritable revolution in

[1] See pp. 156–174 above and references there; also Vol. I., pp 52–55.

[2] *Educational Year Book*, loc. cit., pp. 515–30.

school practice, sanctioned by the Minister of Education, which discards the whole of our conventional machinery of time-tables and subjects.

These movements are concerned with public primary schools, some of them situated in congested areas, a few in rural areas.[1] But similar principles are advocated by a variety of teachers who combine under the title *Education Nouvelle*, uniting many schools, some private, some proprietary, in most of the countries of Europe. Three educational journals published in English, French and German, an annual conference, generous support in some cases from benefactors, combine to maintain an organization which draws adherents from all parts of Europe. By adopting the title 'New' they escape the restrictions which might be felt if they proclaimed Freedom or Individuality or Activity as their specific aim. Dr. Ferrière[2] has issued a kind of credo, of thirty-odd articles, in which room is found for all of them. Activity, however, best sums up the point of view from which all these reformed schools take their departure. Side by side with this movement in Europe should be set the *Progressive Education*[3] teachers in the United States; these find a freer field for enterprise in private schools, although in some quarters an energetic Superintendent (like Dr. Wirt in the famous Gary experiment[4]) may put the public system of a group of city schools on a new foundation.

[1] E.g. W. Clayton, *The Village School: what it can do* (in *The Schoolmaster*, September 17, 1924, and October 8, 1926); see below, p. 316.

[2] Director, Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles. See his essay in *Educational Year Book*, loc. cit., pp. 597–630.

[3] In the list at the end of this chapter a few references are given. The Project Method is the latest form in which Self-Activity takes shape in the 'reformed school' of U.S.A.

[4] Flexner and Bachman, *The Gary Schools*, Vol. I of Reports to the General Education Board, New York, 1918.

These reforms centring round the comprehensive idea of Activity are greatly influencing the scheme of things in the primary school curriculum: one realizes more and more that the movement is essentially positive and constructive: it goes beyond the enthusiasm of advocates of freedom or individuality or happiness and is looking for support in the newer expositions of psychology, where the acquirement of skill is recognized side by side with the acquirement of knowledge. It may well be that some of the reforming schools about which one reads present undesirable features: yet when every allowance is made for the extravagance of undisciplined enthusiasm, the impression deepens that a solid contribution is being made to reform in Method.

There is one special ground for believing that this principle of Activity is likely to play a great part in the 'school of to-morrow': it finds bonds of association with sentiments affecting the relations of learning to labour treated under (*g*) below.

(*e*) *Natural Education.*—Among all terms in the reformer's vocabulary, 'nature' and 'natural' have been perhaps the most popular, especially as Herbert Spencer[1] gave them such wide currency. He was following Rousseau,[2] whose romantic genius found it natural in a father to desert his own offspring. Our contemporary anarchist Bertrand Russell,[3] in a nobler temper, is learning afresh the meaning of natural freedom in the upbringing of his boy and girl. One should distrust any exponent of education who defends his practices on the ground that they are natural: yet the word is too fine to be wholly

[1] P. 203 above.

[2] See John Adams on *Naturalism*, chap. ix in *Evolution of Educational Theory*. On Rousseau and the foundlings see John Morley's *Rousseau*, vol. i, pp. 118–25.

[3] P. 220 above.

discarded; it can be properly employed to describe any educational method wherein the teacher studies child-nature and squares his conceptions of progress with his investigation of children's capacity and disposition: if this is understood, any of the reformers so far discussed have some justification for adopting the term 'natural.'

In our epoch the study of children tends to become more exact, more scientific, if one can adopt another much-abused term: in place of the emotional appeal to Nature, characteristic of Rousseau, reformers turn to the methods of the laboratory and the hospital. Long ago Itard and Séguin showed the way in dealing with defectives, and the Montessori System is one outcome of their research, extended to the needs of normal children, while another is witnessed in the world-wide efforts at reform in schools for backward children and in the re-education of adults in prisons. These examples of natural, scientific education by physicians have now joined up with the studies of children made by psychologists which have already claimed our attention at various points.

Neither psychologist nor physician is a reformer as such: but if we set store by the veritable facts about child-life before we begin to teach, these investigators supply us with data; 'Education according to Nature' (with or without the capital N) means nothing in this scientific sense, for Nature does not educate. So used we can well include among those who follow nature a teacher like the late F. W. Sanderson of Oundle,[1] trained in Natural Science and beginning to educate boys with the average equipment of the scientific man, to which

[1] H. G. Wells, *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster*, and in *William Clissold*, vol. iii. Also A. E. Heath in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1922. Professor Heath, who had served at Oundle on Mr. Sanderson's staff, gives in a few paragraphs the leading principle of Sanderson's contribution.

happily was added a determination to seek and follow truth at all hazards wherever it might lead him. This energetic purpose led to his rapid development as a student of boy-nature and of human needs: if all science masters teaching in schools were as loyal as he to the findings of research they could do much to discipline the vagaries of many who speak glibly of Natural Education.

(*f*) *Efficiency.*—The above paragraphs notice most of the terms in which innovators have expressed their philosophy of schooling: all of them are exposed to the charge that, while the child placed in their hands may be happy, active, intelligent for the time being, he may not be learning habits which will function successfully in the life which lies before him. This issue claimed notice when we discussed constituent values (Vol. I, Chap. IV), followed up in the analysis of school pursuits (pp. 35–38 above). Some reformers put it aside as irrelevant: they hold, for example, that the best way to learn how to work when the days of work shall arrive is to play now: or that the world for which children are to be prepared is a wicked, immoral sphere and that the right preparation for entry therein is to hold aloof and learn to rise above and beyond the vulgarities and vices of a corrupt community. There is some truth in these contentions, but not the whole truth; we sought in Section I to see how that conflict can be reconciled. Others, however, do not shirk the issue by repudiating 'the world': on the contrary, they claim that the adoption of radical principles of reform both in curricula and in corporate life will enable their pupils to be more competent in their vocation after the reformer has done with them. But it is hard to convince sceptics: as hard in education as in medicine or in agriculture to show that reform leads to efficiency: it is inevitable that vigorous and solid obstacles will be placed in the way: the teacher who seeks

to put reformed Method into practice must expect to encounter the average amount of sheer unthinking reaction from the so-called business man.

There is, however, another group of reformers who are by no means reactionary; they seem to stand midway between the new and the old. They admit the value of educational research, especially of the statistical and laboratory types, but they hold that the advocates of freedom, activity and the like have exaggerated these impulses, that in an epoch when pleasure is pursued to excess the child needs to be trained in habits of duty. *Efficiency* is the watchword here; sometimes the epithet *social* is added, especially in America where *social efficiency* has become a popular slogan. The idea itself has no novelty: it informs the practice of every conscientious teacher; to be faithful to his trust he must see to it that his pupils actually learn what he is paid to teach: he must reduce the enormous waste in education to a minimum. The English Examination system, from the '60s when Robert Lowe paid the teachers by 'results,' has stood pre-eminently for this aspect of reform (see Vol. I, pp. 211–21). We have seen how the statisticians from Binet onwards have enabled the search for efficiency to be placed on a more scientific foundation: the result in America has been to organize elaborate Surveys,[1]

[1] One of the earliest and most comprehensive of these surveys can be studied in *School Efficiency: a Constructive Study Applied to New York City*. This was the first of ten volumes submitted by Professor Hanus and a staff of inspectors after twelve months' investigation. At the date of this survey (1911–12) the new scientific tests were just coming into use and were effectively applied in this case to expose the weakness of the New York system in arithmetic. The exposition of educational aims in this first volume, 'self-realization,' 'general social efficiency,' 'specific social efficiency,' is most instructive as showing the wide gulf that stands between the most enlightened survey of a school system and the achievement of self-realization within the system by the individual pupil. While under-

which in principle are like the comprehensive inquiries conducted in England after 1902,[1] but in procedure are widely different, employing questionnaires and tests of ability which were previously unknown.

As a check to recklessness, to the vapourings of those who use the catchwords of reform to hide shortcomings, the demand for efficiency is wholesome enough. One must also admit that children themselves are glad to learn habits of order and accuracy; it is indeed all too easy to induce them to regard a mechanical result as an end in itself, to believe with their teachers that correct answers to sums are all that matters in mathematics, and that composition is achieved when spelling and handwriting are up to standard. A comprehensive grasp of educational aims leads the reformer to accept this demand for efficiency without regarding it in any sense as replacing demands for freedom and activity. To adopt the slogans of either party is easy and requires little thought: to

taking an effective inspection of the New York system, Professor Hanus did not deceive himself or lead the New York Board to believe that the end of education could be achieved solely or chiefly by organization, even when the most scientific of tests have been invented to assess efficiency: his most important recommendation was that the attempt to impose uniformity on the schools should be replaced by granting more freedom and variety both to teachers and to supervisors. Since 1912 a host of similar investigations have been conducted in most of the large cities and many of the States—an energy which rivals that of the reformers in the opposite camp. The leaders in both camps know how to bridge the gulf (e.g. Professor Dewey's article *Education* in vol. ii of the *Cyclopedia of Education*, with his definition of social efficiency), but it is not so easy for their followers: hence most of the advocates of efficiency are found in the public State schools, while the apostles of freedom tend to find their sphere in private or semi-private ventures.

[1] See especially the Reports (1904–7) published by M. E. Sadler after inquiry into the educational work of various boroughs and counties; and similar documents (e.g. the elaborate Report by B. Gott to the Middlesex Educational Committee, 1906, of that period).

combine them, giving due weight to each at the proper time, makes schooling a fine art.

We may agree (Vol. I, p. 211) that the community has a right to survey and test the teacher's work, especially at the time when pupils leave a school or college. Yet grave harm ensues from the pressure exerted on the young by imposing standards of so-called efficiency at the expense of those values which cannot be estimated on paper. The pressure invades the school from many quarters all at once: the parent, over-anxious for his children to make good in their vocation, the business man, wanting servants who will be good at their jobs, the high schools and colleges, solicitous that their pupils at entrance shall be accurate in the elements, are all concerned with these immediate values; taken together they constitute an effective public opinion to which many teachers have to yield, even when their conscience is disquieted. The only consolation that one can offer, and it is small enough, is to point out that a like conflict between ideals is to be witnessed in other callings, indeed in every walk of life where a man has to co-operate with his fellows.

(*g*) *Play and Work.*—The demand for Activity can be criticized as going no further than the other slogans, for mere movement leads nowhere, it does not satisfy even the infant.[1] Hence we find that all the reformers who turn to the psychology of activity give further significance to the idea by expounding motive and meaning. And here we witness the sharp divergence of view noted in the last paragraph; for the advocate of efficiency sets his mind, both his own mind and that of his pupil, on the future; the apostles of freedom, self-expression and the like pay scant regard either to past or future, but find adequate motive for their activities in the immediate situation: as we said, they hold that efficiency in the

[1] P. 93 above.

future is best anticipated by releasing the scholar from such anxieties. Their psychology is not quite sound, for the young are not wholly immersed in the present; they are forward-looking: even before the days of infancy are over they dream their dreams, fantastic in infancy, more practical and earnest as the years pass by. Yet the advocates of freedom are right in so far as children look forward to their destiny without anxiety unless pressure is exerted by the elders:—inevitable, alas! in homes of poverty, but harmful when the claims of future efficiency are stressed.

This antithesis is popularly conceived in the contrast between play and work. In the analysis of data for physical education we came across these terms, but a fuller consideration is required, for issues are here raised that strike a deeper level than were presented when we discussed efficiency and vocational education. The social consciousness of our epoch conceives of human rights in respect of recreation and labour in terms very different from those of our ancestors, and the change has exercised a profound influence on the course of education. The theme is far too vast to be adequately handled at the close of a chapter, yet a summary must at least be attempted.

The infant is a play-mate[1]: life to him is a theatre for fancy, and the term *play* is especially appropriate in this connexion, for his attitude towards experience is *un*real; the infant's activity is that of a play-actor. With him, as with the savage,[2] there is no contrast

[1] See Vol. I, p. 62, and Chap. XI below.

[2] Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus* and *The Evolution of Industry* are here indispensable guides. One of the difficulties of Colonial Empire springs from the disability of lower races in tropical climes to realize the *idea* of work: when they do engage in toil they seek to harmonize the rhythms of song and of labour. The 'natural' attitudes of children towards industry are closely paralleled by the historical record as interpreted by Bücher.

between play and work because the idea of persistence in effort towards useful ends has not yet dawned upon him.

"The inevitable yoke" of Wordsworth's *Intimations* appears true to the facts; the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden presents a parallel to the experience of every child: we teach them the words of sacred writ, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread": and life reveals to most of them that there is no escape from that law.

But the lover of children, at least since the time of Ruskin,[1] will not have it so. Childhood and the days of school are to be exempt from the doom of man. "Men must work"—and women must weep: the young should neither weep nor work. This is our modern, humanitarian conception of the rights of childhood: and there are few who question its soundness. It is true that work with tools is prescribed for children, but the educator expressly rules out the child's performances at school as *real* labour, as a contribution, i.e., to the material resources of livelihood, and he makes this sharp distinction between child and adult with a full consciousness of what he is about. He regards the school as the protector of the child against the exploitation of unscrupulous parents and employers: school time is play-time, childhood is the play-time of life. The history of popular education in Britain has been largely concerned with establishing these 'rights' of the child, rights which are maintained on his behalf against his parents (Vol. I, pp. 137, 262) when they seek to get wages out of their children's work. The nineteenth century has often been called the century of the child, because in Western

[1] Are references needed here? I think not: his impassioned plea for 'backsliding' abides among the classics of education. With Ruskin let us place Mrs. Browning's *The Cry of the Children*.

countries it witnessed the redemption of the children of poverty from excessive toil. Nowadays the strength of this philanthropic movement is reinforced, since we are now clear that child-labour, as a contribution to the labour market, is superfluous. The inventions of machinery, the discovery of new sources of power, show that men can produce all the necessities and comforts needed for livelihood with a moderate expenditure of human energy; and that the socio-economic perils ahead of us will not arise from lack of man-power (still less of child-power), but from over-production, i.e. from jealousies and conflicts between the controllers of produce owing to the ease with which science and its machines can now flood the markets.

On economic grounds, therefore, there is no reason why a child should contribute his labour either within the home or outside; the whole trend of advance in schooling, both among the general body of teachers and administrators and among the reformers, has been to emphasize this alienation of the child from 'real' labour and to rejoice in the alienation. Yet when one endeavours to contemplate the social forces of our epoch with detachment, the conviction grows that the severance between child-life and the common round of toil threatens disaster, both for individual development and for social welfare. While the economic value of child-labour can certainly be ruled out of account, the child (in all social classes) still needs to be a manual worker for a portion of his time day by day, on grounds derived from (*a*) physiology and (*b*) ethics rather than from economics.

(*a*) The organic equipment, of limbs and trunk, eyes and ears, is made for 'work,' i.e. they evolved in response to an environment adapted to strive with a world of active forces which the organism meets and masters. In other words, the incessant display of activity by the

young is a part of their inheritance, and the modern régime which confines them for the bulk of the day at desks or in other restrictive postures is imposed in defiance of the natural bent. No doubt the reply has to be partially accepted: adaptation *has* to be sanctioned in order to prepare the young, both in disposition and in the physical frame, to lead an adult life within doors, under conditions often more restricted than those which prevail at school. But this is a weak argument; as we have seen above, we do not follow such a plan with the young of our domestic animals: we prepare them for their adult life in confinement by giving them as calves and colts all possible freedom and scope for exercise.

(*b*) Yet this plea does not by itself justify one in setting the child to labour, to toilsome effort; it only postulates that he shall enjoy plenty of exercise: the analogy with calves and puppies would be satisfied by providing games and manual exercises in the fresh air, following the analysis of physical education in Chapter II. If we are to impose on the young something that we call 'labour' or 'work' of a physical kind, we must turn to morals as well as to physiology, i.e. we must consider the child as a human being who has entered into social relations with his species, wholly different from those witnessed in the animal world. These relations come to consciousness as soon as the stage of infancy is passed (compare Vol. I, p. 67); the world now reveals itself to him as real and practical: he finds himself fed, clothed, kept clean and warm by the labours of those who surround him, and he is confronted with the moral problem of effort. His development largely depends upon the quality as well as the quantity of work to which he is introduced. On the one hand he tends to imitate parents and others in their work: 'mother's boy' will help lay the table or feed the chickens; on the other hand, he is

equally inclined to be lazy and dependent, to accept the services of the elder folk as his right, to remain a playing infant when his developing powers already qualify him to behave as 'a little man.' If indulged in such sentiments he quickly forms a disposition of self-assertion and dominance, he frames an ideal of conduct in which his wants are to be supplied all his life by others, while he himself stands aloof from sharing their labours. It is sometimes assumed that these habits, akin to those of soldier-ants among the insects, are only characteristic of aristocratic or wealthy ranks, and that children in lowly homes are always kept close to domestic or 'business' service. But everyone who knows homes of poverty at first hand is aware that this is not the case: on the contrary, the combined effects of the Industrial Revolution (so-called) and of the education system[1] have led the majority of parents in towns to exempt their children from toil, imitating the practices of those who have risen: labour, having become the central problem of conflict between classes, is commonly regarded as an evil from which everyone who can will escape. This is of course true only of the majority: there is an important minority, yet the majority is very large: the general mass-opinion that has swayed the disposition of the young more and more during the last half-century tends to postpone the sense of obligation to work until the days of schooling are over; in other words, until the scholar ceases to be a scholar he is led to believe that there is no call on him to share in any form of domestic or manual effort: it is sufficient that he should do what is called his 'school work,' kept in food and raiment and shelter by agencies

[1] I can only glance here at historical aspects. In another book (*The Children of England*, chaps. i, ix and x) I sought to show how the history of education needs to be rewritten in the light of social and industrial development.

that dispense with his co-operation. For, as we have seen, our educational system by no means presumes that pupils shall be idle: on the contrary, the whole conception of vocational education rests on the idea that pupils shall work at lessons now in order to be ready for practical wage-earning work later on; but all the while they are assumed to be industrious and many of them do work hard at lessons.[1]

Further light is thrown upon the situation if we bear in mind the overwhelming influence of the doctrine of the division of labour ever since Adam Smith adopted it as the corner-stone of his economic system: to every man his *métier*, and when he has done his daily, or weekly, share, using therein that restricted portion of his powers which this speciality calls forth, then his work is over, and others for their part undertake other labours necessarily to sustain him. The doctrine lends itself easily to our disposition, for, when possible, we choose the work we like, and at the same time *despise the work which others have to do for us*: we divide society into classes or castes and place ourselves, if opportunity is granted, in a favourable position. Now while no one is foolish enough to decry the need of specialism many people nowadays argue that this doctrine has been carried to excess, even in adult life; as regards childhood it has little place and readily leads to moral blindness, even when physical decline and intellectual pedantry are avoided.

It will now be seen why a final place has been allotted to the rhythm of play and work as the culmination of all reforming doctrines in Method. One could reverse the

[1] If, however, the view of child-development in Vol. I, pp. 65–7, is sound, the quality of the work imposed needs readjustment (see Chapters XII–XIV). It is only a minority, the successful scholars, who reconcile their disposition to intellectual things and learn to delight in the toils of scholarship. "The labour we delight in physics pain."

sequence and show how the pleas for efficiency, for natural development, for activity, self-expression, and for freedom can be reconciled by the reformer when he takes the child as he finds him in this twentieth century, where work and play, leisure and toil, learning and labour, contend for his adhesion. All the reformed schools which give scope to self-activity tend to reduce the antagonism between play and work to small dimensions, and thus promote that ideal of industrial society when every labourer, in home and factory and store, shall find in his work some opportunity for expansion. The boys at the Perse School, to whom Mr. Caldwell Cook is so genial a companion, are workers as well as players; the title of the fine book in which he described their proceedings is perhaps unfortunate, for it led the public to believe that educational reform is only designed to amuse. They are inclined to overlook the seriousness of purpose which informs the activities of children when they share with their teachers in the discharge of social and domestic duties: most reform schools for younger children lay great stress on such 'work': some boarding schools[1] make domestic and outdoor service a distinctive feature of the daily programme. In this respect that may be compared with another type of boarding-school which receives 'Children of the State.' The best Poor-Law schools and the best Industrial schools are making a genuine contribution to reform[2]: if anyone doubts whether progress has been made in pedagogics during the last hundred years, let him visit these schools and compare them with the impression left on Charles Dickens.

[1] The co-educational school at King's Langley conducted by Miss Cross is conspicuous in this regard. Some Farm Schools for girls (e.g. those of Miss Fry and of Miss Greenfield) stress the same feature in another way.

[2] The Reports of Home Office Inspectors, especially since the period in which the late C. W. E. Russell had control, are well worth studying.

In this matter of child-labour and child-play it is significant that the new Seven-Year Course established in Russia since the revolution is called The Labour School,[1] with the idea, one gathers, that the activities and phenomena studied by the scholars shall be chosen from the life and interests of manual workers: by this means it is hoped to counteract tendencies to contempt for labour which ultra-academic teaching has been prone to foster. It is evident that this 'swing to the left' has been accompanied by grave losses to culture in schools and colleges, although many of the leaders like Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education, are friendly to learning. In the throes of social upheaval scholars and educational reformers have always had an unhappy time.

Every country has to find its own solution, both for adults and children, between pleasure and duty, relaxation and effort, drudgery and freedom: these aspects of value where labour, art and learning appear to make rival claims on schools and colleges offer most perplexing, if also most stimulating and adventurous, problems for experiment and research. For while they are school problems they touch to the quick those issues in industry and in politics which are stirring our modern world to the depths.

FURTHER REFERENCES

One hears of many schools where reforms are being attempted, but a good deal of inquiry is needed to come across ventures which are continuously pursued over a number of years with adequate records both of principles and of results (see remarks on Collings's experiment below). To the footnotes scattered

[1] Scott Nearing, *Education in Soviet Russia*. This small book is the only comprehensive account I have been able to find on reforms which are evidently drastic. The writer is biassed and stands as a frank propagandist, but in most respects he confirms the impartial report (*The Daily News*, September and October 1923) contributed by Dr. Storrs Best.

throughout this book it may be useful to supply a few additional references arranged under six headings, showing directions from which sources material may be gathered. I need hardly add that the references in this book make no pretensions to be exhaustive : they are given as an example of the way a student collects the material that comes his way. I can only hope that I have not ignored any movement of *great* significance. The references given in other chapters are not repeated here. Special methods dealing with this or that subject lie beyond the scope of this book, except so far as they come up for purposes of illustration in Chapters I, and X to XV.

A. *Books including a number of Reforms in Method.*—Professor (now Sir) John Adams has written or edited three books dealing with reform, viz. *The New Teaching* (1918), *Modern Developments in Educational Practice* (1922) and *Educational Movements and Methods* (1924). They deal chiefly with English schools, but in *Modern Developments* a good deal of attention is paid to America. Miss Alice Woods visited a great many schools about seven years ago and arranged her material in *Educational Experiments in England* (1920). All kinds of schools are included : Rugby at one end of the scale and industrial schools at the other. She omits, however, some well-known enterprises because they have so often been reported on by others. About the same date Mr. Ernest Young, in *The New Era in Education*,[1] collected a set of useful reports, very slight and journalistic in style. In the United States, Agnes de Lime—*Our Enemy the Child* (1925) —gives a racy but very business-like review of progressive movements, which may be compared with *Schools of To-morrow* by John and Evelyn Dewey, of an earlier date.

B. *Books dealing with work in a single school.*—The following seem to be the best known : *The Fielden Demonstration School Record*, vols. i and ii (Manchester University Press, edited by the present writer), are in some respects not yet out of date. More recent are *Bedales*, by the founder, J. A. Badley, and *Towards Freedom*, by Mrs. O'Brien Harris (see above, p. 90). On The

[1] Not to be confused with the magazine issued under this title (see below).

Dalton Plan[1] (in addition to Miss Helen Parkhurst's own book under that title) the following dealing with public elementary schools is worth consulting, A. J. Lynch, *Individual Work on the Dalton Plan* (preface by Professor Nunn); there are also a number of 'assignment' books in print, an evidence that Daltonism is already falling into a routine. Chas. T. Smith, *The School of Life*, describes a remarkable experiment on the æsthetic side of the curriculum, carried on at a school in the Isle of Dogs.

In Brussels several schools are conducted in accordance with the doctrines of Ovide Decroly, a physician whose career (although not his method) reminds one of the work of Madame Montessori. He has written a great deal, but the best account of his method can be found in A. Hamaide, *The Decroly Class*, translated by J. L. Hunt. His biology has led Decroly to work out detailed programmes which his teachers seem to follow in close detail.

In striking contrast to such detailed schemes are the accounts of 'Project' Methods from the United States; the three following are typical: Caroline Platt, *Experimental Practice in the City and County School* (a private venture in New York); Collings's *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum* (a public authority venture in Missouri); Irwin and Marks, *Fitting the School to the Child* (a public elementary school under the New York City Authority).

Collings's is specially important because he conducted the whole transaction as a scientific experiment, using the recognized Intelligence Tests before the four years' experiment began and at its conclusion. He also provided for 'controls' by selecting two neighbouring schools where the ordinary methods were continued; he subjected all three schools to the same tests, including every question that a public authority could propose, both about progress in the three R's and about the relations of the children with teachers and parents. So far as I know

[1] While this book is passing through the press an account is published (North of England Education Conference, to appear shortly in *Education*) of a sensible experiment in a Daltonized Time Table by Mr. Archer and his staff at the Wallasey (Cheshire) Secondary School for Boys.

this is the first time that a bold experiment in reform has been subjected to such rigorous statistical investigation, and on that account Collings's work should be treated as of the first importance, whatever opinion one may hold of the actual methods adopted. Unfortunately this unique enterprise was dropped as soon as the four years were completed, for Dr. Collings removed to Oklahoma; it seems extraordinarily difficult either in America or Europe to secure adequate continuity for this kind of research. Collings's work was prepared as a doctor thesis for Columbia University (Teachers' College); other American Departments of Education which conduct Demonstration Schools issue similar volumes, periodicals and so forth: at the present moment the Lincoln School (Teachers' College) and the schools connected with the Department of Education in the University of Chicago seem to be exercising a wide influence. The nearest parallels in Europe are the school at Geneva associated with the Rousseau Institut (Professor Claparède), which makes valuable contributions to Method as well as to Child Psychology[1]; and the Uebung's-schule (Practice School) conducted for at least seventy years in one form or another by the Professor der Pädagogik in the University of Jena.

C. *Periodicals.*—It is needless to refer to the ordinary professional magazines, weekly or monthly. Most of these in all

[1] There are two schools recently founded at Geneva which are worth noting: The *International School* is the result of settling in Geneva a large number of families whose fathers are civil servants of many nationalities, in the service of the League of Nations or of other corporations arising out of the League's activities. As regards its methods "*l'école Internationale s'inspire des principes de l'éducation nouvelle*"; and as the United States supplies the largest percentage of scholars, one can see how this venture will serve as a link between *The Progressive Education* movement in America and the enterprises of M. Adolphe Ferrière (p. 249 above). The other school is to be opened this year by Mr. Charles King, founder and editor of *The Torch*: it is designed in the first instance for British boys with the express purpose of preparing them to live in the international world. When I wrote about Geneva at the close of Vol. I, I had no idea how rapidly that city was becoming a centre of interest for educational reformers, apart from the activities of Claparède and Dalcroze.

countries welcome reports on progressive methods in schools; one or another has been laid under contribution in this volume repeatedly. Some lay themselves out more distinctively for such a purpose: in England *The Forum of Education* (edited by Professor Valentine for the Training College Association) serves to some extent as a clearing-house for scientific method; while in America the Bureau of Education[1] publishes a popular monthly called *School Life* expressly for the purpose of disseminating reports of advance in Method; and *The Educational Year Book*, above referred to, will render a similar service in the international field. International also, but pronouncedly partisan, are the three allied advocates of 'The New' Education noted on p. 248 above.

Another kind of periodical is worth noting, viz. magazines issued by a school, sometimes by the staff only, sometimes by teachers and pupils together. These may range from the simplest prospectus or journal containing local gossip and sports information to the Time-table and Curricula annually issued from German *Gymnasia* and *Realschulen*, which frequently contain essays on pedagogic themes. Reform schools in England inevitably take to print with a similar end in view, e.g. the King Alfred School Society (Hampstead), St. Christopher's (Letchworth), St. George's (Harpenden). One of the most interesting documents of the kind comes from the VIIIth Standard of a primary school in Sheffield; their "1926 Ilonds" is referred to above (p. 91). Sometimes, as at the Kilburn Normal School (Wellington, New Zealand), the 'Review' acts as an organ for a Parents' Association, publishing pedagogic articles for the parents along with sketches by the scholars.

The pedagogic interest of such work is heightened when the scholars not only compose the letterpress and produce the sketches, but practise their skill in handicrafts by setting up the type, by block cutting and stencilling, even by bookbinding: thus providing a link between labour and learning in interests shared both by the scholar, the craftsman and the child (see Frederick Goodyear, *Printing and Bookcraft for Schools* (1926), for illustrations).

D. *Reports issued by Authorities* (compare Chapter XI in Vol. I).

[1] See Vol. I, p. 223.

—Our English Board of Education every now and then issues a pamphlet describing some valuable work in a school; e.g. one on the Knaresborough Grammar School (a 'Rural' Curriculum), and another on the prefect system in public elementary schools, Warwickshire, are very helpful. I need not repeat here the references to Reports of the Consultative Committee and various Departmental Reports: some of these offer comprehensive surveys of pedagogic principles.

Sometimes the Board prints and circulates documents "for the use of office and Inspectorate only": one of these, describing an *Education Week* in a large borough, I have been privileged to see, and I cannot see why the Board does not distribute such information wholesale. Official prospectuses of Education Weeks have been published repeatedly since the idea was first carried out at West Ham; a small collection of such documents shows directions in which local enterprise is trending better than much other reading material that a student can procure from local sources. One has of course to bear in mind that Education Weeks are conducted with a view to publicity rather than criticism.[1] Of a somewhat similar character is the volume issued by the Manchester L.E. Authority mentioned on p. 273 below.

A few Education Authorities maintain a magazine (e.g. *The Kent Education Gazette*), in which reports on new methods in the area are published. Most Local Authorities issue some form

[1] This stricture is even more relevant as regards exhibitions of children's performances, which, as regards music and other displays, have come under notice on pp. 79 and 162. Displays of drawings, manual work, essays and the like, both on the small scale of an Education Week and the gigantic scale of national and international Exhibitions, may be helpful as propaganda, but they are often mischievous, since they have to conceal the imperfections which of necessity attach to the daily performances of young people. Teachers seldom respond with alacrity to these invitations, for an element of rivalry between schools can scarcely be avoided. If exhibits could be arranged showing the normal course of progress of a few scholars over a series of years, with letterpress explaining the principles on which the work had been produced, their educational worth would be greatly enhanced. Little value can be attached to the display of polished craftsmanship, apart from data as to educational processes.

of Annual Report, but these are too often statistical, or deal merely with finance and buildings. Only in matters of health does one find fuller treatment : laymen can appreciate more readily the effects of medical than of pedagogic care (compare Vol. I, pp. 128–31). The Board of Education also, under the energetic lead of Sir George Newman, has published invaluable scientific work ; most of this goes no further than diagnosis and treatment, but in the schools at Bow and Bradford (see below, p. 295) the effects of a system designed solely to cure physical ailments result in a contribution to general education. The physicians, in fact, are doing more than they know, for although in appearance they are only caring for health they are at the same time promoting reforms in Method.

E. *Reports of Conferences.*—The papers read at the January Conferences organized in London by the Education Guild are published by that association : some of them bear definitely on reform in Method. In the North of England a similar Conference is arranged by Local Education Authorities and the papers are reproduced in *Education.* The only British Authority which to my knowledge appears to have published similar material is the London County Council : the Conferences held for London teachers, up to 1914, contained many valuable accounts of experimental work conducted in London schools, especially public elementary schools, and it is to be regretted that these have been discontinued since the War.

The New Ideals Conference, which meets every Easter or in August, has done capital service. It was designed, one supposes, as a sort of clearing-house for experimental work, and for some years its publications were widely distributed. To some extent its sphere overlaps with the meetings of Section L, conducted by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, where also at times reports on actual experimental work are presented : there is, however, ample room for both.

Abroad, the International Conference organized by the New Education League (see above) does promising work.

F. *Societies founded for Reform in Method.*—In Great Britain at the present moment the Montessori Society, the Dalton Association and the New Education Fellowship are the most

conspicuous. The Froebel Society, which was founded to meet the special needs of kindergarten teachers at a time when infant schools were in *their* infancy, now takes a wider scope [1] and with its organ, *Child Life*, reaches beyond the tenets of Froebel to include all efforts at reform concerned with children up to, say, twelve years of age. The King Alfred School Society and the Child Study Society came into existence at a little later period, but their activities are confined to a small circle. The list would be greatly extended if one included the organizations of specialist teachers who study Method from their own angle. More than twenty such societies are billed in the Education Conference Time-table (December 30th, 1926, to January 7th, 1927), and there must be at least as many more that do not forgather during Conference week.

[1] As the Froebel Society and Junior Schools Association; with its various branches and large membership it probably represents the strongest group of teachers definitely working for reform.

Addendum to p. 246.—Hertfordshire County Council: *Suggested Syllabus of Rural Education*, 16 pp., 1927—an exceptionally useful piece of work, consisting of questions to be answered when farms are visited.

CHAPTER XI

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION: THE REFORMED INFANT SCHOOL (OPEN-AIR NURSERY)

THE needs of infant life were already passed under review among the data afforded in considering Physical Education (pp. 13–15): we saw that the nursery, public or private, is the first 'school,' where children may be brought together to learn good habits, physical and social.

In an ideal home, where the mother, and perhaps other members of the family, have some leisure to look after their children, the chief reason why the infants should attend school (see p. 73 above) is that they enjoy and profit by friendship with comrades of their own age.[1] But in all ranks of society to-day few mothers secure this leisure, or if they can make time they are unwilling to devote to this task the energy which a careful oversight of infant life demands. For while the pedagogy of infancy is simple compared with later stages the technique has advanced sufficiently to warrant careful attention from parents if they decide to keep the little ones at home. They may, of course, when means allow, employ a governess or tutor, but if they do this it is better for three or four families to unite and conduct a home school (Vol. I, p. 110), with a garden and shelters set apart for the purpose.[2] The principles to be followed,

[1] See p. 14 above.

[2] "A child can suffer from too much love as well as too little. . . . The child is spared from the unrelieved companionship of the mother, which is good for the child: and the mother is freed from the limitation of the

whether in one home or in a group of families, are the same as those witnessed in the Nursery Schools of congested areas, for however greatly people fall apart when grown up, babies and infants are remarkably similar whether they enter the world at an address in Houndsditch or in Belgravia.

The end of the Infant Stage is, roughly, at seven years of age (Vol. I, p. 64), and the infant school should be equipped to admit for ages below this, so soon as the children can walk freely to school. It is true that the capacity of the six-year-old is very different from that of the toddler of three, for the year's growth of the young plant is rapid indeed compared with a year between, say, twenty-six and twenty-seven: yet to make a distinction between a Nursery of three to five and an Infant School of five to seven is futile. The whole period is to be regarded as a time of life where schooling in the proper sense of the word has no place, for the preliminary stages in the technique of the Three R's are not to be imposed from the standpoint of mechanical exercise, but admitted just as a feature in spontaneous activity, natural to this (play) period of life.

Situation.—Many Infant Schools are planted alongside of 'departments' for boys and girls, or underneath in class-rooms of a ground-floor. We know now that this is wrong: there is little reason why infants should attend at the same place as their elder brothers and sisters, who can go a farther distance to school (see p. 295 below); there is every reason why they should be sent to some homely place near their own street where open-air shelters and a garden are the chief equipment. The

home atmosphere, which is good for the mother." (From a recent report, U.S. America.) We are not really dissenting from the demand of Pestalozzi and Froebel that the mother should be the first and most important educator: but she must share her privilege with the expert.

open air is to be preferred at any period of life, but for infants the medical evidence is unquestionable. Miss McMillan[1] has shown that land close to the parents' homes is the one essential: and in spite of congestion[2] it can always be had if the public cares about the principle. An attendance of from one to two hundred is enough, the total depending upon the congestion of the neighbourhood: the crowded streets of a slum like the one where Miss Clara Grant organizes her Settlement[3] will give a large school, for which larger garden space should be forthcoming. In a suburb the attendance will be less and may fall as low as fifty; the controlling factor is the nearness of the school to the homes. In our large cities the reform has not usually gone so far as to put the nursery in separate quarters with a garden: in Manchester, for example, the provision for forty-three nursery classes[4] is made on the premises of the existing infant schools; for the city cannot rapidly commit itself to the radical changes involved in establishing Open-air Infant Schools. Hence there is controversy between the advocates of nursery *classes* as a sub-department of Infant Schools conducted within doors and the more radical reformers who ask for Nursery *Schools* which would absorb all the infants, in an establishment separated from the premises of Departments for Boys and Girls.

Surrounded by the homes a Nursery School shares the strongest bonds of neighbourhood sympathy, part and parcel of the other social efforts, hygienic and philanthropic, that help the community to make life worth living.

[1] See above, p. 240.

[2] *The Nursery School*, pp. 27, 28.

[3] Bow Road, London, E.

[4] See *General Survey*, 1914–24, of the Manchester Education Committee, pp. 20, 21, and 32–40. Mr. Spurley Hey's sketch affords a capital example of the steps by which a Public Authority has to approach new problems in reform, encountering practical difficulties at every turn.

Physical Welfare.—In discussing physical education (pp. 22–27) I ventured to pass some strictures on the programmes adopted in past years by the Board of Education for older scholars, but as regards infants one must unreservedly welcome the alliance between the medical officer and the teacher. For the entire programme starts from physical needs: the doctor in the school clinic, the health visitors, the sanitary inspector, even the police are all of them on the same errand: not only to lower the rate of infant mortality, but positively to heighten the rate of joyous, active energy.[1] It is for this reason that the new name, *Nursery*,[2] with 'Open Air' added, is to be preferred, for it frankly avows the fact which every good infant teacher knows—that the little ones require constant attention to their physical needs. The home is helped out on every side of growth, sleep, food and drink, habits of cleanliness, including simple baths, habits of tidiness in dress and manners: in short, the place is one in which a happy and disciplined life makes its start from the functions of the physical frame (Vol. I, p. 63).

Some readers will feel misgivings as to the cost of such schools, especially if some food and a bath are included in the day's routine. This question will constantly recur both here and in the three chapters which follow: let us for the time being set it on one side. In Vol. I, Chap. VIII, some pages were devoted to considering the school budget, and that discussion was an acknowledg-

[1] This energy is mental and physical in one. "In healthy children psychic, like bodily, energy is very high, but is scarcely attached to specific complexes, which are mostly as yet undeveloped. Consequently young children's energy tends to manifest itself in aimless physical activity, such as running and jumping about: the effect being pure *joie de vivre*. (Tansley, *The New Psychology*, p. 67: see also p. 167 above.)

[2] Froebel called his school the Kindergarten (Children's Garden), and *Nursery* has assumed the same meaning, a seed-bed for young plants.

ment of the need for considering at the proper time what resources are available for carrying out a programme. But it is confusing to *begin* any enterprise with the balance-sheet: we first realize a need, we get clear as to the bedrock principles which are essential for the design: only when these are grasped is it worth while to look around and examine the sources from which the material needs are to be met. In all public enterprise the realization of wants, of new wants, of new possibilities, is the first step. The Infant School as now conducted is a costly affair: if the new type, the Nursery School, costs more in some items of its budget, the cost on other items may be diminished, certainly on the capital charges for buildings. Furthermore, if novel principles elicit new response and hope, if this 'mission' is thought worth while, unexpected sources of income may accrue. This *caveat* is especially necessary when suggestions for expenditure are made which go beyond one's earlier habits of thought. Thus in the reformed infant school capital expenditure is needed for cots, baths, towels, table furnishings, materials for play and work; the daily budget will also include an increased charge for water, for some milk and solid food. The only question *at this point* is whether such equipment is necessary to fulfil the design: if so, then it will be ordered just as the physician orders what is required in the hospital—notwithstanding any theory about 'pauperizing' the parent. Theories about parents and paupers are quite important in their place, but spring from socio-political views; the educator, teacher or layman, puts aside his prepossessions when he faces up to the practical situation: if a requisition has reason and common sense behind it, we have no right to lift our eyebrows at it just because other schools or earlier teachers did not make the request. So far as precedents are concerned, why strain at a gnat when one has

swallowed a camel? What difference in *principle* is there between providing milk and food and providing eyeglasses, clogs and shoes, paper and books?

Staff.—A well-attended Infant School will have at least three sections or classes:—the toddlers, as Miss McMillan calls them, of three and four, the middle group ranging round five, and the oldest at six and seven: trained teachers are required for them, trained, that is, in the technique of the job by working for weeks and months in a good Nursery School; all the better if attached to a Training College. This is a specialist work, as technical as is the art of teaching the classics; it combines much that nurses learn in clinics and children's hospitals, with theory and practice also in the intellectual and motor pursuits distinctive of the Nursery School syllabus. The academic type of teacher, who lives in quite another region than that frequented by babies, may sometimes sniff at this sort of training, regarding nurses and caretakers as ranging at a lower level of intelligence. But this will not do: the training offered in *any* calling to young people over eighteen years of age is as educative and respectable as any other so long as the course combines the necessary discipline of drudgery with intelligent appreciation of scientific principles. Vexing questions of status, salary, certificates have to be faced, when a staff are brought together who are half teachers, half nurses; so far as such possible sources of friction are allowed to gather strength the children will suffer. In some Nursery Schools a professional nurse is installed in contrast to the professional teacher who is busy with lessons. Now I am not in a position to say whether this particular specialism is wise, but whether the members of the staff of a public nursery are to be allotted to this profession or to that, it is evident that each one of them must be ready to look after the infant's needs on every side, physical

and mental. The precedent of the wealthy man's nursery where mother, governess, teacher, housemaid, each discharge specialist functions with careful graduations of rank is not suited to the atmosphere of a public school.

Still more controversial is the question of staffing when one invites the aid of student teachers, of adolescent girls and of friendly amateurs. I have already (Vol. I, Chap. VIII, The Teacher) committed myself to heterodox views as regards the status of non-professional teachers: with every desire to enhance the prestige and power of my own calling, I must risk disagreement with the out-and-out supporters of watertight compartments, whether in trades unions or professions. In the Infant School, at any rate, human nature must have its way: girls in their 'teens ought to have a chance of 'mothering' the little ones, as an alternative, if need be, to tennis and essay-writing: one should certainly not compel every girl between fourteen and eighteen to spend some time in this way, but as certainly one should compel Nursery Schools and classes to offer the facilities, and should compel Secondary and Continuation Schools to allow such work as 'attendance' at least on a par with attendance at a laboratory or a shorthand class.

Help of this kind is required, since every pupil benefits by individual attention. A similar position is presented in all callings where the apprentice, the junior, the trainee, has to learn the first steps: the problem arose in Chapter VIII,[1] but could only be noticed in passing, and here one must be content to add that in all types of school the 'prentice hand should be welcomed and efficiently organized as a proper part of the organization of education. It was unfortunate for British Education that the monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster, welcomed largely because it was cheap, put

[1] Vol. I, p. 157.

the entire question of apprenticeship for teachers on a false basis and prejudiced most unhappily the whole position of professional training. Sound method in all types of school is assisted rather than hindered by sensible plans for utilizing the help of beginners, and it will be assumed in later chapters that the experienced teacher makes use of such help. As regards Nursery and Infant Schools, every reformer from David Stow in Glasgow to Miss McMillan in Deptford has been compelled to undertake 'normal' work as a part of the mission to the little ones. It should not be overlooked that the hours of some Nursery Schools are long: there are no exercises to correct at home, or lesson notes to prepare, but in a congested area "the door is open at half past seven in the morning, and remains open till half past five. Some of the mothers must be at work by eight o'clock, and they are glad to leave their babies with us on their way to the factory." [1]

Syllabus.[2]—To speak of a syllabus or a curriculum for these little creatures sounds pedantic: not more so,

[1] E. Stevinson, *The Open-air Nursery School*, p. 26.

[2] "In the early days of school life—especially when it begins at the age of three—instruction in speech must form the chief part of every lesson throughout the day. . . . Training the child to talk freely and naturally may not be unfairly described as the primary task of any infant school or class . . . most of the school hours should be devoted to informal conversation between teacher and scholars." If it were a question of parrots one could understand this, but it seems almost incredible that such pedantry should be issued in these days under the sanction of the Board of Education: it is put in a Chapter on *The Teaching of English* (*Suggestions*, p. 24). The writer has surely never come close to the infants? Are the English people to become talkers, like the Athenians, whom St. Paul reproached? One deprecates this absurdity all the more because of the capital help which the Board of Education has rendered, through its Departmental Committee's Report, and in other ways to the cause of English: and for the sound doctrine Whitehall has preached elsewhere on the theme of this chapter.

however, than for older people wherever the terms of a time-table interfere with growth. The syllabus merely indicates the way in which the school day is filled: an infant's day can be ordered by times and seasons as much as anyone else's passage from sunrise to bed-time: it should indeed be so ordered, since the foundations of habits are being laid: a forlorn feature of many meanly equipped homes is that little children cannot secure an orderly routine of times and seasons. A convenient plan for analysing the syllabus is to take in order the constituent values (Vol. I, Chap. IV), beginning with hygiene. The amount of physical care depends upon the homes from which the children come: in the slum area where the mothers go out to work the school affords a second home; in all Infant Schools the habits to which I have referred should be practised by having some slight meal in common, if it be only a lunch in the middle of the morning. The infant is a creature of appetite[1]: the foundations of character are being laid in controls related to bodily needs: parents may send their children to infant teachers merely with the idea that the Three R's will be taught, but they misread the facts.

Educative Toys.—When the physician has thus played his part, helping the staff to make hygiene a reality, the psychologist comes on the scene with Séguin, Froebel and Montessori to show how the child's powers can be fostered in that borderland between body and mind which is called sensation. Both art and science find their origin in the tactile, visual, auditory relations established between the self and the objective world. Apart from schooling, infants have always, and necessarily, got this experience from the *cosmos* around them before they

[1] The grounds on which the term 'appetite' is preferred to 'instinct' are presented in *An Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 61–6, by the present writer.

came to be born in cities, with artificial light and heat, symbolic of artificial culture of all kinds. The environment provided them with the material not merely to play with as actors, but to measure and arrange, discriminating rough and smooth, red and blue, light and heavy. So the modern infant teacher, learning the method first of all from a teacher of defectives, Séguin, uses many kinds of material which are sometimes grouped as 'Individual Occupations.' A more precise term is *Educative Toys*,[1] as distinguished from playthings which the infant uses in his rôle of actor or producer: a toy is just a bauble or trinket in our eyes unless we watch the child's behaviour. He takes, sees, grasps, listens to any and every thing: when an object gets hold of his attention, then he learns a new fact on the perceptual level.[2] Devices to assist this learning are at least as old as the early Egyptians: Séguin organized apparatus, which Montessori in Italy

[1] Miss K. Steel and J. J. Findlay, *Educative Toys* (1913). This book gave reports of experience with the Montessori apparatus at the Fielden School, 1911–13.

[2] "It is a commentary on the artificiality of our urban civilization that a Mme. Montessori is required to remind us of the need (among other things) of sufficient and varied tactile stimuli in early years. Haphazard encounters with string, stones and sticks (now carefully 'cleaned up' and out of reach) aided by personal struggles with the more exact weapons of toilet and table once provided most of the stimuli which we must now measure out with psychological ingenuity. Hereby we are no doubt making progress in self-consciousness; but for young children country life and self-help are still the unmatched educators of human instincts." (Hocking, loc. cit., p. 262.) And many infant teachers continue to distrust the whole theory of "didactic apparatus" in spite of the fame of Montessori. They choose toys which "reconstruct whole situations," e.g. bricks, dolls, wooden animals, carts, spade and pail in the sand-pile, balls, swings: from these the infant learns discrimination through all his senses. Such toys are certainly indispensable, yet there is time also for interest in the more formal material offered by Séguin and Montessori.

and Miss McMillan in England imitated independently of each other at the close of the last century. Many variations of these models are now produced by educational publishers, very inartistic as a rule: on the ground of taste one could indeed find room for criticism in the material patented by the House of Childhood, the firm which produces didactic apparatus as prescribed by Madame Montessori. One criticism of these occupations is that they are often begun too late and continued too long; another that too much is expected from them, especially in the discrimination of colour and form.

Employment with didactic material is valuable, since it smooths the approach to geometry and to fine art in later years; but this approach is unconscious, and if the infant teacher tries to make 'lessons' out of such nursery practices she is courting failure.

Among such toys there are two types which are greatly favoured by teachers because they serve as an introduction to the Three R's. This preliminary acquaintance with the shapes of letters and number signs achieves two ends. Firstly, it attaches the popular names, heard constantly by the children, to the forms before his eyes and handled with his fingers. At first he will not know what these shapes are *for*, and his ignorance does not trouble him: he is content with the fact that older folk, elder brother and sister, parents, and streets and books, makes use of these mysterious symbols: this interest is enough to set him off, picking out A from B, 2 from 3 and so on. The more intelligent, i.e. the more curious and inquisitive, soon begin of their own motion to hunt for an explanation, so that before long addition of numbers is being acquired [1] by some and the mystery of reading is unravelled by others. This may well happen with

[1] See, e.g., Margaret Drummond, *Five Years Old and Thereabouts*: an invaluable guide to this pedagogy by an experienced psychologist.

precocious children before they are five years of age, especially if they come from homes where the elders foolishly egg them on to master these arts. The teacher, knowing more of the meaning of development, should not imitate this eagerness, but should watch such children to see if they are being neglected on other lines of growth, such as hygiene and open-air play. Reading, writing and mathematics as 'subjects,' i.e. as formal studies, have no place before seven to eight years of age: yet long before that age normal children can secure from several senses such experiences of shape and sound as enable them at once to enter on arithmetic and the use of print, when they forsake the realms of infancy for the realities of formal learning.

The Infant using Tools.—The first tool a baby uses is the spoon. This is a civilized extension of the hand; and all other tools follow rapidly, since the development of power depends so largely on hands and fingers: that is one reason why clay is so acceptable as a toy material. The advance from using toys to using tools is a great step in sociality: children who can see people at work soon imitate them: I recall a little chap of three successfully knocking nails in a block of wood: his eye was true enough and he wielded the hammer skilfully, for he had watched his father by the hour: yet he scarcely knew why his father put nails into wood. By six years of age little girls can use scissors and large needles, for they are not far from the portals of childhood. The difference between manipulation, the arrangement of educative toys, and the *use* of tools is great: the infant is now a creator, a maker and disposer of events: he can alter the puppets of his fancy, cutting off, dressing up, adding here, removing there, giving concrete image to stories which he himself may invent or which may be supplied him by the teacher.

Another question of management may be here interpolated; it occasions much discussion among teachers both of infants and of higher classes: where is the teacher to get good tools and materials from? Education Committees make a small *per capita* grant, but this does not go far, especially as they seem compelled to keep strict watch on the precise mode in which the money is laid out: they commonly place standard articles in their own stores or on their requisition lists and refuse to pay for anything outside these bounds; no doubt the complexities of administration and audit make it impossible to give more freedom, but the effect is unfortunate. Manufacturers are encouraged by the requisition system to produce quantities of pinch-beck stuff made up of necessity so as to be packed and transported conveniently, and to suit large numbers in all sorts of schools. Now teachers who care for their work are dissatisfied with these ready-made goods, but they cannot afford to expend much of their time—still less, of their money—in putting together home-made articles. Yet in spite of handicaps many of them contrive to get what is needed by devotedly spending many hours of leisure time with scissors and paste. But just as one deprecates the fatigue among teachers of older children who spend immense time in corrections (see p. 118), so one would ask those devotees of infants to see whether they cannot attain even better results by calling for help. Thus as regards material, some infant teachers seek for supplies of *waste* material from every quarter.[1] To use scraps from the paper-hanger, the dressmaker, the grocer, etc., is not only good

[1] Miss Clara Grant, the veteran reformer and Settlement worker, in an Infant School at Bow has worked on these lines for many years. For more recent examples see L. Bone and M. E. Lane, *Child Training Through Occupation*; M. E. Lane, *Teaching of Handwork* (*The Schoolmistress*, February 1924); Wontrina Bone, *Individual Occupations in the Three R's*.

for these tradesmen's souls, but for the teachers, the parents and the children. Good tools, however, cannot be picked up casually: they need to be of the best quality and the L.E.A. grant for material should therefore be mainly spent on tools and on all that is necessary to keep the tools efficient: when one has a sound tool one can ferret around and find, at any stage of handwork, material to fulfil one's design which is not of much use for the ends of commercial industry.

Another kind of help can be invited in the labour of making toys for the little ones. Here we must turn to the older scholars and their teachers. These chapters have repeatedly pointed out that goodwill is the solvent of many school difficulties, and here it is a case of goodwill between the infant class and Standards VI and VII, or even the handwork folk in a neighbouring central or secondary school. Just as the adolescent girl needs to spend some of her time with the infants, so she and her brother may well spend some of their energy in helping the infant teacher to supply what the little ones want. Among the 'models' which are produced by the thousand from a Handicraft Centre many should be turned out to the express order of the Infant and Standard I teachers. The manufacturers and agents who make their living by turning out factory goods will deprecate these proposals, but they too are human and must know that wholesale machine products cannot satisfy individual wants.

Form.—Materials so gathered help the child to express his own ideas: he may certainly use educative toys for the special purposes of discrimination, but he needs even more to express his own mind in his own forms: the poet is just a maker, *ποιητής*, with words: the infant needs the chance to make, to body forth, his mind in grosser stuff: he erects the fancy fabric of his castles

in Spain with any and every thing he can lay his hands on or give voice to. Artists and technicians tend to miss the point of such activities: they analyse the process and treat it as a basis for fine art:—which indeed it is, as we shall see in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to refer to Miss McMillan's chap. xii in *The Nursery School* where the whole philosophy of Form is put in a nutshell, as an experience of the moment, without regard to Schools of Art.

Music and Dancing, Poetry and Story.—For we must not leave the infant, as some of the didactic-material enthusiasts would do, at the level of sense experience. True he is an animal, nosing around with all his senses, but his social sympathies strike deeper and wider than those of his playmates the dog and the cat. Music and dancing, first of all (p. 39 above), for, as Miss Stevinson reports[1]: "These arts are much nearer to the child than even the plastic arts. He is prepared for them so early in life that we can hardly trace the moment when the music centres are developed and the capacity for appreciation of rhythm and melody is born." Of all toys those of the kindergarten band or orchestra prove the most delightful: at the same time as an intellectual exercise children of six are happy to read music on the horizontal spaces of the staff notation, happier with that exercise in sense perception than in using the letters of the alphabet as signs of musical sounds. Music and mathematics, which in their higher ranges possess close affinities, are here seen united in the first field of technique which a child masters. On the value and place of poetry one need not enlarge, for many agencies have been at work of late years to encourage nursery rhymes, fairy-tales and folklore.

Story-telling has become a fine art among many

[1] Loc. cit., p. 51.

teachers of the young, and the practice is twice blessed: at the moment the children receive the impress of a fine æsthetic experience; they remember with fidelity the tone, the accent, the details of circumstance, and they tell the tale again, learning to be speakers and actors, entering on a brave world where deeds are done, tears shed and hearts made glad. At the same time, and without knowing it, they are learning the 'English' to which we have referred on p. 278.

The Time-table.—The reform now proceeding in the education of infants culminates in the time-table. Teachers adhering to the old paths can say that the syllabus above outlined is covered by their time-tables, but the practical outcome among those who follow the new ways is widely different. Here is a typical time-table as submitted to inspectors for approval ten years ago: there are four classes, from the three-to-four-year-olds to the six-and-sevens. One need not reproduce the whole document, the scheme for Thursday in Class I will suffice:

9–9.30 Religious Instruction	9.30–9.50 Observation Lesson	9.50–10 Voice Training	10–10.5 Movement Exercises	10.5–10.30 Number
10.30–10.45 Recreation	10.45–11.15 Reading	11.15–11.30 Recitation	11.30–12 Drill	
2–2.10 Conversation	2.10–2.20 Word Building	2.20–2.50 Drawing	2.50–3.5 Recreation	3.5–3.25 Hall
3.25–3.55 Brushwork	3.55–4.15 Occupations	4.15–4.20 Marching	4.20–4.30 Prayers and Dismissal	

In addition to these 'subjects,' the following appeared in the time-table of these infants on other days: Story,

Singing, Writing, Printing, Pastel Drawing, Cutting, Clay Modelling, Bast, Paper Modelling, Games: 23 subjects in all. If this be contrasted with the sketch *A Typical Day in a Nursery Class*[1] it will be seen that a revolution has been wrought. The reform has not advanced anything like so far with the older children; and it forecasts analogous simplifications of time-tables in Primary and Secondary Schools.

Classification.—As we have seen there are at least three sub-stages covered by the infant period of school life. When a Nursery Class is organized apart from the Infant School the latter tends to become a preparatory school, fitting the child to enter Standards I and II, 'well grounded,' as the phrase goes, in the Three R's. Worse still, the custom has been to keep close to age limits: "in most Infant Schools age is still the accepted basis of classification. Teachers talk of the 'threes,' the 'fours,' and so on; . . . an attempt is made to bring most, if not all, of the children of the same age to the same level of attainments. Even when age is tacitly ignored the classes are still carefully graded."[2] It is evident that rigid separation, minute time-tables and sub-division of subjects are out of place: the older

[1] *General Survey*, 1914–24 (Manchester), as above, pp. 36, 37. Compare Miss Steel's time-table (1913) in *Educative Toys*, pp. 35 and 53–55; and *When we were Young*, pp. 38–42 in *City of Bradford Education Week*, March 1926.

[2] From a paper by Miss Blackburn, late Headmistress of an Infant School in Leeds (published by the New Ideals Conference, 1916). Miss Blackburn offered a strong plea for parallel classes, delaying separation between older and younger till the final year, when the older infants are getting ready to enter their new school. A similar plan is reported from The Jews' Free School, Whitechapel (Miss Solomon), and is called "family classification." A newcomer is placed with elder brothers and sisters, with the incidental advantage that the distribution of infectious disease from a single home is checked.

infants should certainly not be kept back to the occupations of the 'toddlers': at the other extreme it is absurd to consider age as determining to which group this or that child should be assigned. There should be no question of getting the little ones ready for the Primary School: they themselves, if normal, are eager to progress and will show by their interest in numbers and in letters whether they are ready for promotion.

Promotion.—The year or two of transition between infancy and childhood is best spent in the Infant Department,[1] that is to say a child may well stay with the little ones until eight years of age or even longer. A strict age-limit is now admitted to be a mistake: the moment comes when the child shows himself ready for the new life and responsibilities of the new society, a Primary School. Precocious, self-reliant young folk may be ready at seven years, but eight is nearer the average. At the opposite extreme a small quota of backward children are found who at ten or even eleven are still happy in the company of little ones: where the numbers in attendance do not permit of segregation it is better to let them remain as long as possible in an atmosphere where their intelligence is not unduly taxed.[2] So far as capacity is concerned, the conditions laid down in *Suggestions* (p. 18, para. 32) are not onerous. The infant mistress is the best judge as to whether an individual child is ready for his new career: a formal examination in the Three R's is mischievous simply because it tends to lead both schools to attach undue importance to accuracy in counting and in language; no harm is done by applying Binet or

[1] The Junior Stage in the classification given by the Board of Education: *Suggestions*, p. 18.

[2] The case of the M.D. (Mentally Defective) is different, although even here an experience reported from the Fielden School (see *Educative Toys*, pp. 94–6) is worth noting.

similar tests in doubtful cases, so long as both parties recognize also the worth of capacities in music and other arts. The primary-school teacher is warranted in asking that his youngest class shall start as a fairly homogeneous group as regard those intellectual habits or skills which will be called upon day by day thereafter; but this will be all the better secured if no steps are taken definitely to prepare the infant for promotion. When he is ready, even at seven years, he ought not to be held back: but the Primary School need show no eagerness to hasten the pace.[1]

These few pages have summarized a movement in reform which is equal in importance to anything which we shall consider in subsequent chapters. On the whole there is little dispute as to what can be done and ought to be done to start the infant on life's journey: teachers are more agreed on principles of education at this point than at any other.

In all civilized countries to-day similar movements are witnessed; the pioneers of the Nursery Schools Association will not slacken their efforts until the public come to recognize that the foundations for a new race can be laid in the simplicities of the nursery. This chapter is offered not so much for the infant teachers themselves as for outsiders, teachers and laity both, who

[1] It still seems necessary to plead for reform in these matters. Thus Bray (*School Organization*, pp. 262, 263) writes in 1924: "Generally speaking, there is no bond of sympathy existing between the teachers of infants and senior departments. Indeed it is not unusual to find some teachers openly expressing their disapproval of infant teachers and of infant ways and means generally." And the remedy? "Mutual understanding"—in other words the harmony and goodwill for which every chapter of these volumes pleads. The Annual Conference which Mr. Bray desiderates is but an outward symbol of this spirit: where the disposition is wanting, sitting at a conference will not lead to results—in a Primary School or at Geneva.

know little of what has been happening in this corner of the field, unless they happen also to be fathers and mothers who both love their children and study their ways. Many social workers in our cities, physicians, clergy, health visitors, police, now know what is possible; with their help another decade ought to witness a rapid progress in many a city ward and country village.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL, TO ABOUT TWELVE YEARS OF AGE

Note.—While this chapter is written to cover the grades of the Primary School,[1] as attended by the majority of children in all countries, the principles apply to Private or Preparatory Schools which receive pupils of the same stage of development. The details of Method in such schools lie beyond our range here, for each of them has its own problems, many of which depend on social rather than pedagogic data. Even in the Public Elementary System there are many variations, due to social conditions or to the differing regulations by Authorities: we are only concerned to elucidate principles based on the *general* situation.

In this chapter we pick up the threads dropped at several points in the earlier Sections: these woven together make a consistent design for the ideal school of the future. In Chap. IV, Vol. I, and Chap. VI above we sought the basis in child-study; and in Chap. VII, Vol. I, we noted how Authorities have organized the school-life of children after the stage of infancy is completed: the child now becomes a 'little man,'[2] a 'little woman,' and is welcomed in a new community. We have already dealt

[1] Officially styled Public Elementary; see Vol. I, p. 134. It is gratifying to read Chapter III, *The Lines of Advance*, in the latest (1927) Government Report, *The Education of the Adolescent*, as evidence that both the nomenclature and the policy recommended in Vol. I are enjoying wide favour.

[2] The *Littleman*, in Caldwell Cook's happy phraseology (*The Play Way*, chap. iv).

with the social aspects of primary schooling (p. 93), so that all that remains now is to consider curriculum and teaching procedure. Just as in those chapters we saw how the line of progress consists in paying more regard than formerly to the child's disposition (Chapter VII), so now we are confronted with the same problem, viz. how to reconcile child nature (energy, capacity, taste) with the obligation laid upon teachers by those who found and maintain the Primary School.

The review of pioneer work made in Chapter X shows that any suggestions we make must be in the nature of adjustment. We have on the one hand a long record of experimental and pioneer schools illustrating principles on which a *few* children have been educated: on the other hand we have national systems which by their very nature are bound to take account of many sociological data from which the reformer stands aloof. The great mass of schools, public or private, within this system have to pay regard to lay opinion as represented by parents; to professional opinions such as in any given case the staff of a school contribute to its proceedings; to administrative opinions expressed through laws, regulations and other controls exercised by Authority. The adjustment must endeavour to deal with curricula so that some advance may be made towards the ideals of the reformer, within the boundaries set and circumscribed by the conditions under which every Primary School must do its work. We do not, or should not, resent the existence of these restrictions, although in Section II we were concerned to note some points where they needlessly cause friction: we do not, we cannot, resent them, for they are part and parcel of the common life: the joyous adventure in education consists in meeting obstacles, not in girding at them. One or two such obstacles have to be faced

even before we can consider the syllabus; these arise from the conditions of attendance peculiar to the Public Elementary School.

Attendance.—The period of life covers four years, normally from seven to eleven or eight to twelve. "The age of eleven is increasingly recognized as the most suitable dividing-line between what may be called 'Junior' and 'Senior' education."[1] The syllabus should therefore be designed on the understanding that the great majority of the scholars are in attendance during the four years and "complete the course." Unhappily a large percentage of children, especially in congested areas, are on the move (Vol. I, p. 202); while in Secondary Schools the date specified for admission is fixed, such a rule cannot be followed in Primary Schools, since it is the duty of parents to send their children, and therefore of some school to receive them, as soon as a family settles in a new home. I do not know whether statistics have ever been procured on this point: one presumes that the records kept by head teachers could be worked up to show the proportions which this migration assumes in various districts[2]: but in any event

[1] From Circular 1350 (Jan. 1925) of the Board of Education to Local Education Authorities. It is unfortunate that the terms *Junior* and *Senior* are used here to specify different stages from those outlined as Junior, Middle and Senior in *Suggestions*. But the perplexities which this Circular exposes are inevitable, and the Board can only go one step at a time. The one point on which emphasis must be laid is that a child should not be sent to any school (or department) for less than a three years' attendance. One hears of plans for "concentration" by which boys and girls of thirteen are carried off for a single year's schooling to a new community, i.e. to some school in the district where there happens to be room for a sizeable collection of thirteen-year-olds: this is bad organization, whatever pleas may be advanced on its behalf.

[2] Migration is only beginning to be studied in its bearing on social phenomena. (See A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, 1800–1850 (1926).) The schools of a stable community escape many difficulties in

it constitutes the first obstacle to be encountered by a teacher who would like to try reformed methods. If a school departs too far from the scheme pursued elsewhere, new scholars coming in to the middle of a four years' scheme will be unable to adjust themselves to novel methods; and if no one else suffers, the teachers suffer in reputation when their work is appraised on the results achieved with such migrants. Faced with this difficulty the teacher is inclined to hold by the old-fashioned "standards" in the Three R's with precise schemes to be covered month by month: the new-comers who drop in at odd times and go out at odd times can then be registered as having reached this or that standard of mechanical accuracy. Two points seem clear: (1) that the benefits secured by the majority who attend regularly throughout the course are the first consideration and their progress should not be sacrificed to the interests of a minority; (2) that these migrants may be quite as well educated by taking their chance in a school which aims at a real education beyond the results of mechanical teaching. In the time-table suggested below, which allows a daily period for mathematics and for languages, one hopes to secure opportunity for the wanderers to acquire and consolidate useful habits in the Three R's. Of a similar nature are the hindrances caused by the size of classes, in class-rooms equipped to suit old-fashioned methods, and by the lack of space and open air which we shall consider in a moment.

The length of attendance we contemplate in this

Method. The extreme instance of gipsy and canal boat children has received some attention from the Board of Education, but obviously such wanderers cannot fit in with the normal government of schools by the L.E.A. The Board of Education should take them under its own wing, as the War Office does with soldiers' children, who are not to be left out of the national system.

chapter for the average pupil is four years: what of the precocious scholar (Vol. I, p. 60) whose intelligence quotient and energy enable him to cover the ground in a shorter time? He should certainly not be kept back, but it is equally important that he should be developed on every side of his nature: no harm is done by passing on a clever boy or girl to a Central or Secondary School at ten instead of at twelve, so long as he has had a fair chance of developing in open-air activities and in the arts as well as in the intellectual studies which at the present day are the sole factors considered in promotion (see below, p. 317). Certainly during these four years the brighter scholars should not be kept back from rapid advance through the syllabus, if their talents qualify them to go forward. Those who do not go forward to a Central or Secondary School[1] should normally stay in the same community until they complete their schooling at fourteen; but although the same school buildings, the same principal and staff take charge of them, they belong during their closing years to a Senior Stage, which is considered in the next chapter.

Situation.—From our discussion of physical education and of arts and crafts (Chapter II) it seems evident that open space is more important than elaborate buildings. The infant must be near the home but a child can travel farther: we have seen (p. 28) that means of transport could be utilized to carry children from congested areas and deposit them on the ground where they have room to expand. This remedy may be regarded as revolutionary, yet there are abundant signs that the principle is being admitted[2]; and while the

[1] Compare Vol. I, pp. 67 and 135.

[2] In Bradford this exact plan is in operation for 300 children who "gather each morning in the centre of the city and leave by the 8.35 a.m. cars for Thackley, . . . returning home on the 4.35 p.m. cars." True,

ideal syllabus cannot be adopted in full until elbow-room in the open air is available, it can be aimed at; what is set down in this chapter as a goal of far-off achievement is being sought by all Primary School teachers who accept child psychology as the basis of Method.

Staff.—What has been said in the last chapter about Infant School or Kindergarten teachers applies *cæteris paribus* here: just as those should be women who understand infant welfare and nurture, so the Primary School teacher should be first and last a craftsman, craftswoman, since the distinctive mark of development during childhood is the response to the real world of material, tools, things concrete, whose relation to things abstract is being recognized but only partially apprehended. "If distinctions are to be made between primary and secondary teachers we should say that the ideal primary teacher is one who, above all, is an artist

they are delicate children and only attend at Thackley for six months, but the city hold 60 acres of woodland at Thackley and there seems to be no reason why the cars should not bring out 3,000 children instead of 300. Compare Report by Dr. Ralph Crowley in 1908 with the brochure of the City of Bradford Education Week, 1926, and the plans followed by the London C.C. Education Committee in several Open-air Schools. The photographs on the opposite page have been kindly sent from their schools as typical examples of the daily curriculum wherever open-air and handicrafts are combined. It should be borne in mind that the expense of these schemes is onerous so long as a place has to be reserved for every scholar in the school to which he returns when his period of open-air schooling comes to an end. If the congested-area school (on a valuable site) were closed and replaced by a new community on cheaper land with inexpensive buildings, the cost would not be so serious. The whole problem should be envisaged in the light of Town Planning schemes, and of the sociology opened up by new facilities for transport. In rural areas transport is being utilized to achieve an exactly opposite purpose, viz. to 'consolidate' attendance (reports from New Zealand, 1924 to 1926). The L.C.C. School at Bow is sketched by Miss Evelyn Sharp in the *Manchester Guardian*, March 16, 1927.

OPEN-AIR COUNCIL SCHOOL, BRADFORD, YORKS.

OPEN-AIR COUNCIL SCHOOL, BOW ROAD, LONDON, E.

Constituent Values (Vol. I, Chap. III) and Child Psychology (Chap. IV), we should expect the day's routine to include some attention to each of the following, which in popular terms can be called a Five-Point Programme.

So soon as one begins to lay down a daily time-table in terms of subjects one is in danger of forsaking the realities of child-life, regimenting child nature to excess: the reformer who pleads for self-activities, for projects which spring from the impulses of a group of children, may well fear that *any* time-table laid down months beforehand, with specified attention to definite exercises hour by hour, will thwart the spontaneity of lively young spirits. We must admit the danger, and yet everyone knows that some approach to routine is demanded by Authority, even if not required by the staff: the teacher must therefore seek scope for spontaneity *within* the rubrics of control. Moreover, while the danger is great of sacrificing buoyancy and energy by multiplying subjects and codifying time-tables, one must also admit that the regularity of a day's routine is an immense help in acquiring habits of intelligence and skill. Ten minutes daily at the same time of day are more effective in many exercises than double the time spent at irregular intervals.

A. *Music, Dancing and Poetry.*[1]—The first Point in the programme is a continuation of the play activities of the Infant School, viz. music, dancing and poetry, whose origin traces back, in the child as in the race, to the beginnings. Every day some progress should be made in technique as well as in sheer enjoyment of the exercise. To arrest or neglect these delights is to stop the course of development at the very springs of human nature: on the other hand, the fact that they are so intimately a part of the 'natural man' makes them the

[1] For definition on each of these points see Chapter II.

readiest vehicle for analysis, for intellectual effort which relates sheer joy in execution to the grammar of thought: they serve as a kind of springboard from which a plunge can be made into the depths of intellectual absorption.

B. *Arts and Crafts.*—Having emerged from infancy into a real world, the child should not be left too much to the æsthetic joys of dance and song: he will now react to his environment in two other directions, as craftsman and as humanist. As a realist he already understands (unless his social milieu grossly perverts his understanding) that mankind work[1] as well as play, and the work congenial to his nature[2] is work with hands and tools. So our second Point takes the child either to the open air in the garden or to shelters and work-places, or perhaps to the school kitchen, where jobs are undertaken. Suitable equipment is not at present provided in one Public Elementary School out of a hundred: but the one per cent. which do provide them are sufficient to demonstrate the principle, sufficient to prove that the proposal is practical.

It is obvious that schools cannot provide an endless series of *real* jobs, such as the real workshops and kitchens provide for apprentices: these tasks are already to hand, since in most families where the elders are working folk the children are enlisted to lend a hand; indeed at a still lower social level, in those unhappy families where the parents do not earn a competence, the youngsters have often to give work in return for wages before as well as after school hours.[3] These considerations do not affect the principle in question; they only show

[1] Vol. I, p. 47, and pp. 255–263 above. [2] Vol. I, pp. 65–6.

[3] Such work, however, is seldom educative: serving on a milk-round and selling newspapers does not develop ability with tools, although they may sharpen the wits: but then milkmen and newsagents are not educators.

that a uniform code must not be imposed, even for all the schools in one city or county.

The teacher who accepts the ethics and psychology underlying the principle will look around at the here-and-now of his school and invite his children to share in projects concerning any work (he as foreman, his youngsters the unskilled helpers) which lies to hand. There is logical ground, *at the outset*, for ruling out any menial task from the scope of his survey. If it is right for a child to help his mother in sweeping or dusting, in laying a table, and the like, at home, there is only one reason why he should not help in such matters at school: viz. that he has had enough of it at home and that at school he can occupy all his time with projects that are more educative because they are novel and lead to new experience. Leaving on one side the very controversial issues raised by the status of the caretaker, there are several practical directions for permanent work which public opinion is now ready to allow children to share: e.g. preparing the mid-day meal; keeping a garden[1]; making educative toys for infants (p. 284 above); fitting up wireless, meccano and other 'hobby' apparatus; making apparatus by way of correlation, i.e. to serve for the school stage, for practical mathematics and science; making useful articles for charitable purposes.[2] Then there is work to be done for every school which is at present undertaken by tradesmen, e.g. repairs to the school premises, making curtains, caring for playing-fields, painting and decorating. The fleeting, happy-go-lucky nature of children is by no means

[1] The first garden in an English Public Elementary School dates from 1895.

[2] There may be ethical objections to these last, but they spring from genuine philanthropic impulses, especially among girls who are asked to make garments for less fortunate children.

adequate to discharge any of these jobs effectively, for while children need to work they do not need much work at a time; nor is there any economic necessity for them to do any such work: the necessity is psychological and moral. And yet it *is* a necessity: if the only tools a child can wield at the age of twelve are knife, fork, cricket-bat and school pen he has been grossly miseducated. A syllabus so set down is no syllabus at all from the standpoint of a technician; nor should it be before twelve years of age, since handwork at this age is a Method. The technician need not fear that skill will not be acquired unless a prescribed course of models is laid down; any demand for the production of articles for use is bound to involve exercise in the commonest tools (scissors, needle, knife, hammer, saw) and the commonest materials (paper, cloth, wood). All that he has a right to prescribe is that the actual execution of designs shall be carried on with due regard to the nature and function of the various tools and materials. The elaborations of the adult workshop are neither to be expected nor desired at this stage: the old-time manual training or Sloyd teacher, seeking to reproduce the style of the accurate professional artisan in the school, was making a travesty both of school and of shop. He was aiming at a useful kind of life, but not at child life.

Drawing and Colouring.—Among the constituent values which play their part in a fully rounded life we recognized those æsthetic experiences which we call fine art (*les beaux arts*), and we distinguished three types. The second of these is bound up with the crafts. In childhood at least there is no justification for treating drawing and painting as separate subjects, apart from the various designs which arise in the pursuit of practical activities, and in desires to express ideas associated with the

humanities. Some children, gifted with powers of expression in form, will want to give more time for such exercise and they should get the opportunity. But as a principle of Method there is no evidence which justifies the allotment of special periods of drawing cut off from its functions as decoration on the one hand, and as a means of expressing, of story-telling, on the other. The time for technique in these arts comes later in life, for those who display special talent. To treat this important means of expression in alliance with crafts and with humanities does not degrade it, or lead to neglect, but it rules out the specialist 'schemes' of art-masters such as are sketched in Chapter VII of *Suggestions*. One doubts if that pedagogy is true either to child-psychology or to the best traditions of art acquirement, such as sprang from the masters of mediæval times and are now being renewed by reformers like Professor Lethaby and the Arts and Industries Association. The problem wears a different aspect in Schools of Art and in Secondary Schools; but as regards the development of children, such schemes tend to thwart art impulses rather than to foster them. Our Authorities have inherited a bad tradition from the Science and Art Department of the '70s, and have not yet broken loose.

C. *The Humanities.*—The child has also become a realist over against his fellows: and hence the third Point in his daily programme must be the Humanities. He can read, write, chatter, draw: let us hand him over for a little while every day (some days perhaps for half the afternoon, other days for only half an hour: but a little while every day) to explore mankind, in story, travel and every kind of adventure. Some of this time will be given to drama, some to reading, silent or collective, some to map making. It is too soon to break up

this pursuit into three or four subjects called History, Geography, Literature. So far from that a class for a month at a time may follow some project[1] which concerns chiefly a story of travel and may well be styled Human Geography, if a title is to be entered in the time-table. Authorities, who intervene to sanction the syllabus, should give full play for a class to wander in many regions, so long as the human interest (call it aim, project, problem, as you please) is felt by the children to be vital, calling upon the energy that bubbles over when allowed expression. The school should give some direction to their explorations into the past and present, into happenings in space and time: it is not fair to leave their wanderings to chance, since they have no experience. The extreme of Method in Mr. Collings's Project[2] which led the children of a Missouri village to investigate typhoid may be justified: one can admit that the essentials of a sound humanistic experience were secured; yet one would scarcely be content to allow any children during four years to continue their exploration without some guidance which would lead them on to definite acquaintance with the fortunes of their own and of other countries. In point of fact those children in the Missouri village did secure an abundance of information on such themes, nor was the teachers' guidance withheld, but the whole procedure was made to spring from point to point out of practical situations instead of being dictated by a syllabus: the tests as worked out by the investigators show that this daring experiment by no means left the pupils in ignorance of the common

[1] I may refer to illustrations in *History and its Place in Education* chaps. iv and v; see also *The Fielden Demonstration School Record*, vol. ii. But these are only examples from the present writer's practice: a large choice is now offered for comparison in many progressive schools.

[2] Loc. cit., p. 265.

factors in history and geography which other American children imbibe through a codified syllabus.

D. *Languages.*—These three Points cover the immediate interests of every active child. To complete the day's routine of habit acquirement there are two more directions in which separate effort and practice is required: in the arts of language and in the abstractions of mathematics and science. Let us take language first. The three types of pursuit already considered involve the constant use of speech, and the last demands care in handwriting and composition, since letters, notes, descriptions perpetually need to be written, and if the teacher himself has a conscience about such matters the children will respond. Hence in an ideal school there would be little reason for a special allotment of weekly time to exercises in spelling, handwriting or composition. Yet our schools are not ideal and the teachers are therefore unwilling to run the risk of failure, unwilling to trust themselves and their children to be conscientious in performance. There is certainly a risk, especially when persons in authority (see p. 241 above) take the liberty to encourage 'free spelling.' Hence most schools will continue to set aside some time for exercise in the acquirement of language habits: indeed they commonly spend far more time than would be needed if the psychology of language habits secured the attention it merits. But this branch of Special Method is too extensive and too controversial to be noticed here.

Foreign Languages.—Meanwhile a novel question arises. As the child's survey of mankind reaches beyond his own neighbourhood and country he finds that there are many languages besides his own tongue. Ought he to be encouraged to learn one or more of these before he leaves the Primary School? The acquirement will at the best be only a beginning, and the chief result

will be found in overcoming the resistance, both physiological and psychological, to the employment of a new medium for expressing thought.

By putting the problem in this form we are assuming a definite theory of method. Languages we have already (p. 40) included among the arts: not, that is to say, as matters of knowledge, grammar or philosophy, but as arts of communication: they are to be learned so far as they can be used for the purpose of expressing, i.e. communicating, ideas. This standpoint in definition leads to what is called the Direct Method. I may here venture to summarize the results of personal investigation: ever since I spent time among a foreign people, watching myself day by day as I learned to speak and write their language, I have been an out-and-out advocate of the reform which we owe in Europe to Vietor, Passy and Jespersen and in America to Sauveur, Wenckebach and their contemporaries. On returning home I was able to put the psychology to tests, one of these extending over five years,[1] with colleagues who submitted their classes year by year to certificate examinations: the experience was ample to convince all concerned that English children could become as capable in the mastery of foreign tongues as those of Switzerland and many other countries, if the teaching profession were prepared, with the support of public opinion, to face the task seriously. I give my own experience at the risk of appearing egotistic, for it is necessary to base one's exposition on evidence. My own experience is, of course, similar to that of many other teachers of modern languages, and yet one has to admit that psychology has not yet been given weight in deciding the issues raised by reformers in this field.

If a Primary School child is transferred to a secondary

[1] For details see *Principles of Class Teaching*, chaps. xiv, xv.

school at ten or eleven he is at once started on French; but if he remains at the Primary School even up to fourteen he seldom takes up a foreign language. The reason assigned is that the English of the Primary School is so defective that all the time available for language must be spent upon the native tongue. Yet a child does not learn English, or any other art that matters, by spending hours and hours on the details of spelling, dictation or essay themes: he learns by converse and use. Furthermore, the intellectual elements in English which he is competent to grasp, viz. discrimination of parts of speech and analysis of sentences, are best acquired in a situation where grammar is actually needed as an aid to acquirement, i.e. in tackling a foreign language. These points have always been appreciated by Secondary School teachers, and it seems clear that the continued exclusion of modern languages from the Public Elementary School is due to prejudices which have no root in principle. In fact most critics of primary education criticize the senior classes for the lack of substantial progressive work beyond what is achieved in Standard V: only recently (1926) Lord Eustace Percy, as President of the Board of Education, gave official sanction to this criticism, but our Authorities are themselves to blame, if one wishes to throw blame about. In the *Suggestions* (p. 19) we are told "the curriculum of the highest stage will rarely involve the introduction of new subjects: it should consist, as a rule, of more advanced work in the various subjects studied in the previous stages, and should form a fitting preparation for any subsequent study in continuation classes." In other words the products of Primary schooling are to be excluded for their lifetime, so far as the reach of public provision can exclude them, from those foundations in foreign language, mathematics and science which are

opened up to secondary pupils of like age.[1] If Primary School teachers were willing to acquiesce in accepting this badge of inferiority one could scarcely blame them; but the true grounds for the distinction should be honestly set out. Since in a few Public Elementary Schools French or Esperanto is taught by enthusiastic teachers with success one would expect the enthusiasm to become infectious, if public opinion gave encouragement.

But, it may be asked, why wait till ten years of age before beginning to practise the tongue on a foreign speech? Cannot children talk two or three languages at an earlier age? They certainly can, as every bilingual household and bilingual locality proves[2]: but without further discussion all the evidence points to the later years of childhood, when the horizon has expanded, as the right time to begin: it is well not to delay normal children beyond this period, for they are willing to accept the necessary exercise and are more plastic and imitative during childhood than in later years. The actual time required is not excessive: half an hour per diem is enough, but the habits must be exercised every day and if possible at the same time of day.

The Choice of a Language.—The first foreign language to be taught is usually French: although in some Pre-

[1] This topic is resumed in the next chapter, but the question at issue emerges before the age of eleven.

[2] The pros and cons of bilingualism are now being hotly disputed both in Wales and in Ireland: as well as in those unhappy parts of Europe where races have been transferred by the Treaty of Versailles to rulers of alien speech. As regards Wales, see *The Bilingual Problem* by Professor Frank Smith and colleagues (1924). It seems clear that to start with a foreign language before ten years of age may arrest intellectual development: there is no evidence that either nations or individuals are advanced in capacity merely by facility in using two or more languages.

paratory Schools Latin and French are still commenced together. We can postpone the problem of Latin to a later chapter, meanwhile it seems obvious that two new languages should not be begun at once, for they get in each other's way: let the first be well established in muscle, nerve and mind as a medium of expression before the second set of associations are placed by the side of it.

In recent years a novel competitor to French has appeared in Esperanto, the auxiliary international language which is making rapid headway on the Continent of Europe, although in Great Britain and in America it is still disdained. I will again report personal investigation as the ground for my opinion: I knew nothing of this language until I was invited to join a Committee of the British Association (1921) to inquire as to the possibilities of adopting some one language as the medium of international exchange for the purposes of science. The members of this Committee, with one exception, held that national languages, however widespread and popular in certain quarters of the globe, were inadmissible[1]; that Latin was far too difficult (specimens were

[1] A striking bit of evidence as to the importance of languages in the whole realm of politics is offered in the daily press (October 15th, 1926), reporting on a journey of M. Poincaré, the Prime Minister of France, to Alsace. He has felt it to be worth while to pay surprise visits to a number of schools, listening to the lessons in French (the native tongue of most of the scholars being German), in order to satisfy himself that the laws which compel a thorough acquirement of French are being obeyed. He knows that the mastery of a language carries with it the culture and attitudes of the people who use it: he is determined that Elsass shall become Alsace, and he begins with the children. I am not concerned to judge of the wisdom of M. Poincaré's policy, but the incident illustrates the tragic importance of this problem in education. From the point of view of nationalism he is undoubtedly justified in his thoroughness. To-day it is not German but English (spreading so widely in the Baltic Lands, in North and South America and in the Far East of late years) which is the real competitor with French, that still

procured[1] which afforded emphatic evidence on this point); and that among all the invented languages Esperanto alone held the field. The spread of Esperanto since 1921—especially in relation to broadcasting on the Continent—entirely confirms these findings. To test the Committee's verdict as regards ease of acquirement, I invited a few Manchester teachers to join an experimental class,[2] and the results showed that the construction of Esperanto enables both adult and child to get to grips with it for practical use long before a class commencing French or German could do the like. The few schools in England, and the much larger number on the Continent which have introduced an Esperanto Course for children about ten years of age, confirm this view.

Without entering into details, three points seem to be clear. (1) A year's work in Esperanto, at the level of Standard V, taking half an hour per day, would give children a sufficient grounding to enable them to correspond in simple prose with children in foreign countries; in a second year all that they would need to do would be to spend an hour or so once a week in reading and answering letters from abroad. If thereafter they ceased to use the language, either in school or elsewhere for some years, they would be able to recover it, just as any other habit (e.g. skating on ice) acquired in childhood can be revived at need.

keeps its hold from Gibraltar to the Levant. In each case language is the harbinger of commerce and of political dominance; friends of internationalism will not be concerned to decide between the competitors, but will cut the Gordian knot by inserting Esperanto as a neutral, allowing each of the rivals to play their proper part among countries of Anglo-Saxon and of Romance origin respectively, but refusing to either of them a claim to world-hegemony.

[1] These were published in detail in the British Association's Report.

[2] Report in *International Language*, February 1923, a monthly periodical which may be consulted by anyone who pursues the theme further.

(2) This year's course would at the same time serve as practical exercise in grammar, for the elements of universal grammar, case, number, gender, tense, mood, parts of speech, etc., are discerned as the work proceeds; a motive for grammar learning is thus provided which is never felt so long as the child is confined to using his native tongue. This abstract science of language is certainly not needed for its own sake: men can both speak and write well in their own tongue without any such equipment: but it is needed if the pupil is to proceed to French or Latin thereafter. These languages of course provide equal opportunity for grammatical science, but the initial difficulties are immensely greater, since the complexities and irregularities of all historical languages make it impossible for a beginner to use the language with any sense of power. Until the learner has felt the difference by making a start on Esperanto or Ido he cannot realize the relief of using a language with a minimum of rules and *with no exceptions*. Even if Esperanto were of no practical use its value merely as an introduction to principles of grammar would be worth the 120 hours asked for it.

(3) After a year's course in Esperanto, which should be introduced to Primary School pupils before the parting of the ways to Central, Secondary or the like, there are at least two more years left before those who remain in the Primary School attain the age of fourteen and leave.[1] These should offer a choice of going on with Esperanto or of taking up French or German. French is preferred to German for many reasons, some of them of a political nature which we must here leave on one side; apart from politics the choice of French may be justified because Romance culture lies more

[1] This properly belongs to the next chapter, but one may as well complete the consideration of modern languages here.

remote from our Anglo-Saxon attitudes: French is a gateway not so much to the literature as to the civilization of Western and Southern Europe, reaching back to the fountain-head in Rome.

The last two years of the Primary School could well afford half an hour per diem for a first year of French, and three hours per week for a second year: so equipped, with the year of Esperanto behind, boys and girls at fourteen would be able to meet the modern world on fair terms. For it must be admitted that the world of 1927 is a new world from that of 1902, from which much of the official and professional pedagogy of the Public Elementary School is dated. Aviation and wireless have put Paris, Geneva, Berlin, even New York, nearer to London and Yorkshire than were London and Edinburgh fifty years ago. We are becoming international in fact[1]: in the facts of industry, of commerce, of learning, however far we may still hold aloof from a world-wide point of view in education. If the schools will not help the average man to widen his range across the Channel and the oceans he will think less of the schools: men and women of energy are already equipping themselves in these arts of language under great handicaps: this is not the dream of a visionary but an entirely practical proposal, which certainly has ethical import but is also to be commended for the same humdrum reasons that support steamships in place of sailing vessels.

E. *Mathematics and Science.*—The final Point in a complete curriculum takes separate account of the abstractions of number, time, space, quantity, force, motion, matter, life, such as are roughly indicated by the term *Mathematics and Science*: the epithet 'ele-

[1] See p. 266 above for schools in Geneva due to the spread of international sympathies.

mentary' may be added if fear is entertained as to the scope of the syllabus. Here again some portion of each day should be allotted, if only half an hour, since these exercises in intelligence are also matters of practice and of habit; and the work should come early in the day because they demand a closer strain of attention than is requisite in the arts. There need be no separation into a catalogue of subjects, such as Mental and Practical Arithmetic, Algebra, Practical and Theoretical Geometry, Physical Geography, Sound, Light, Heat, Mechanics, Botany, Zoology and so forth. As soon as these subjects are pigeonholed into a time-table, to be 'taken' for one or two hours per week, half their value is lost. As regards drill and exercise in number it may certainly be necessary to keep up a daily spell of practice all along, but the rest of the time is far better spent if one theme is pursued intensively for several weeks or months. The *Suggestions* (pp. 61–3) leave details to "the outlook and interests of the teacher himself" and "with regard to the special circumstances of the school." To this should be added that the motive leading to the pursuit of this or that problem should come from the scholars' needs, springing from topics in craft or humanistic studies. Up to twelve years of age topics in mensuration, in physical geography, in plant or animal life suggested by work in the Humanities and the Crafts, will occupy all the time available, without any pretence of teaching any of these from an elaborate syllabus: science, like art and handwork, is an affair of 'Method' rather than of 'Subject.' For science does not arise out of the blue: its questions are raised in the course of practical activities; genuine thinking, thinking which counts in experience, is never far removed from the concrete. The carpenter needs arithmetic, needs geometry; and a boy who uses wood and the tools with purpose soon comes

to see the value of intelligent thought about squares and circles. It is true, no doubt, that generations of exceptional boys have been attracted to mathematics apart from this practical basis (see pp. 57, 177 above), but the Primary School is meant for the average; and the average youngster, boy or girl, is a pragmatist who takes to science only when he finds the need for it.

The Time-table.—With these five Points in mind the complex time-table of the present day could be reduced to simpler terms. After the obligatory period allotted to religious instruction which (pp. 51–53 above) belongs to the Humanities, the first period, from 30 minutes to an hour, would be best spent on mathematics and science while the nervous system is most alert, and the last period of the day, at least one hour, on arts and crafts, especially as these pursuits sometimes involve expeditions to a distance. Singing, dancing, recitation of poetry provide a suitable ending to the morning. There is room for language after the period for mathematics and science, while the Humanities find their place in the first part of the afternoon.

One can well conceive in days to come of a time-table being sanctioned by Authority on broad lines somewhat as follows, instead of specifying the details of twenty to thirty subjects now entered on such forms[1]:

Morning

Registers, Assembly, Religious Instruction to 9.30 or 9.45 a.m.

9.30 or 9.45 a.m. to 10.00 or 10.15 a.m. . E subjects.
10.00 or 10.15 a.m. to 10.30 or 11 a.m. . D subjects.
11.15 or 11.30 a.m. to noon . . . A subjects.

[1] See examples in S. E. Bray's *School Organization*, loc. cit.

Afternoon[1]

2–3 p.m.	C subjects.
3.15–4.30 p.m.	B subjects.

An interval of 15 minutes in the morning between E and D or D and A, and in the afternoon between C and B, for recreation and physical exercises. Following the chapters in *Suggestions* we have:

A subjects: Singing and other music (chap. viii), rhythmical work (otherwise Dancing), as in the Board of Education Syllabus of Physical Exercises; recitation of Poetry (chap. ii).

B subjects: Needlework and Housecraft (chap. x), Gardening (chap. xi), Handwork (chap. xii) and Drawing (chap. vii).

C subjects cover English (chap. ii) so far as the content of books and the writing of themes are concerned, History (chap. vi) and Geography (chap. v).

D subjects cover English, on the side of technique, i.e. Dictation, Grammar, Word Building, Handwriting, so far as these are found necessary to be pursued as separated studies. Also in the later years a foreign language as noted above.

E subjects cover Arithmetic with the Elementary Mathematics of chap. iii, Elementary Science (including Nature Study) and so much of Geography (chap. v) as is concerned with Arithmetic and Physics. For each

[1] The problems handled in B and C are often closely related; hence it is an advantage to let them be together in the time-table: individual work and collective teaching both require elasticity in arrangement: if the teacher can be left to control a continuous two hours he can give freedom to his scholars in ways impossible under the existing régime. All that the official time-table should impose is the obligation to distribute the *total* time per year assigned to B and C respectively in the proportion indicated.

subject more detailed notes of the course of study, as it works out month by month, would be kept by the teachers and would serve as a guide to the syllabus for the ensuing year (pp. 107, 108 above). Interruptions to this daily Five-Point Programme would be caused only by visits to swimming-baths or the like.

Such a time-table resembles those of Nursery Classes described in the previous chapter: many of the Reformed or New Education Schools noted in Chapter X follow some such course: the scheme adopted by *Education Reform Council* followed somewhat similar lines.[1] Its elasticity enables the staff to adjust their policy between the two extremes which we have dwelt upon: by allotting definite morning hours day by day to the three R's assurance is given that the acquirement of habits in matters which the public regard as fundamental is not neglected; while the freer treatment of the afternoons affords scope to the reformer, who cannot give his pupils their freedom unless time is available for projects needing some leisure both for individual study and for the activities of groups.

Correlation and Concentration.—This same elasticity makes it easier for a staff to plan a syllabus with due regard to relationships between subjects. Of late years little has been heard of the demands which were so prominent in earlier days when Froebelians and Herbartians sought for unity or at least for some relationship between competing studies. What I myself wrote,[2] and practised, twenty-five years ago I would still adhere to as regards the period of adolescence (see p. 348 below), but as regards younger pupils the ground of contest between new and old has shifted. The reformer of to-

[1] *Report on Education Reform* (Committee E), published by the Education Guild, 1917.

[2] *Principles of Class Teaching*, pp. 39–48.

day does not *begin* with the subjects which we surveyed in Chapter II: these lie at the back of his mind; and he does not expect these, as subjects, to provide the main stimulus to activity at this period of life: the stimulus on any given day, at any given school, cannot be forecast or set down in a time-table simply because it will spring from events or suggestions that will only happen on the spot. Who, e.g., could forecast the situation that started Mr. Clayton's boys on the owls project[1] with its correlations reaching out to statistics, zoology, handicrafts? As regards concentration also that incident illustrates the advance on earlier pedagogics. It is still true (as all the great reformers from Herbart's day have told us) that children are chiefly interested in

[1] "The owl was in disgrace. The keeper declared that it killed his young pheasants and 'my lord' had given the order for its extinction. Could the school do anything to save the race in the district? An appeal to his lordship on the score that the owl was a useful member of the bird community had been met with the rejoinder, 'Prove your statement and the birds shall be spared.' We secured an armistice, and then we set about it. The course we decided upon was most interesting but decidedly smelly. Owl casts were collected from the abodes of six pairs of owls at different intervals. By repeatedly washing these in boiling water they were thoroughly cleansed and disintegrated. An abundance of fur from mole and vole and mouse and rat was secured, but neither feather nor bone of bird was discovered. The seniors were so proud of this experiment that they arranged the fur and bones in an artistic manner on a sheet of cardboard, and, having framed it in a glazed box, added it to our permanent wall decoration. His lordship was invited to inspect this case and read some of the notes in connexion with the work. We heard later that he had issued an order that any keeper who trapped or shot an owl was to be at once discharged."—William Clayton, *The Village School, what it can do* (in *The Schoolmaster*, September 17, 24, and October 8, 1926). See above, p. 249. This incident is a capital example of Method as regards aim or project, for it arose in the normal course of daily life: the one difference between Mr. Clayton and other teachers was that he knew how to take advantage of the situation.

persons, and the motive that led these boys in the first instance was sentiment. But at their period of life the sentiment is absorbed in practical activities; and if the teacher, because of a theory of concentration, had planned a curriculum making the Humanities the one centre, he would have failed to secure the lively attack which the owl and the gamekeeper situation evoked. This experience of life afforded opportunity for genuine correlation which aided harmonious development on the principle we sought to establish in Section I: these boys, instead of finding their chief interest outside the school walls, were living at the height of their capacity with an end in view which helped their efficiency in every branch of their curriculum.

Promotion.—It is now pretty well agreed that somewhere between ten and twelve years of age, before the brief period of 'transition' (Vol. I, pp. 64–7) succeeds to the years of 'stability,' a break should be made: some continue in the same type of school to complete their course of education up to fourteen years of age; some are picked out from the common herd to attend a Central or a Secondary School, until they are well on in the period of adolescence at sixteen years of age (Vol. I, pp. 134–40). The problem of Promotion therefore looms large as this four or five years' course with its Five-Point Programme comes to a close. In Vol. I (p. 211) it was urged that all scholars should be submitted to a test at the close of every 'course' of education: and at this juncture (average age eleven) it seems reasonable that a formal record should be made of the capacity and attainments of every scholar: not merely of the few who are specially shepherded into the Local Education Authority Scholarship Examination. This record should be comprehensive: health and physical prowess, distinctive tastes in any of the arts, practical

skill in the use of other tools as well as of the pen, all these are as important for diagnosis, and for selection, as are the matters usually comprised in such examinations. The acceptance of such a review and record, with all the risks of mischief from faulty methods of examination, provides at least one measure of relief:—no inquisition will be needed during the earlier years of the course: the staff of the school should be allowed absolute freedom as to the mode by which they prepare their scholars in earlier years to get ready for the eventual test. Schools may differ greatly in methods of approach to this or that subject: a class at nine, if examined, say, in composition or singing, may be judged 'poor'; but the staff of the school may properly retort that they do not present the class as ready for any test at that point: they have the situation in hand and will guarantee that the method by which these subjects are being handled will produce an adequate result when the harvest is due. The analogy with a garden is entirely apropos, for all sorts of varieties in climate and weather, as well as in the skill of gardeners, interfere with the uniformity of plant growth: it is only when the crop is due that the outsider can intervene and ask to see the fruit.[1]

The closing years of the Primary School will be best considered in a separate chapter, for, although the great majority of children continue to be taught under the same staff, one can accept the break at eleven years of age as the starting-point for a new adventure.

[1] The sharp controversy witnessed just now (1927) between some Directors of Education, anxious for efficiency, and the teachers, equally jealous for freedom, bears closely on this problem. The teachers are certainly right in resisting proposals for competition between school and school, and for standardization of results. On the other hand Public Authority has its duty, as we saw in Section II. An integration of these antagonisms can only be found in closer study of the needs and claims of the pupils themselves (see p. 109 above).

CHAPTER XIII

THE FURTHER EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

Part a.—The Closing Years of the Primary School

In discussing types of schools (Vol. I, p. 136) we saw the confusion that persists as to the scope of various terms by which the types are differentiated. Nomenclature[1] would be simplified if the term *Secondary* (which has been in official use for less than forty years) were extended to designate all forms of schooling after the Primary Course up to eleven is completed; the next terminus being reached at the age of eighteen, when the stage of youth yields to the dawn of manhood and womanhood. For this nomenclature would put into practice the principle underlying the Education Acts of 1918 and 1921, which contemplate (Vol. I, pp. 137–40) the entire youth of England as remaining under some form of educational control until the eighteenth birthday. Whatever be our terminology, these Acts of the Legislature show the drift of opinion, although at the moment our Authorities, Local and Central alike, have to organize their schools as if the theories of the Bryce Commission and of the Act of 1902 were still governing the public mind.

This chapter is headed 'The Further Education of the Masses' because the great majority of children all over the globe earn their bread, and will continue to earn it,

[1] Since this was written the Consultative Committee (Board of Education) have issued a fine report, "The Education of the Adolescent," which endorses this view of nomenclature, and, what is far more important, of sympathy and outlook which the new nomenclature implies.

in ' mass ' occupations, i.e. in office and warehouse, at the counter, in the factory or mine, where the work approximates to that of a machine, where indeed machines are always being invented to supersede human labour. We do not raise any question of right or wrong about these facts: a certain amount of automatic, mechanical toil is good for everyone, at any stage after the period of infancy until extreme old age; such drudgery during a small amount of time per diem is a half-way house to sleep. A life of commonplace toil is neither evil nor unfortunate, provided (and this is in our epoch a condition hard to come by) that the time spent on the drudgery is not prolonged: yet already some industries ' carry on ' with six hours per diem, and one can conceive an epoch in the not too distant future when no one will need to spend more than four hours a day in mechanical employment. Much as the educational reformer desires life to be full, to ascend to climax in full-blooded self-expression, he should also admit that the needful reaction from intensity can happily be realized in monotony.[1] To pursue this theme at large is beyond our present design, but so much is necessary in order to get at the principle on which one contemplates the curriculum after the years of childhood are passed.

Let us then assume that a majority of our scholars are destined to earn their bread by work which in itself affords no climax, no appeal to art, to intelligence or to the higher sentiments. Can any sort of education be offered them between twelve and eighteen which will

[1] The problem needs psychological investigation; it touches on the subconscious region. The only investigators I have encountered are Bücher, loc. cit., p. 40, and O. R. Forel, *Le Rhythme* (*Journal für Psych und Neurologie*, Band 26, Heft 1 und 2, 1920). What I set down here is merely personal experience and observation, and some readers will dissent from my opinion.

have relation to their occupation? Two considerations seem pretty clear as a basis for argument. Firstly, very little by way of vocational equipment has to be considered: a boy or girl set on an office stool, or helping a bricklayer, or minding a punching machine requires no apprenticeship: alertness, accuracy in detail, industry, patience, goodwill, these general virtues are what the office and factory look for. Secondly, since "the life is more than meat," an educator will not be content simply to supply 'hands' who possess the docile virtues requisite to achieve the task of the drudge: or rather, it is beyond his power to be so content. Every month spent at school, any sort of school, adds to the knowledge, to the taste, and to the sense of social values, of the educand. Employers must not blame teachers and schools for making workers discontented with the darker and meaner aspects of modern industry: the only way to stop the discontent is to stop schooling. Our grandfathers were perfectly right in betraying distrust of the extension of schooling: from the point of view of *laissez-faire*, of 'the economic man,' the sooner the child gets into the factory, gets accustomed and dulled to the routine, the better. But public opinion in this matter has decided against *laissez-faire* and the finishing stroke has now been delivered by putting an end to the 'half-time' system. It is not the teachers who have made these changes and we must not be blamed for the consequences. The children being now in our hands up to fourteen, they have passed the period when they can be moulded into 'Robots.'

If then, by way of negation, the curriculum up to and after eleven has no serious relation to the details of a future vocation, are there any other general propositions we can lay down for guidance in planning the curriculum of these masses? There seem to be two directions in which the mind of youth will normally turn; one of these

must be still indicated by the term 'vocation,' the other has come to be described as *leisure*.

As regards vocation, while the details of mechanical industry, clerical or manual, are quickly acquired on the spot, in office or workshop, we must not assume that the worker can be satisfied to regard these hours of toil as a mere treadmill. Granted that already, by being kept at school till fourteen, he has advanced in knowledge and taste, he will want to see the whole in parts, although the part he plays be insignificant. We may in fact state as a general proposition that the only condition on which an educated proletariat will continue in mechanical toil is that they come to see some sense, some value, in that toil: those who assume that the reduction of hours adopted by great organizers like Henry Ford or Leverhulme is the only concession necessary to reconcile a man to such labour are on a false track: the mind must be harmonized to the whole situation. In other words, the industry itself in all its branches must be open to study.

There is abundant evidence that this demand rests in human nature: how else can we account for the popularity of economics and industrial industry for W.E.A. students, and for the enormous influence of Karl Marx? Much less attention is drawn to the scientific interest of unskilled labourers, but there appears in their case to be as much desire to understand and appreciate the meaning of industrial processes as of economic factors, although the latter for obvious reasons attract greater notice. For it must not be overlooked that while one recognizes the 'Robot' aspect of modern industry, we get as far from the truth if we ignore the opposite fact, viz. that there is some small loophole for variety and initiative in the most mechanical operation. I remember being warned on this point by the late Sir William Mather, who was

not only a great reformer and advocate of Technical Instruction but a most efficient organizer of labour, building up one of the powerful manufacturing concerns in East Lancashire. Hence an ideal education for the masses, from twelve to eighteen, should respond to this demand, not because it will make the worker more efficient or more contented with his lot, but because the rational mind, the æsthetic mind, seeks to know and to feel within the circle of daily occupation. This is just putting from another angle what was said in Vol. I, pp. 47 and 89, about vocation as value and as institution. The old saying of George Herbert [1] about "drudgery divine" is fact of psychology as well as of ethics.

Before the epoch of what is popularly called the Industrial Revolution these factors were better recognized: and the modern educator must look forward to a revival of the principle of apprenticeship (Vol. I, pp. 90, 91), although its forms are assuming different shape. The apprentice was a learner rather than a wage-earner; his master undertook to acquaint him with all sides of his craft outside the tasks by which his industry gave immediate profit to the business. The things to be learnt are different and they can no longer be taught by the master alone, but the cardinal impulses of youth have not changed: all young people, the most unskilled as well as the finest minds, need both the social control of an apprentice system and the intellectual and æsthetic culture which characterized the old apprentice systems in the heyday of their prosperity.

Now when this position has been granted, full scope

[1] A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine:
Who sweeps a room as for Thy cause
Makes that, and the action, fine.
(George Herbert, in *The Temple*.)

can be allowed also for what used to be called Liberal Education, and is now called Education for Leisure. It is the education of a man, as distinguished from a workman, of a gentleman as distinguished from a hind or an artisan. The recognition of this type of schooling as appropriate to children of poverty is novel to our epoch and springs from the general philosophy of equality or democracy: it is admitted to-day in the theory of politics, but we are far from putting the theory into practice, for its implications would lead to a reconstruction of society more startling and profound than any of the revolutions contemplated by economic socialism. For if men are to be treated as equal in mental outlook they are emancipated, they are uplifted in their inner life, even though in worldly goods they are content with a living wage.

Bearing such principles in mind the outlines of a syllabus follow, and must be sketched in two portions, the period of complete school attendance, and the years from fourteen to eighteen first brought within the possibilities of compulsion by the Act of 1918: while these two need to be kept separate, for they must of necessity be organized apart, we may associate them in the same chapter because they are intimately associated: the years thirteen, fourteen, are a transition to the stage of youth. And while this chapter associates them in theory the best teachers in the Primary Schools, sometimes aided by Care Committees,[1] make the association in practice, i.e. they help their boys and girls to find suitable employment and continue to be interested in their progress when they have entered on an industrial career. These links with school comradeship are the prelude, one hopes, to an organic connexion between the closing years of Primary Education and the universal apprenticeship of Continued Education.

[1] See O. Bolton King, *Employment and Welfare of Juveniles*, chap. iii.

Syllabus for these Two or Three Years.—The Five-Point Programme of the previous chapter need not be interfered with, for all its elements are factors in a complete liberal education. The advance to the Senior Stage (the term used by the Board of Education to indicate these closing years) is partly a change in Teaching Procedure, giving larger opportunity for private study and for individual work. While agreeing with *Suggestions* at this point, one may venture to dissent with the next paragraph.[1] What is said on p. 295 as regards holding primary children back in comparison with secondary children is still more true of this Senior Stage: even if the majority of these 'thirteen-year-olds' were proved to be less intelligent than those who left their company to seek higher education they would prosper best by being treated at their best, as regards both corporate life and curriculum. They should be treated precisely as their compeers, with one important exception:—they are soon to finish with all day schooling and they know what is before them. "They are already alive to the economic demands of their future career. Their wits are sharpened by necessity: at home they have had to help in domestic toil, and sometimes they have already learnt to turn an honest penny by work before and after the hours of school. Thus, as distinguished from pupils of the same age in other schools, they are practical and 'knowing,' independent and often assertive; ready very often to learn all that school can offer them, but quite as often turning an eager look towards the life of labour which awaits them."[2] This was written twenty-five years ago, and is still true in the main, but needs to be qualified by the sharpened sense of rights and claims among the masses: for pleasures have been cheapened and varied, school has been made a more

[1] *Suggestions*, p. 19, and see p. 332 below.

[2] Findlay, *Principles of Class Teaching*, p. 209.

enjoyable place. Hence, while it is still true that many boys and girls are ready at fourteen to welcome the change from a crowded school to the novel community in shop or office, their minds are nowadays rather set on the expectation of 'having a good time' than of discharging a function in the world of labour. If so, the need for a *good* education at this period is reinforced, good in that it strikes the balance between rights and duties, between pleasure and effort.

Let us glance at each of the five points and see what these considerations involve.

A. With respect to the first, which we may call 'music' in the Greek sense, these closing years will confirm the achievement of the Primary School years; these seniors, as they are rightly called, are the leaders of the chorus, helping the staff to make the most of the common life as expressed in song and (I would add) orchestra, in dancing as above defined and in poetry. A few, sometimes more than a few, will display conspicuous talent: the scholarship examinations pay no regard to this sort of precocity,[1] and while the neglect may be censured one need not deplore the hardship too much, for real gifts in these fine arts may be fostered during these years, if the teacher can provide occasion for individual attention. Specialism here is justified: many a labouring man or woman finds a lifelong interest in music, as is well known in Manchester, where the Hallé Concerts have long been recognized as a resort for not a few of the masses.

B. The same position can be taken towards the Arts and Crafts: the scholar's interests in sketching or wireless are not a certain indication of great gifts, but they should be encouraged, and any projects of a practical kind suggested by a group should be used as a starting-point for the Course. And one can now expect from many

[1] See pp. 161–7 above and note to p. 318.

pupils a sense of the importance of form and 'finish'; accompanied by a growing readiness to 'stick it,' i.e. to undertake the necessary drudgery. It is on this ground that one pleads again and with equal emphasis for sound motivation, choosing between the alternative routes suggested on p. 36. Where there is room to move about, as in the schools referred to on p. 296, these Seniors become the trusted leaders in executing works of many kinds. Though neither apprentices nor tradesmen they have become since infancy increasingly alive to the realities of industrial and domestic life: they need to make preliminary trials in problems which will be closely related to the Humanities.

As childhood passes from forward to adolescence we can look for a wider stretch of imagination. These boys and girls are not yet visionaries, but they have passed beyond the crude practicality of little children of eight and nine. Big machines, great buildings, aeroplanes, catch their fancy, and while they cannot come close to these works their teachers can help them somewhat to see the relations between tool and machinery. An alternation of rhythm between the details of their own production and the large-scale output of the great world is active in their minds, and the visits often made[1] to shops and factories are well worth while.

C. This alternation finds even more scope in the Humanities syllabus, for here the book and the chart come to the aid of hand and eye. Both in Geography and in History the two extremes prove equally attractive: locality versus the world at large, the present day versus

[1] At a somewhat older age such visits are regularly organized for the boys of the Grammar School at Brighton (reported fully in *The Times Educational Supplement*, 1922). This is only one illustration of the large principle of Regional Survey which Leplay House has done so much to expound (see p. 49 above).

the distant past. A rural school (Tatsfield, Surrey) reports[1] that children compile a *Local Domesday Book*: a local survey under the divisions of History, Geography, Social, Natural. And the local interest has led the school "to exchange with Yorkshire, Cornwall, Lancashire . . . Limerick." (When they learn Esperanto they will exchange also with Italy and Japan.)

Hence if a syllabus has to be forecast for these Seniors it may for six months be concerned solely with the neighbourhood, while for another period it might "survey mankind from China to Peru"; a third period could well be spent on social and industrial history, treating in detail some special phase in which men of mark played a conspicuous part, for biography is to be preferred to 'movements.' In each case the motive for the studies comes from situations felt by the scholars to be stimulating, not from a preordained syllabus based on the foolish conception that the facts learned as information are germane to culture. "They should also learn how to make out the meaning of a passage for themselves and how to extract information from books and works of reference."[2] So they will, if only an adequate motive is felt for burrowing among the books and writing up the notes.

D. *Languages.*—If a programme such as is followed at Tatsfield, or in Mr. Clayton's Yorkshire school, is adopted, there need be no fear of failure in reading, writing or composition: work put into "book form, a simple loose-leaf system," is not likely to be scamped. When a Humanities programme of this kind is followed,

[1] See *The Schoolmaster*, October 8th, 1926. Contributed as a sequel to Mr. Clayton's articles referred to above. As Mr. Clayton says, there are probably many rural schools doing similar work, and the best town schools seek to imitate them in School Journeys and even Country Camps.

[2] *Suggestions*, p. 19.

no time need be wasted in a separate scheme for English philology. Hence all the more reason for opening up a new field as already suggested. If the proposal of p. 308 for Esperanto plus Grammar before twelve years is regarded as too adventurous, one can at least anticipate that a foreign language will ere long be admitted at the Senior Stage.

At this point another study can be proposed, viz. phonetics, correlated with its natural ally, the 'elementary science' of the organs concerned in sound:—ear, mouth, throat and lungs (including the hygiene of these important agents). This is a genuine example of correlation, for science and the art of language are needed to help out each other.[1] There is great controversy among modern language teachers whether a phonetic alphabet, i.e. a distinctive code, should be employed to represent the sounds of a foreign speech. The arguments in favour of a phonetic alphabet are sound, yet the alphabets in current use have the fatal objection that the forms of the letters are taken as far as possible from our ordinary *a*, *b*, *c*, and hence confuse the mind and the pen of the beginner: an adult scholar can overcome this hindrance, but youngsters find difficulty. Now this difficulty could have been avoided from the first if the phonetic scholars had accepted the lead of one of their company, the late Professor Sweet,[2] who invented a code which denoted the sounds of language on a basis *independent of Aryan alphabets*. He meant his code to be used also (as he himself used it) for Shorthand purposes, but he was not a Shorthand expert and in any event the competition between rival Shorthand Systems is acute: no inventor has the chance of securing the adhesion of school teachers

[1] For details see pamphlet *Sound and Symbol* (Manchester University Press, 1921).

[2] See *Sound and Symbol* as above.

to his code unless he is sustained by commercial enterprise. Hence when experimenting with the class referred to on p. 308 we used the Gregg Shorthand System, which adheres closely to phonetic principles and has also become popular in many quarters. By starting in the very first lesson with writing on the blackboard and copying the few words employed in that lesson, the students at once took to the code, exactly as one does in learning any other code: the theory of phonetics was of course reduced to the bare minimum. The immediate purpose in using the code is not to teach Shorthand for rapid transcription, but to help to correct speech, on the theory of the modern language instructor who teaches the international phonetic alphabet. But a further purpose is achieved at the same time: we kill two birds with one stone. For the code when once learned can be applied, i.e. shortened, for the uses of Shorthand proper; thus the foundation at least is laid for acquiring a very useful art, useful not only for clerks and typists, but for all professional people who need to make rapid memoranda, as, e.g., doctors and inspectors. So treated, Shorthand, like Book-keeping referred to below, takes legitimate rank as an element in Liberal Education, and should be exempt from the reproach hitherto cast upon it as merely commercial.

To illustrate the position let us reproduce four sentences of the style commonly used in early lessons to beginners. The rendering is shown opposite in the International Phonetic Alphabet and in the Gregg Alphabet.

E. *Mathematics and Science.*—Until scholars are promoted to the Senior Stage they need steady drill in number habits, but if this exercise has fulfilled its aim the drill ought not to be necessary any longer. What the scholars can now do is to use their technique of rapid calculation in the varied problems of measurement that require such skill. If, however, the Promotion examina-

V-oi-c-i l-a c-l-a-sse
v·wɑ·s·i l·a k·l·ɑ·s

C'-est l-a c-l-a-sse
s·ɛ l·a k·l·ɑ·s

Qu'-est-ce-qu-e P-au-l
k·ɛ·s·k·ə P·o·l

P-au-l est l-e f-i-ls
P·o·l ɛ l·ə f·i·s

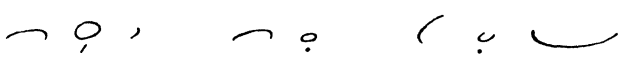
d-e R-o-b-e-rt
d·ə R·o·b·ɛ·r

In the Gregg Alphabet the same sentences read:

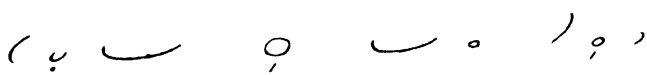
1. V - oi - c - i l - a c - l - a - sse

2. C' - est l - a c - l - a - sse

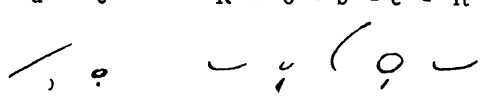
3. Qu' - est - ce qu - e P - au - l



4. P - au - l est l - e f - i - ls



d - e R - o - b - e - rt



tion shows that such skill has not been attained, then it may be right to continue the drill in the Senior Stage. Yet even so the laggard is more likely to reach a higher plateau in performance by turning to some new field where a new motive is found for accuracy and care Hence some or all of the topics mentioned on p. 311 above will find a place, always limited by the one *caveat*, of use and function. Thus algebraic symbols should certainly be employed because a live interest in measurement for practical ends leads straight to the use of these symbols. How far the scholar should then go during these two years in following up an ordinary school course in Elementary Algebra is another question: a few will manifest power and interest: let them forge ahead.

The correlation with phonetics just noted can be capped by the introduction of another subject, viz. Book-keeping, which *Suggestions* (p. 56) call "the keeping of simple accounts." There is no reason why the technical term Book-keeping should be eschewed, for the elementary principles of exchange and of difference between a capital account and a profit and loss account underlie the simplest record of the receipt and use of goods. The financial aspect of Book-keeping only arises because we represent quantity and value most easily by what the goods represent in cash. The stock book, very similar to the library catalogue, is the first 'book' to be kept: this position of the book-keeper, as a registrar of goods rather than a money dealer, supplies a basis for commercial morality. Now these principles, treated in the concrete, with transactions which concern the scholars themselves, are certainly within the grasp of children of twelve years of age. And their "great importance," as *Suggestions* remind us, is undisputed. Men differ widely in their conceptions of commercial morality, but all parties agree that economics cannot be

handled unless the contestants are able to 'read' a balance sheet. Then comes the crucial question: whose balance sheet are the scholars to read? Only as regards girls do the *Suggestions* venture on an answer: for them the accounts should handle "details accompanying shopping and housekeeping"; and "their value is greatest when the necessary data are supplied by the girls themselves." One does not see why girls alone should come into contact with shopping and housekeeping, but that is a minor point. The principle involved ("supplied by the girls themselves") is emphasized by all the reformers and has constantly cropped up in these pages. Wherever practical work is done the exchange value of materials can be ascertained; wherever work is produced, in garden or workshop, the market price can be recorded. This is not to say that goods produced in schools should be actually put on the market as are those produced in prisons: or even that they should be offered for sale in bazaars. But even the humblest elementary school has a football club needing some money to keep it going, and as soon as money is handled one has data for book-keeping, supplied by the scholars themselves. The conventional instructor in book-keeping opens a set of imaginary 'books': but all that technicality tends to obscure the directness of transactions which have meaning to the scholar only when he requires the books in order to learn facts about money which concern himself and his comrades. The amounts entered in the books may be pence and shillings instead of thousands of pounds: but every accountant knows that the value of an account, as a truthful record, is independent of the number of digits—especially in these days of inflation; so treated Book-keeping is an element in a Liberal Education. Such experience is surely more practical than "exercises on interest and investment,"

about which, one is glad to see, *Suggestions* (p. 56) are a little dubious.[1]

Apart from mathematics there can be no lack of topics from which a stimulus to science work arises: the illustration on p. 316 from a Yorkshire school could not be bettered. The sketch in *Suggestions*, pp. 61–73, taken with p. 82, *Physical Geography*, supply an *embarras de richesses*: a burden on young shoulders if taught as a Course, but much of it is attacked with avidity whenever the problems arise from situations that have meaning. This standpoint is reinforced when one turns to what is called Domestic Economy, a subject which will only come by its own when the (so-called) Practical Courses in Cookery, Laundry and Household Management (*Suggestions*, p. 71) are brought right into the school as part of its daily life. One may enter them in a pro-

[1] "Exercises on interest and investments, if taken at all, should illustrate lessons on the simple economic aspects of these subjects, e.g. it is useful for the children to know that the rate of interest should depend on the nature of the security, and that high interest often betokens an unsafe investment. The rate of interest allowed on Post Office and other savings-bank deposits should be thoroughly understood. Examples should be given involving 'usurers' interest' charged on small loans for short periods, such as a week or a fortnight, in order that the uneconomic nature of such borrowings may be appreciated." So far from being "simple" or "thoroughly understood," these matters are full of ethical as well as of economic difficulty, and it is time enough to face them when the university student reaches a Faculty of Commerce. They lie wholly outside the grasp of child experience. Empty knowledge so conveyed is dangerous: if youths are attracted to these problems they are far more likely to seek the adventures of gambling, a form of "unsafe investment" which plays a similar rôle in the crowded streets of cities. The pure mathematics involved, percentage and progressions, can equally well be exercised in a science course where the meaning of these processes can be actually measured in the concrete. One would like to hear of schools, and of examining bodies, courageous enough to cut out all reference to the money market from the syllabus (except to explain Matt. xxi. 12 in schools where the New Testament is read).

gramme as 'science,' but they are crafts, and their relationship to social life and bodily needs make them a ready means from which scientific principles can be reached. So far from maintaining that "some grasp of the underlying principles[1] will make the girls more interested in the Domestic Subjects," one should insist that the mind works in the contrary direction: *principles are only sought when problems arise which seek for solution.*

Of the importance of this whole field of study for human welfare eloquent testimony is being offered from every quarter. For example, the biochemists have converted the doctors, who are now ready to instruct the laity, about vitamins; yet the essential principle, the nature of live things before they are cooked, can only be experienced when children live with a garden where life is fostered. The findings of the biochemist must be taken on trust along with other doctrines based on physiology, but the time has evidently come for giving children a frank explanation of the processes of digestion and excretion, which affect the life of all animals, including that of the child himself. These topics certainly demand delicate handling, and many teachers will hesitate to deal with them in class, on the same grounds (see p. 33 above) that we hesitate to speak openly of sex. The school ought to help its scholars more than it does in the control of all the appetites: and elementary science can play a part, if only a small part, in helping to such controls. Hitherto the chief direction in which temperance has been inculcated is in respect of alcoholic drink—a taste commonly acquired *after* school-life is completed.

A Leaving Certificate.—So much as regards curriculum during these years: there can be no question of pro-

[1] Especially when studied in a school course detached both from the home and from the Domestic Economy Centre.

motion, unless here and there a scholar shows promise which was not evinced or given range at the eleven stage: for exceptional pupils, avenues to Secondary or Technical Schools are still open to town children; Junior Technical Schools and some Trade Schools admit at thirteen and cut into the Senior Stage of the Public Elementary School; but these variations are of minor importance. The great bulk of pupils will continue their education in the lower ranks of labour; the only certificate which ought to be in demand is a School Record of what the scholar has accomplished in the Senior Stage, as a sequel to the more formal inquiry held at the entrance to it. A repetition of this inquiry, examining each of the Five Points in detail, would serve no purpose: for success depends largely upon individual treatment by the teacher, upon variety and spontaneity of attack by the scholar. He is a Senior, and as such he plays an active part in the corporate life. Time so spent increases social power in ways that can never be 'examined': his teachers are noting his tastes, proving his quality; at the close they can certify him as competent to fill any of the tasks, whether in office or workshop, that fall to the lot of the beginner. If this career involves an excess of mechanical toil he has at least been provided with resources for leisure: alternatively, if his native energy and intelligence reinforce the stimulus afforded by the lively adventures of school days, he will find means of escape from the pressure and will rise by his own efforts to the level of his compeers who were promoted to the Secondary School. Often indeed he surpasses them, for the hardships of a youth spent in industry may afford a finer discipline than the comparative ease of Secondary education.[1]

[1] Orlando Greenwood, formerly a mill-hand in Lancashire, was a starving man in London a few years ago. "Poverty," he says, "is a great school for an artist." Jesus Christ said something of the same kind.

Part b.—Youth in Industry

Two years have gone by since the House of Commons passed the resolution[1] discussed on p. 260 (Vol. I) and no steps have yet been taken to carry out that striking expression of good intentions. Since the nation will not foot the small bill involved even for the forlorn class of unemployed juveniles, it is absurd to expect the good intentions of the Act of 1918 to be transferred from the Statute Book to the real acts of an executive. The town of Rugby still remains as the one solitary spot where every youth up to eighteen is under educational control, receiving what is analogous (p. 323, above) to the apprenticeship systems of the old world. In the rest of Great Britain Continued Education is still on the same voluntary basis as that provided by Authority for scholars maintained in Secondary Schools; the employer, here and there, pays his juvenile employees on condition that they will submit to 'partial' education,[2] just as the Authority pays 'maintained' scholars in Secondary Schools on condition that they submit to whole-time education. In both cases and for all parties the obligation is voluntary; the employer, e.g., can dismiss the employee, whose education thereupon ceases, just as the Authority can expel a maintained scholar who fails to profit by the education: and the educand in each case can withdraw at will and thereby cease to be under instruction. The position is in fact the same as has obtained here and there for many years: an advance, however, having been made in the number of firms which require young employees to take classes, and in the transfer of hours of attendance from the evening to

[1] "That it is desirable that all possible steps should be taken to prevent the demoralization consequent upon juvenile unemployment"; carried *nem. con.*

[2] Vol. I, pp. 147-9.

the morning or afternoon, i.e. to 'employers' time.' Many employers of course give no exemption from work and continue to require attendance at evening classes; some take advantage of the day Continuation Classes established by the Local Education Authorities; a few large firms conduct their own classes. Yet again there are Trade Schools, Commercial Schools, Junior Technical Schools, established under other sections of Board of Education Regulations. A comprehensive survey is beyond our reach in this chapter: Mr. Bolton King's work[2] gives the most recent summary, with detailed sketches of some typical curricula. The method of every Continuation School, day or evening, is *sui generis*: in many evening schools there is no school in the proper sense of the word, only a series of isolated classes: in Works Schools, on the contrary, the corporate life is commonly maintained at high-tension level, for although formal instruction only takes a few hours from the working week, the pupils are sharing a common life for many hours per week in excess of the attendance of their compeers in Secondary Schools (compare p. 62 above).

As regards curricula for working girls and boys during these years, the cardinal points required our notice in Chapter IV (Vol. I, pp. 67–69), and they apply equally to the Secondary School scholar: youth *wants to know*, and will seize on any and every experience that promises to open a door. The youth at work and the youth in the Secondary School are in different situations, and the contrast leads to one safe principle for the curriculum of the former. When a boy continues his schooling, passing from Primary to Secondary, he remains a school pupil with the attitudes and interest of that atmosphere (the Secondary might indeed more logically be called the Continuation School, since from the pupil's point of

[2] Loc. cit., p. 324 above.

view the various schools which he attends, from nursery to college, make a continuous chain). But for the working lad the break at fourteen is decisive: schooling is ended: life is begun. All social workers are agreed that young wage-earners enter on labour with great expectations, in spite of all that they have heard to the contrary. They may have had a happy time in school: nevertheless they do not want any more of it, nor do they want the school teacher and his methods to follow them into their new world. Not that they often show active resentment when sent to a Continuation School, or that this indifferent attitude towards instruction persists: but it is the governing trend of dispositions when the worker starts work; it should therefore be accepted as the starting-point for the consideration of problems in the new curriculum. In other words, the Continuation School teacher does well to associate himself with the foreman and see what problems can lead the youngsters on to interests in science, mathematics, geography, design, even fine art, which are related on the one hand to the employment, on the other hand to culture. This is, of course, the accepted motive in Junior Technical, Commercial and Trade Schools and accounts largely for their popularity.

It must certainly be granted that many of the employments open to the lower ranks of labour seem to offer small outlook towards science or art. The errand-boy, the bricklayer's lad, the sewing-machine girl, what relation have their tasks to the larger world? As we have seen, it is exactly in these pursuits, where apprenticeship has long ceased to function, that education makes an urgent appeal. Needlecraft belongs to a great world of textiles; bricks have a history and a meaning in the universe of building; the errand-boy is an agent in commerce, in distribution. It is precisely in these so-

called unskilled operations that the educator should find his *point d'appui* for Liberal Education.[1] One finds that most organizers of Continuation Schools, instead of accepting and welcoming this opportunity, regard the industrial activities of youth in such employments as unworthy: they therefore lay stress on instruction for leisure, or for hobbies, which, however important and indeed essential for perfect development, can only succeed in isolated cases.

Other elements in an all-round curriculum must be left to defend themselves: one can no longer plead, as in the Primary School, for due recognition of every item in the Five Point programme. The one exception concerns physical welfare: the oversight of the physician should be continued: and where the conditions of employment tend to distort bodily development suitable exercises and nutrition cannot be left out of sight. The youth's understanding of himself is first of all an understanding of physical functions.

Where a teacher, a director or manager in a works, is keen about this or that pursuit, be it cookery or drama, he or she will get a band of followers: for the unquestioned fact about adolescents as compared with children is their readiness to follow leaders, to let the affections be their guide. True, they are out to explore the world, but it is a human world, a spiritual world, to which things mundane, arts and sciences are attached. Hence the Humanities and the Fine Arts cannot fail to hold their own, if the teachers in Works Schools, or Secondary Schools for that matter, themselves enjoy poetry and

[1] Helen Marot, *The Creative Impulse in Industry*, offers an illuminating sketch of what may be accomplished in some of these mechanical trades, but her sketch so far has not been carried into execution. None the less the philosophy is sound and will be realized more and more as executive capacity in business unites with goodwill to youth.

music. True, they must in some measure possess qualities of leadership and sympathy, but if these are markedly lacking the instructor of youth has missed his vocation: leadership because youth wants to be led, sympathy because Method is only sound when it 'starts from scratch,' from the position the youth himself has gained in experience and taste.

For the only other general indication about curriculum is that individual choice plays a far larger part after fourteen than before. As the organization of School Records (p. 184 above) extends it will become easier for those placed in charge of youth to give a chance for the working boy or girl to follow his bent. It may not always be possible in the actual hours allotted to instruction to allow time for pursuing this bent: but the teacher can take an interest, can look about for ways and means, e.g. through a Scout Troop or an active Church community, to put this or that lad among congenial guides and associates. All this is something very different from a syllabus prescribed and outlined in a strict theory of continued education, yet it is the theory that works, and that is extending more and more as we come to a fuller knowledge of the meaning of adolescence and of the ideals of industrial life.

This chapter deals with the education of the masses; it does not forecast the mass production of a new race. So far from this being the case, the argument turns in the contrary direction: the mass remain the mass, impervious, self-centred, indifferent to attack. The educator has to admit that few can be saved: "many are called, but few are chosen"; his task is to make the call, to offer the choice: thereafter adherence to the doctrine of individuality itself compels us to leave each to his own destiny. The immediate result of Continued Education can only be plainly witnessed in the expanding life and

character of a few, one here, one there: at long last the full harvest will be garnered by our successors, in new habits and outlook, slowly, all too slowly, adopted and transmitted by a new generation of working folk. That was the faith in which the pioneers of popular education, from the days of Pestalozzi, gave the elements of schooling to the children of the people, and their hope has been realized in the advance of democracy since they set their hand to the plough: a like faith has to sustain the teachers as they continue education on behalf of youth at work.

References.—For the latter half of this chapter I have been specially indebted to colleagues, some of whom between 1916 and 1918 investigated the problem as members of the Uplands Association, and published their conclusions in a book called *The Young Wage-earner* (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1918): the contributions of Professor Shelley, the Rev. Dr. Jackson and Miss Matthias are of permanent value for the social milieu of working boys and girls. In more recent years Professor Bompas Smith has conducted an experimental station for Continued Education in the University of Manchester, chiefly taking charge of the young people under eighteen employed in University Departments (libraries and laboratories). The devoted care with which Miss Conway, Miss Hartley and Miss Hindshaw have watched the development of these wage-earners has given one a confidence in stating conclusions which could scarcely have been felt apart from hearing about the work at close quarters.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL—AND BEYOND

WHILE one would like to see the term 'Secondary' extended to cover all types of schooling beyond the Primary stage up to eighteen years of age, one must accept current nomenclature for current use. Hence this chapter is headed 'The Secondary School' in the sense usually accepted (Vol. I, pp. 134–6), including all varieties of Grammar, Public, High, County Schools and the like, but excluding places of part-time education and also full-time schools with definite trade and commercial affiliations.

Many educationists, especially when speaking on political platforms, disguise the selective principle on which Secondary Schools are maintained and the favours which are extended to these in comparison with the types reviewed in the last two chapters. We saw in Vol. I, Chap. VII, how these anomalies and frictions have arisen: they are due to the institutions of Family and Class; these cannot be logically reconciled with the institutions of democracy, apart from some novel integration of community which has not yet appeared on the horizon.

The educator, keeping within his own province, takes the social situation as he finds it, and seeks, in studying the Secondary School curriculum, to pick out the governing principle which marks it off from the ideas of 'further' schooling outlined in the last chapter. This principle is found in the correlative ideas of *privilege* and *power*. If life be viewed as service, then the secondary pupil is privileged beyond others to receive much from

home and school and community, for which in return he will give much. If life be viewed in terms of power, then he is entrusted either with exceptional talents (sometimes brought to light through scholarship tests) or with the power that comes from wealth. In many cases the two are combined: youth equipped with an inheritance of fine capacity as well as of material resources sets out to master the world. No one who has lived in such schools either as pupil or as teacher will question that this is a true description of the general atmosphere in all this realm of education. The position is still more clear in Colleges and Universities: from the dawn of history the mysteries of learning, the virtues of the *intelligentsia*, have been used alike for the basest and the noblest exercise of social power. The masses: who cares for the mass, either in gold or man? "the common crofts, the vulgar thorpes." [1]

> Here's the top-peak! the multitude below
> Live, for they can, there.

The Preliminary Years, Ten to Fourteen.—This attitude only finds expression when childhood has run its course, hence the years from ten to fourteen (which come within the ambit of all Secondary Schools except in the type called 'Public') need to be viewed apart from secondary education proper. The general principles concerned in arranging a curriculum must be the same as those accepted for the closing years of the Primary School—with one important exception. The Primary School scholar is a senior, entrusted in a small way with authority, a leader in corporate life; but children of like age in a Secondary School are juniors: some of them are more precocious intellectually than children in the VIIth or VIIIth Standard, but they are by com-

[1] Browning, *A Grammarian's Funeral.*

parison docile, more willing to follow a prescribed curriculum, less concerned to work out problems arising from their own sense of values.

It is an error, however, to take advantage of this docility and treat the IInd, IIIrd, and IVth Forms as just a preparatory stage for the work of the Vth and VIth Forms. We have seen how anxiety about the future hampers the curriculum all along in the passage from infancy to early childhood and the passage from childhood through the transition of thirteen and fourteen: it is still more noticeable in the time-tables for Secondary Schools. The whole conception of lower Forms as preparatory to the higher rests on a primitive psychology; and it is also unpractical: it does not lead to that success in results at Matriculation or beyond which is the conventional goal for sixteen and seventeen. Many secondary teachers, looking back on the pupils they have taught, will agree with this judgment: one can only arrive at a verdict after pretty long experience, for one has to wait many years before the ripe fruit of Method can be garnered and tested. Often enough a bright, precocious youngster is turned into a dull receptacle of conventional learning, just able to win a scholarship, by being prematurely forced into the 'preparatory' machine: with freer scope between twelve and fourteen he would later on have surmounted the obstacles of scholarship tests with equal ease, retaining at the same time an activity and initiative adequate to face the severer tests of College and of life thereafter.[1]

[1] I am not writing this at large from the theorist's arm-chair: my memory goes back to this lad and that, now in the 'forties' and 'fifties,' one failing, the other making his mark: in the nature of things one cannot connect cause and effect with scientific precision: yet when the record of such instances is placed side by side with what one has learned about development the conclusion can scarcely be mistaken.

The problem affects the inner organization of every Secondary School, and the whole curriculum of English Preparatory Schools, which send their pupils to Public Schools at fourteen. Preparatory Schoolmasters in order to secure pupils must prepare boys as the Public Schools dictate: so far as the latter look for evidence of capacity within the narrow range of classics and mathematics the Preparatory School man must submit his boys to that curriculum. They have become restive, for many of them, living close to their boys, know how talent is clipped when the energies of later childhood are restricted; to a slight extent the entrance tests to the Public Schools have been broadened out to meet their views.

Hence in any type of secondary schooling, whether it be entirely conducted in one place, as in Grammar and High Schools, or divided between Preparatory and Public, the sharpest possible line should be drawn between lower Forms and higher. Up to fourteen the Five Point programme, as we have labelled it, can be maintained in its entirety: there may be many variations within the general scheme, Latin, and even Greek,[1] need not be excluded if a bright company of boys or girls finds meaning and purpose in pursuing them; but the meaning and the purpose must be found in their immediate sense of values.

Changed Outlook after Fourteen.—The Secondary School proper is therefore concerned with the early years of adolescence, the stage which we have called 'youth.' These privileged boys and girls are exempt from the narrowing discipline of wage-earning; hence if the views expressed in Chapter IV[2] be accepted we shall carry

[1] "There is much more Greek literature that is both great and interesting to boys and girls than there is Latin." (*Education Reform*, p. 81.)

[2] Vol. I, pp. 67–9.

the principle of individuality, of freedom in choice, to the utmost limit compatible with the resources in staff and equipment which a school can offer. The ideal for organizing a Secondary School time-table points to the welcome of every great field of human interest as proper to attract the regard of youth. This is the first cardinal doctrine: at all hazards a youth must find in one or other of his studies something that quickens his energy and stirs his affections: the actual 'something' seems of little account in itself[1]: the youth is attracted to it by all sorts of motives, most often perhaps from the example of a strong teacher who is admired: not infrequently owing to some chance incident, a conversation, a book, a speech at a meeting. In the fine arts the necessary skill has usually been displayed (and ought to have been diligently practised) in childhood: in

[1] "Who can distinguish, in the after-life of normal schoolboys, the thinking capacity which one boy owes to his Latin lessons from the similar capacity—other things being equal—that another boy got from learning Mathematics? One boy's meat is another boy's poison, but in either case the meat builds up the whole boy. Our 'group' superstition assumes that a careful admixture of meat and poison to each individual is essential to 'general' health. Of all the loose tags in which current educational patter abounds none is looser than the tag about 'premature specialization.' If every boy of sixteen were studying half the number of subjects he studies to-day, and learning them twice as thoroughly, the all-round gain would be enormous. The impossibility of omniscience has long been self-evident; yet somehow the taint of this impossible (and undesirable) ideal still lingers faintly on in the scholastic precinct. We are in serious danger of turning out boys who are well informed—the very worst type of bore. Why not grasp the nettle firmly and admit (what we all guess already) that no subject whatever, and no one class of subject, is indispensable? The indispensable thing is that everybody should learn something well enough to get an inkling of the gap between knowledge and half-knowledge." (E. W. Barton, Headmaster of the Bristol Grammar School, in *The University Bulletin*, March, 1925.) In *The Forum of Education*, vol. iii, pp. 183–5, Professor Cavenagh defends the same position from the standpoint of recent psychology.

such cases the youth is already provided with a central interest which steadies the outlook.

Sometimes the school curriculum can afford no scope for the private hobby which a youth takes up. A biologist has recently recalled the school career of himself and two or three comrades in a Public School: they were devoted to nature study; anything and everything growing out-of-doors was fish to their net; they had little help from the staff and did not ask for it; they accepted the discipline of the routine curriculum, did well in it, went up to the University and made good; but all along they cherished this private interest, and each of them is now doing distinguished work in which biology plays a part. But it is not necessary that this youthful enthusiasm should result in utility for a vocation: it may vanish after it has worked the effect. For this effect is in the inner life: some vision of hope and achievement, personal hope, personal achievement, self-chosen, is needed to give stability for energies that are fluctuating between the demands of the lower nature and the appeal of a higher ideal. The great teachers have all realized this and most of them have urged that the central theme should be concerned with the Humanities, with moral and spiritual values, and with history, biography, literature and language as aids to these. They are reluctant to admit that a boy can find his way to a worthy life if he gets absorbed in chemistry or commercial subjects or in arts and crafts. This plea is a strong one, but it is met by examining more closely the method on which the youth approaches such pursuits: he comes to them because he is human and because in this or that theme he has found humanistic values. A critic may suspect one of special pleading, trying to find a specious defence for a facile theory: but let him recall his own experience at this period of

life, and reflect also on the behaviour of adolescent pupils with whom he has come into close contact. These young people are supremely interested in mankind, in what their own species have done and are doing: a 'subject' so-called, be it nature study or chemistry or the Latin language, attracts one or another because he has found his fellow-men at work on it, and at the back of his mind he follows their example and appropriates the study as his own. In many cases you cannot trace the process by which a 'hobby' of this kind got planted in a youth's regard: his teachers commonly suppose that some inherited aptitude is the sole factor. In the case above cited these nature-loving lads no doubt felt and behaved like 'born' naturalists, and the supposition is so far correct in that they no doubt possessed good sensory powers which enjoyed the exercise of observation. There is no evidence to account for their hobby; but in all instances where I have been able to come to close acquaintance I find that social environment provides the stimulus, although sentiments derived from this source are reinforced no doubt by native idiosyncrasies. One function of the school, then, is to help the pupil to make his hobby something more than mere acquisition, to enlarge the view so that what appears to be a trifling or a restricted enterprise may take on the larger and deeper significance of humanism. Thus chemistry kept on a narrow footing supplies little nourishment for the soul; but chemists are men, and as men the story of chemistry in history and adventure, the relations of chemistry to other sciences and hence to the fortunes of mankind, is by no means remote. Until recently many science specialists did not realize the worth of their own *Fach*, but the point of view is changing[1]: chemistry

[1] The recently established Course in the History and Philosophy of Science (University of London) shows how the tide is setting.

can be handled as an element in liberal education when the mind of the teacher, seeing the whole in the parts, captures the suggestible mind of the youthful chemist, and helps him to image the universe through a test-tube.[1] This enlargement of vision is more patent when language, literature and history have captured the youthful mind: these pursuits may yet readily be reduced to the level of pedantic acquisition, unless the teacher is himself a man as well as the exponent of a humanistic study.

Thus the first question to ask about any young person privileged to spend his whole day at school from fourteen to eighteen is just this: what does he care about? Is there any 'side' of the curriculum, or any study outside the curriculum, which keeps him busy, which makes him willing to read, to test, to explore for himself? If not, he will develop more happily in some mode of apprenticeship as outlined in the last chapter. Now the second demand seems exactly contrary, but it is rather to be accepted as complementary. It is imposed by discipline, by convention, and is concretely expressed in the requirement that by sixteen or seventeen every pupil shall have qualified himself to reach the approved patterns of a certificate (Vol. I, pp. 212–21). Youth needs discipline, needs to accept the bit and bridle: all the reformer can ask is that these qualifying tests should not be too burdensome, with requirements so minute as to give youth no time to pursue his own vagaries. Hence one need not pay much regard to complaints against the narrow portals through which pupils are required to enter this or that University, or this or that profession. The restrictions themselves may be of slight importance: thus in some Universities the would-be medical student is required to show a bowing acquaintance with elementary Latin: in itself

[1] This was the root principle animating the method of Sanderson of Oundle (p. 251 above).

this requirement has little relation to the pursuit of medicine, yet, since it serves as a test of energy in facing difficulties, it ensures that students of that Faculty have displayed a little intellectual effort and may be, so far, relied upon to show some grit in medical study. A similar rejoinder is valid for elementary Mathematics, compulsory in a Matriculation Certificate: the protest here is made on behalf of girls, whose teachers sometimes aver that women are congenitally weaker in this subject than men (see p. 143 above). The evidence adduced is untrustworthy: the only conclusion so far reached is that from an early age girls are assumed to be less capable than boys in this sort of thinking, and are at times taught with less scholarship and energy. The only concession which can fairly be made to both these pleas is that a candidate who fails in one or two subjects of a certificate should be allowed credit for those in which he has passed, allowed, that is, to present himself at a second trial in subjects in which he has failed on the first attempt. In other words, the fetish that competence can only be displayed by capacity to pass in all subjects in one week or month should be abandoned.

If these two demands, one based on individuality, the other on convention and discipline, be allowed full weight, no programme can be sketched in detail parallel to the plan sketched above for an ideal Primary School. The bulk of the week's time-table has to be determined by the programmes of Matriculation and other examinations. These programmes certainly need to be improved, but by fifteen the scholar is old enough to see what they mean and to prepare himself for answering the challenge. Teachers who take pains to help their pupils to meet these tests are sometimes blamed unjustly: they are likened to the crammer,[1] who makes his living by

[1] See pp. 110, 116 above.

coaching pupils to hold for the time being the minimum of knowledge which will secure the necessary percentage of marks. Fortunately the analogy is less pertinent than it used to be: the successful teacher nowadays pays slight attention to the details of a Certificate examination until the time for test comes pretty near, within perhaps three months of the date. He knows that, if the pupil has been really educated in mastery of a subject, he will approach the day of trial with a larger power than if each subject has been meticulously spaced out during four years with a view to covering a Certificate syllabus. He knows too that it is far wiser to let the slower pupils take an extra year before meeting the test than to force their capacity.

This is especially important if one holds firmly by the first principle, viz. to secure at all hazards that some one pursuit be followed *con amore*, whether it be included in a Certificate course or not. The two demands have to be reconciled and the best solution is to take ample time: let the pupil who is devoted to the violin or the craftroom—I would add, to sports, if he is a real 'sport' —delay his Certificate examination for an additional year. If we were able to diagnose the body-mind of such young folk, should we not find that this delay was necessary to harmonious development? This at least is a fair speculation on which many a cautious schoolmaster acts.

The Greater Values.—Now when the above points are conceded, have we satisfied all the obligations that can be laid upon the Secondary School? The reader will perhaps have an uneasy feeling that something is left out, some element which is covered neither by acceptance of the discipline of the normal course, nor by generous allowance for freedom and variety in the distinctive tastes of each pupil. Let us carry our minds back to the

great epochs of secondary schooling, to Athens in its prime, to Vittorino da Feltre, to Arnold, or to the best teachers whose society we ourselves have enjoyed either as pupils or as colleagues. The Method in these various schools, ancient, mediæval, modern, was widely different, but they display one common quality: the teachers were scholars, but not merely scholars; they were true teachers, i.e. they cared for the youth to whom their lives were devoted [1]; and they were more than that: they were men of their time, and of all time, alive to the *ethos* of their age, feeling something of the inspiration which comes to men who live in the presence of great ideas, who are in touch with the universe. To call this attitude towards life religious may be misconceived, and yet some elements of reverence and devotion, of other-worldliness, need to be included in our conception of Method if any words can fitly describe what is elusive.

To attach this supreme requisite to the subjects of a curriculum is to descend from the sublime to the commonplace: it is not an affair of branches of study but of the spirit in which they are approached and the significance which the teacher himself brings to them. We have glanced at this position already from the pupil's point of view, for the youth himself is, all unknowing, in quest of the ideal: let us, however, try to get to closer grips and see what is involved, *in our epoch*, when the subjects of a curriculum are viewed in the light of the larger, more fundamental aspects of human behaviour. The problem is one for meditation, and the reader might well be left to make his own valuation: the writer may set down his own impression for the sake of comparison.

First, our epoch transcends all earlier ages in its grasp of time and space; conceptions of evolution and relativity have become part and parcel of our thinking. The

[1] Pp. 4–6 above.

links which bind this island of ours to the great world of the geographer, the biologist, the historian, these categories of time and space are filled with new import to the educated men of our generation. Youth is denied its birthright if left uneducated in these spheres, if he leave his Secondary School without some sense of the spacious time in which he is born. Will a course in science, a course in world-geography or history, achieve such a result? It may or it may not. The dry bones of a curriculum are but skeleton: they only live when a teacher stirs them to life: and, as already said, he can attain this end through any branch of the curriculum which he represents in the time-table.

Again, our age is witnessing a finer estimate of physical life, partly no doubt as a concern of good health, but partly as an increasing recognition of the fact that body and mind are a unity, that to neglect either aspect of the self is a sin. The schools so far have done something for the young by introducing lessons in physiology or hygiene and by giving some scope to the ministrations of the medical officer: more than all by encouraging the impulses of youth for gymnastics and open-air games. Yet one has to admit that all these movements, though essential, may fail to get to the root of the matter in self-control. The anxiety of our age is expressed most pointedly concerning sex and its difficulties, but I doubt (p. 33) whether there has not been here some exaggeration. The more open discussion of sex is only one indication of an increasing consciousness among adults of the springs of behaviour; a finer recognition of hygiene, at once physical and moral, based on a franker understanding of the facts about psychology. Thus the adolescent is being helped to lay the foundation of lifelong habits of temperance, in firmer control of all the appetites.

And, again, many men will agree that a new world has sprung up about us since the calamities of the years 1914 to 1918 were endured. The youth now in our schools know nothing of that tragedy except from hearsay: it has passed into the history books or is revived at the anniversaries. But in the memory of their teachers the deeper issues of life and death, of things present and things to come, have not yet passed away: they lead thoughtful men to ask the old question, *Am I my brother's keeper?* with an altered emphasis. The girls and boys from Secondary Schools are a select class: they are getting ready to grasp power, to enjoy privilege, to render service, equally ready, alas! to assert their power at the expense of their kind, unless those who have them in hand are servants of their country and servants of mankind. Youth is gay, *insouciant*, on the surface, but in the inner recesses there is at times a serious vein, a temper of criticism, of challenge to the elders. How can we meet our youthful questioners? By poetry? —certainly it is worth trying. By the law and the prophets?—even more certainly, when the Gospel is also given a place. By the corporate life of school? —here too is a great opportunity for experience. But the subjects and the time-table once more elude us. Happy the pupil who can choose his teachers: and the teacher who keeps in touch with the infinite when absorbed in the trivial round.

College and University.—Problems of Method in the education of young men and women open up a situation very unlike that witnessed in the Secondary School. Specialism now comes into its own without dispute: all students of capacity have discovered their own 'line' of interest, even if they are not already destined for some vocation and entered in a Faculty organized on that behalf. True, the Faculties of Arts and of Science rest

on a somewhat wider basis, but the majority of students in these Faculties look forward either to research, to teaching in its higher branches, or to careers in public life or bureaucratic service. So it comes about that what was fostered in the Secondary School as a hobby, a distinctive taste over and above the conventional discipline of general studies, now falls into the conventional scheme of things and guides the student to his *métier*.

Thus for the great majority of students the idea of a liberal education seems to be abandoned, yet the student, even in the most technical of Technological Colleges, can find in the work of his Faculty the things that make for culture, even if some of his teachers are blind to the significance of the task on which they are engaged. The University teacher pays little attention to formal Method: his devotion to research often leads him to be careless about exposition, careless at times even about other aids which a young student has a right to expect in exploring the labyrinths of modern knowledge and art. Yet these deficiencies count for little among students of character: behind the forms and procedure of lecture-room and laboratory they look for the man himself; they take from his attitude far more than he often suspects to guide them in shaping their ideals.

So far as lecture courses are concerned students are less dependent than in old days on the spoken word: manuscripts and books were hard to come by; everything depended upon the expositor. But every branch of study is now represented by great books. A tutor who can bring his pupils to close acquaintance with the outstanding thinker and writer of his generation has done much for their development, even if they never meet these masters face to face.[1]

[1] When men of distinction can find time to visit a college or university, be it only to offer a contribution to a small circle in a college society,

There is still too much stress laid, especially in the newer Universities, upon attendance at a multitude of lectures, from fear that many students will idle away their time unless required to sit for a prescribed period day by day to hear discourses. The fear may be well grounded, but it is folly to suppose that men and women are being educated simply because they are seated within hearing of a discourse. The chief point of controversy is to determine how soon a student can be treated *as* a student, able to forge his own way and to share in research, and how long he must continue to be handled like a schoolboy. In either case reform is happily tending to reduce the number of lectures,[1] making each of them an occasion for elucidating large principles in the light of modern research, while leaving the details of study to be suggested in smaller classes or in personal exchange between teacher and taught.

Meanwhile one has to admit that the programme of any Faculty, even at its best, falls far short of that training in wisdom, in philosophy shall we say, that is assumed to be the distinctive privilege of those who frequent Universities. Ought not those College years to offer more than 'facilities for taking a degree'? They certainly should, and a well-organized corporation, whether College or University, by no means limits its arrangements to degrees and certificates. Yet the history of Universities seems to show that official plans to influence directly the personal outlook and ideals of students break down. This need cause no misgiving

they often exercise a singular influence over growing minds, quite other than is exerted by the printed word. This is one of the benefits of modern facilities of transport. In earlier days the student had to wander far to come into contact with the masters of his time: now they come to him, through their books at least and at times in person.

[1] Compare Sir T. H. Holland (Presidential Address to Section L, Brit. Assn. 1926) p. 247: "one lecture each day; one subject one term."

when one gives adequate weight to the radical change in attitude and outlook as the youth of the VIth Form forsake school to become fresh*men*, fresh*women*. Whatever the curriculum provided, however limited their own conception of their studies, they themselves are so made as to seek from their new environment an answer to the large and deep problems of life:—their own existence and that of their fellows. They are now men, women; their demeanour soon becomes assured, emancipated; the sense of power and privilege felt in the responsible rank they had held in a VIth Form does not desert them when they carry on the game of life as beginners in the new community. The trend of University reform, as it has evolved since J. H. Newman sought to stem the tide, tends more and more to reconcile (not without anxiety) this confident attitude with the many evidences of instability that are witnessed, even beyond the freshman year. Although socially *in statu pupillari* they have taken their future into their own hands, coequal with the mass of young men and women who are earning a livelihood. This comparison does not absolve the University from responsibility for helping the student in his search for a solution of life's problems, yet it indicates the line of approach: much is to be offered, yet many will refuse all organized schemes for their benefit and often, so far as appearance goes, take nothing from their elders outside the conventional programme. But wherever due provision is made for college societies, and for self-government in discipline and corporate life, where the seniors, tutors and lecturers, show readiness, when invited, to share the company of the student body, one cannot doubt that most of those who frequent places of higher education find some nurture for the spirit. What has been said above in respect of the greater values applies even more to the University than to the Secondary

School, for an active-minded, forceful community is open to the influence of all the winds that blow: any school of thought, any movement in social, political, religious reform, any gifted writer or teacher who has a message for his age, finds his audience, through book or speech, among those who flock to college. No doubt strange gods offer themselves for worship: tares are sown among the wheat: risks must be taken. But this adventure of University life, with all its hazards, has never opened a finer prospect to the young than in the present epoch. All the world over this unique concourse of talent, earnest and careless, facing the future with all the confidence of inexperience, is enhancing its claims. In the recognized Universities first of all, but also in colleges and corporations dedicated to science and the fine arts, these young adventurers are turning inside-out the store-rooms where the experience of their elders has been piled from age to age.[1] The wisdom of the ages? they take or leave it, give a nod of recognition to their instructors and pass out gaily from degree day to solve anew the riddle of existence.

The series is completed: from the bib and tucker of the nursery school to the cap and gown. There is a sequel:—Adult Education (Vol. I, p. 138), last in the field and least amenable of all to prescriptions of curriculum or method. It is the offspring of democracy, of the policy of the open door. This province lies outside the range of the present writing; all that can be here noted is that the University and the College, if they are to hold their place of privilege, will need to come to terms with this novel competitor for power. It is no longer a matter for patronage, dispensing favours in an

[1] National and international conferences and unions of students are symptomatic of the trend towards exploration by this restless section of society.

Extension Scheme or an Extra-mural Department, giving working men a few crumbs of culture in Settlements or W.E.A. classes. These movements are all to the good and their force is by no means spent, but a new era seems to be at hand: the enthusiast in this field has a vision of an educated fellowship,[1] welcoming students of all social classes and giving to the idea of the University a universal breadth of meaning:—a magnificent dream, vague and shadowy in outline. And yet, if democracy is to survive, as the phrase goes, will it not need the comforting support of "true religion and sound learning"?

[1] The British Institute of Adult Education, with its Journal and Directory, at 39 Bedford Square, and the World Association of Adult Education, 16 Russell Square, W.C., scarcely need a note of reference. Both of these, like their forerunner, the W.E.A., have sprung from the combination of idealism with organizing genius in that compelling personality Dr. Albert Mansbridge. If any readers are sceptical of the social forces behind this movement, they should read *The Drama in Adult Education*, a Report by a Committee of the Board of Education, 1926.

CHAPTER XV

TEACHING PROCEDURE

OUR design is approaching completion: after the many pages in which we reviewed (Section III) the materials from which the teacher builds his structure, the data from which he sets out, we turned to Method; first of all we glanced at other workers in our craft, the reformers who of set purpose seek to erect the whole edifice on new foundations. Then we have glanced, as fully as the space of a single volume will permit, at principles as seen at work in different types of school; and in conclusion we must anticipate, if only for a moment, the actual proceedings of teacher and class when they encounter each other. The technical name for this event is a *lesson*, the process is still sometimes called lesson-giving[1]; but the whole tenour of this book is to put another aspect on the proceedings: our pupils will learn their lessons, but we prefer to think of what is going to happen in terms of something less receptive and more active—a fresh experience, a moment in an energetic life, where all alike, teachers and scholars, both receive and give.

Whatever be our attitude or our terminology, the

[1] One hopes that the profession will soon cease to speak of 'giving lessons': unfortunately the Training Departments, which would fain be in the van of reform, have, willy nilly, set an evil example. Students are usually tested for practical power by getting up what is tantamount to a stage performance, 'giving' a single lesson, separated from other activities either of the class, the class teacher, the student or the examiner. I have been a partner in such proceedings for thirty years past: protesting all the while against the patent mischiefs that ensue. One rejoices to find that at long last the younger generation of Training College reformers are prepared to put an end to the abuse.

event is before us: to-morrow morning, 9 a.m. or thereabouts, the encounter is to be renewed: what is the end of this book opens the beginning for the man at work. How far then can he prepare himself, specifically and in detail, for what will happen to-morrow? Most workers, from scavengers to company directors, do nothing of the kind: after the day's errand is run, be it 8 to 8 or 10 to 4, the mind seeks for change: the preparation for efficient performance was made years ago and no obligation is felt to ponder or plan until the following morning. All is in the memory, in habit, dismissed when the man 'clocked off.' Of course in many callings, as in ours of schoolkeeping, the memory is buttressed by memoranda, syllabuses, documents of many kinds: but the essential facts enabling the teacher to meet his scholars for a new day's experience are a part of him. You question if he ought to come to the class-room 'unprepared' with a procedure? He replies that he is not unprepared, for all his life has been experience, preparing for this very day. To-day he is to teach Shakespeare at one hour and composition at another: well, he knows Shakespeare through and through; children's ways with essays are equally familiar to him: what is there to prepare? It is true that the actual members of the class are new and may present novel problems; equally true that to-day's customers at the stores are different from those of last year; but these variations in social psychology cannot be effectively anticipated the night before. The obvious fact is that teachers, like other workers, do not prepare for any work of a *routine* character: much of life runs in ruts, must run largely in ruts: it is only at the points of departure, where we reshape, re-form a bit of our procedure, that we prepare notes of lessons or in other ways take thought for the morrow.

There is of course another sort of getting ready:

there are tangible things, tools, apparatus, books and the like which must be on hand when the time comes. Some teachers have to spend a great deal of energy in such preparation, as shopkeepers and other workers have to do, beyond the hours specified. In some branches of teaching the burden is onerous and accounts in part for the slow progress of reform: thus the science teacher often has a 'lab. boy' to help him in looking after the thousand and one articles his pupils may require; the handicraft teacher frequently has to spend Saturday morning in sharpening the tools used during the week by hundreds of boys. In an ideal school the pupils would care for such matters, but youngsters, even in real carpenters' shops, cannot be trusted to put a fine edge on a good tool: the training of pupils in such habits is an invaluable part of education, yet exercises cannot be regarded as a labour-saving device to relieve the teacher [1]; on the contrary, it is the same at school as in the home, the elders often say that it is "less trouble to do it oneself." Hence the theme of this chapter only becomes practical when a teacher is setting out on a new venture, re-forming some portion of his daily practice, thinking out a method likely to promote a new aim. In such circumstances he not only re-drafts the syllabus before a session's work begins, but he sometimes keeps a detailed record, day by day or week by week, partly anticipating what he expects to happen, partly written after the event, so as to retain for future use a record of amendments. Some excellent teachers make a poor show when it comes to writing lesson notes, just as some excellent surgeons are of little use in describing an operation.

The main value of such records is in fact for 'third parties,' students, inspectors and the like, interested in the reform which the note-taking teacher is seeking to

[1] Compare Chapter V, pp. 104–120.

effect. Hence it is not surprising that the most active sphere for the study of Teaching Procedure is the Training College or University Department of Education: the best books for students' use contain records of occurrences, sometimes actual, sometimes invented, of the dialogue, the encounter of wits, the exposure of difficulties: Plato set the example with his sketches of the Socratic Method. The value of these sketches depends upon their approximation to the truth, so that a student who wants to get to grips with the realities is fortunate if he can work with a keen teacher and can make his own sketches of what occurs. In America, that land of efficiency, stenography is resorted to: the copious notes of discussion in Collings's *Project Curriculum* or Caroline Platt's *Experimental Practice*[1] can scarcely have been put together without such help. In the Uebungsschule at Jena, where for forty years Professor Rein trained young schoolmasters in Method, we were provided with elaborate volumes of sketches for each school year, but these as a rule offered ideal forecasts of what ought to happen in dialogue or the like[2]: the ideal was certainly an approximation to reality, but the records of what has actually taken place, both in the experience of an individual scholar and in the joint performance of a class, are no less valuable. Moreover, these records can be supplemented, if not largely replaced, by the scholars' output, in drawing and craft work as well as in written work. It is from such 'clinical' material, rather than from text-books, that a student teacher frames his ideas of teaching procedure.

[1] P. 265. [2] See *On the Study of Education* in Vol. II of Special Inquiries and Reports, 1898, edited by M. E. Sadler for the Board of Education. In *Principles of Class Teaching*, chaps. xii–xv, examples of work on the same model are given, based on the practice of the present writer and his colleagues of an English school.

Obviously, however, no such ideas and habits can be established apart from some underlying conception of psychology, interpreting the dialogue, the drawing, the ebb and flow of mind meeting mind. The text-books of Method have taken great care to elaborate these underlying conceptions, using such parts of psychology as seemed relevant, but the teacher actually at work has to forget the pyschology as resolutely as the surgeon forgets his anatomy when he comes directly to face with his operation. Analytical psychology in fact, even when sound, has only a very general relation to the complex, synthetic behaviour witnessed in real life. The text-books, as a rule, offer *types* of teaching: Lessons in Skill, in Observation, in Deduction, in Description, Inspiration Lessons: the student who studies these no doubt learns some psychology, but when he enters the class-room he does not *find* the types: rather he finds them all, since the pupils are at once perceiving, conceiving, constructing:—going through the whole gamut of mental processes in five minutes. Thus a wide gulf yawns between Teaching Procedure as expounded on the basis of descriptive psychology and the daily practice witnessed in schools. The gulf is all the wider nowadays because psychology itself has sought a new foundation: the new and rapidly evolving doctrines offered to teachers for twenty years past in the name of psychology have close relations to corporate life, to individual development, but scarcely pretend to elucidate lesson-giving:—except in a destructive sense, exposing the shallowness of what passed for teachers' psychology in former times.

Some exponents of procedure seek to bridge the gulf by another route. They drop any attempt to expound general procedure, or typical forms of study; they take each subject as it stands in the time-table and propound a 'special method' for each. This plan is much more

popular, for it seems manageable: it falls into line with the trend of Organization,[1] which has made much of the specialist teacher. One volume after another is put out dealing with a single subject, addressed to such teachers as profess the specialism. The advantage is undoubted: by coming close to the day's work the exposition helps the teacher at the point where he stands; if the basis of general theory is sound, the specialist becomes more than a specialist: he can pass from the particular subject to the general situation, seeing his one favourite study in the light of a larger whole.

Yet the danger is patent: the teacher may become the victim of devices and nostrums, advertised as infallible recipes: all the better when they save the practitioner from the labour of thinking about principles. For it cannot be denied that general principles of behaviour are realities, and if these are ignored your specialist rides for a fall in spite of enthusiasm and energy. May I illustrate from my own experience? I have declared above my adherence to the Direct Method in acquiring Modern Languages. This from one point of view is an affair of Special Method, applying only to languages and still more specifically to Modern Languages. It has been my duty to witness many teachers at work 'using' this specialism, but they often failed because they have refused to consider the general principles of behaviour everywhere witnessed when people, adults or children alike, seek to acquire new habits, new 'skills.' A few teachers grasp these principles intuitively and achieve success: the rest of us, who cannot trust our intuitions, have to study cause and effect as patiently as an engineer, if our Special Methods are to stand the test. (The situation can of course be paralleled in every profession: it is hard to combine depth of conviction with broad philosophy.)

[1] Vol. I, pp. 165–171.

A more hopeful line of specialism is presented when one advances from the generalities of analytic to the details of genetic psychology, recognizing that procedure, like curriculum, must alter as we pass from infancy onwards. The playmate in an Infant School will treat all knowledge and all skill from the standpoint of play, and Teaching Procedure has to be governed by that cardinal outlook: but the College student has grown beyond the need for instructors who share his moods of fancy. There is in fact very little in common between teachers of the young, up to, say, twelve years of age, and those who specialize in any form of higher education: in general outlook and philosophy, in organization perhaps, they share in the common objectives of a profession and unite for the purposes of a Registration Council, but the nearer one approaches to Procedure the wider apart are they found. The teacher of art to youths of sixteen is, or should be, closer in his psychology to the teacher of cricket or algebra to these same youths than the teacher who helps children of ten in art or in elementary mathematics.

So that what has happened already as regards curriculum and corporate life affects more and more the exposition of Procedure, of Method in the narrower sense of the word. Instead of taking a vertical survey, working out the specialist's handling of his subject, mathematics or art let us say, from three to twenty-three, the exponent of Method will handle one stage of development at a time. Procedure in the Infant School is one whole, Procedure at the Primary stage is another whole; and so on until the young men and women, grown to mature years, are contemplated as requiring a distinctive Procedure, a *Universitäts Pädagogik*, as the Germans phrase it, in which the problems of seminar and laboratory are discussed in their own atmosphere, with their own psycho-

logy and sociology, their own Teaching Procedure Recent developments confirm this trend in pedagogics. The Froebel and the Montessori movements, for example, are only really at home in an Infant School, although many disciples would like to see the doctrines set forth under these titles applied to elder children. This may be granted, if the doctrines are expounded in vague and general terms; but so soon as one escapes from the special to the general, the distinctive contributions, the practical craftsmanship, of these systems has to be abandoned, for childhood and adolescence demand another outlook, another pedagogy. The Dalton Plan, again, may well make a start at eleven or twelve years and become more and more effective up to sixteen; after that it may be accepted as a general principle, but all the details which make it serviceable as a 'plan' assume a different form with mature students. The Heuristic Method, which took its rise in the laboratory of College students, is at home there; to a limited extent it is at home in the Secondary School, both for science teaching and for all branches of learning, since the independent initiative of a learner is an essential feature of all sound learning. In other words, there is a general element, derived from a general view of mental activity, which should be accepted by every reformer for all stages of development: and a special Heuristic Procedure appropriate only to the College student.

This cursory criticism and review leaves us with three modes of handling our theme, and a complete exposition of Procedure would hold the balance between them. Reversing the order given above, we have, firstly, what may be called the horizontal view, taking one stage of life at a time and observing how the educand reacts to the studies set before him: Teaching Procedure becomes a unity since all the activities of the working day are

viewed in a common perspective; Corporate Life, Curriculum, Procedure, are integrated by a philosophy based on experience of the pupil's attitude and outlook at a distinct period in his development. Secondly, the vertical view takes its rise in a subject or pursuit, which to start with is of interest to humanity at large and to the specialist teacher in particular. At its best this treatment of Procedure analyses the relation between the specialism and the evolution of mankind: it takes art or geography or science, as we have done in Chapter II, elucidates its worth as a constituent of life values, and thereafter comes down to the details of Procedure. Step by step the specialist traces the method by which a subject grows from first beginnings to the full equipment of the University scholar. Thirdly, there is the wide universal view of Procedure as resting upon the general nature of mental activity, general because the facts of mind are universal facts, illustrated equally at all periods of life and in every activity in which human beings engage: they are not witnessed solely in class-rooms and schools: they are the machinery with which the body-mind operates wherever men think and feel and act.

Now the teacher approaching his day's work governs his Procedure, whether he admits it or not, under the influence of all three modes of approach. He may allow his pupils any amount of scope in planning their day's activities, yet in the freest of free schools these activities have to be contemplated in terms of pursuits or subjects, named and set apart as specialisms. Yet it is just as inevitable for him to guide or promote these activities in terms of stages of development, since the distinctive features of this or that stage are too manifest to be ignored. The general attitude towards Procedure, the universal view, comes to the fore as an integration of the other two: the larger principles of Procedure common

to all schools, all periods of life, all pursuits, become valid only after one has 'gone through the mill,' only after one has met actual situations, dealt with children and with classes of this or that stage, pursuing this or that subject.

This process is actually going on at the present day: teachers of my generation who turned to the pedagogics of forty years ago for practical help found very little nourishment.[1] Our discouragement was partly due to the limited psychology of that day, but partly because the exponents of that day *began* with psychology, with general abstract doctrine, instead of turning to the psychologist after the practitioner had found difficulties and submitted problems. Hence the systems of pedagogics reared on that foundation failed: failed just so far as the builders were inexperienced in the problems and difficulties. As a result, students of Method and Procedure turned away from general theory and for thirty years past most of the effective contributions have followed one of the two directions noted above: they have been concerned *either* with development, from Sully,[2] Stanley Hall and the rest in the '90s to the Mental Tests of to-day, *or* with Special Method. The great bulk of recent contributions to Procedure have avoided the general and the abstract, and have been limited to Special Method.

This deviation has been necessary and wholesome, but it is safe to prophesy that, even if it takes another thirty years for the pendulum to swing back, an interest in general doctrines, both of Procedure and of Curriculum,

[1] *Teaching as a Career for University Men*, by the present writer, a little book (1887) long out of print, showed how bare was the pasture.

[2] Contrast Sully's *Studies in Childhood* (still read and of permanent value) with his *Teachers' Psychology*, and this last with James Ward's lectures on Education which have only now seen the light. (1926.)

will revive, for the human mind is so constituted that it seeks for rhythm between the particular and the general. At the present day however this interest is very slight: if found anywhere it would be evident in Training Colleges and Departments of Education, but in these quarters interest has been divided for years past between the specialisms of special subjects and the various fields of psychology. These volumes are perhaps a witness to the same effect: they are written in order to answer questions for which teachers are seeking answers: thus they are concerned with Organization, to which a large Section has been devoted: they are interested in the various specialisms and hence much space has been allotted to the inquiries of Chapter II, resumed later in Chapters XI to XIV. But they are equally concerned with corporate life and all the issues raised under that term, and with the aid to be sought from psychology in the themes of Chapters VII and VIII. Little space is left for Procedure, since the majority of those who use this book will, in partnership with a circle of colleagues and pupils, plan the daily scheme of operations without seeking to be shackled by formulæ for lesson-giving.[1]

Is there then nothing that can be offered by way of advice, caution or encouragement, on this theme of Procedure? On the whole, no: for all that can be put forward is only to emphasize features of behaviour which the teacher will have already recognized in his study of

[1] The position is not the same with the student teacher (compare pp. 108 and 113): he works under direction and is often assisted by printed instructions drafted by his seniors, similar in principle to the directions given to students of chemistry in their laboratory, directions from which they will be free when they become Works Chemists or Analysts. As I write this I have before me excellent instructions for Keeping Notes issued by the London Day Training College and by the Department of Education in the University of Chicago. This technique is quite an important feature in training, but it lies outside the scope of this volume.

curriculum and corporate life. Many points which one is liable to overlook in the day's work are not distinctive of our calling, but are important at all times and in all places where men engage in intercourse. The teacher's voice, for example, needs as much care as that of all public speakers: habits of tidiness, good manners, regularity in routine, are no less necessary than in a house of business or in a hospital. The fact that children are suggestible and tend to copy their elders adds to the importance of all such matters: yet the standpoint from which they are to be viewed ought not to be elaborated as something specific for the school in contrast to other walks in society. On the contrary, it is good both for ourselves and for our pupils that we should drop specific professional habitudes and engage on the day's adventure as educated, good-tempered men and women are found to do when they have put off the modes and tricks of their trade: the more human and natural we are found to be when mixing with children, the happier and more effective is the intercourse: we need no 'bedside manner' when keeping school.

The same argument applies to other themes which occupy much space in some handbooks for teachers, e.g., the use of the blackboard and blackboard summaries, the prescription of reading matter, requirements for home lessons, or memory work. These and a hundred other devices are important and readily become matters of routine, but they lose much of their efficacy when the teacher finds himself in bondage to them. Here again the teacher is like all other persons who have to manage affairs: consistency, routine, uniformity are in place, as we have already seen in discussing Management: if however such a theme as The Use of the Blackboard is elevated to the rank of Method and treated apart from larger obligations, the class-room becomes a machine-shop.

As our calling becomes more of a profession the teacher looks beneath the devices and details of Procedure in order to get at the principles of human nature by which these are tested and justified: the trained man, in any calling from plumbing to politics, is the man who sees the general in the particular, who is impatient of prescriptions and panaceas unless these are set before him in the light of larger doctrine as well as on a basis of sound precedent. Thus we come back to the position taken at the outset of this chapter: the spirit of the method on which the teacher's day proceeds is justified by the same psychology that has served him in studying curriculum and corporate life. He has to discard much that was urged upon the schools in earlier days simply because a 'new' psychology bids him reshape the daily procedure, along with much else in his attitude towards children and colleagues.

To attempt even a summary of such wide principles would be merely to repeat what has been advanced throughout these two volumes. One point only seems worth while to stress, bringing to a focus many lines of inquiry. As the teacher, grown man or woman, begins the day's routine he is conscious that the scholars with whom he has to deal are exuberantly *alive*, in contrast to the sober, restrained vitality of their elders. The contrast is most striking in infancy, comparing the incessant movements of the young with the restrained energy of the old, yet in healthy adolescence one sees how abundantly life seeks for outlet, if only in a football scrum or a college 'rag.' The teacher is compelled to restrain much of this energy, yet he knows that if he represses the young he lays the foundation of disease. His problem therefore is always to find channels for activity which will enable the youngster to retain the maximum of vitality, to be alive in all senses of the word

while gradually coming to appreciate the higher values. This position might indeed have been taken in the early chapters as a definition of education in terms of vitality.

Now if the orthodox canons of Teaching Procedure be examined, it will be found that all of them attach importance to the *aim* of a lesson, or the aim of a series of lessons. From the exposition of Herbart stressing the need for interest, real interest, as the starting-point, to the most recent German pedagogy of *Aktivität* or the American 'Project,'[1] the problem of purpose has always played a large part in the exposition of Method. At the present day, when biology and physics colour so much of our habits of thought, we may relate this feature of Procedure to the very general and comprehensive phenomenon of energy. For it is only by supplying stimuli that we can control energy: the stimuli, whether provided by apparatus, by our words or by social contacts, are the starting-point that sets off the activity we desire to witness. Activity of some kind there must be, the organism is astir; energy must not be stifled.

Infants and young children are ready to respond as we desire to almost any stimulus, so long as it is put before them in a friendly atmosphere and makes demands of a practical rather than an intellectual kind; they will accept a certain amount of monotonous drill and exercise at our bidding, and for short periods will throw themselves into such repetitive work with all their power; but with every added year of life intelligence makes greater demands, so that even before the Primary Stage is completed the teacher must be prepared to answer the crucial question: why should I learn these lessons? Children do not as a rule make this challenge consciously: none the less they make it: and if we ignore it, if we regard the *Introduction*, as it is often called, to a course

[1] See pp. 246–9 and 265.

of study as of minor importance, we undermine the whole structure. Children, youths, students are in this respect like ourselves: we only live at our best when we know what we are after, when we 'see the end from the beginning.' Not that we, or they, can see the ultimate: there is much that they, as we, must take on trust: but if the waste of educational effort, which is the waste of life, is to be diminished, we must be far more ready than our predecessors to take children into our confidence, letting them know what the next steps in their progress are, relating and combining the scheme of activities we impose upon them: where a door has to remain closed we should assure them that in due time it will open, if they accept the discipline of modesty and patience.

This wide conception of purpose, of a common-sense relation between ourselves and our young friends, releases us from any formal plan of instruction to be copied lesson by lesson. Every hour of our life should certainly have some aim, but a formal 'revision' lesson by lesson, a verbal expression of purpose, 'elicited,' as the phrase goes, at stated periods, is a pedantic requirement suited to the old-style scheme of Lesson Notes but alien to the vivid atmosphere of a group of youngsters. All we need to be sure about is that every pupil for whom we are responsible secures *some* sense, some reason for the occupation to which we invite him, if this be only to learn what is imposed for Matriculation.[1] When he and his teachers have come to terms at this starting-point, the flow of energy can be anticipated at its maximum, for when harmony and goodwill are felt between teacher and taught the chief obstacle to the current of a vigorous school life has been removed.

Thus, within our sphere, as in every sphere where

[1] Compare p. 110.

human life is engaged in conflict and in alliance, the issues of life and death are in our hands. What life ultimately is, what death means, we may hesitate to say: we may be behaviourists or vitalists; God may 'hide Himself' to us, or we may stand by the simple faith of our fathers: whatever be our philosophy we need not carry these perplexities to the school, for the energy of the young, physical, mental, spiritual, is sufficient unto the day: if we have given ourselves to them with sincerity and with our own vitality of hope, the harvest will be gathered long after we who sowed the seed have passed to other fields. *Ζωὴν περισσόν*, "life beyond measure," granted first to us, we offer in turn to the young: if we (shepherds, not hirelings) accept that as our mission we are not far from the Kingdom.

"Come and hire me," I cried, while in the morning I was walking on the stone-paved road.
Sword in hand, the King came in his chariot.
He held my hand and said, "I will hire you with my power."
But his power counted for nought, and he went away in his chariot.

In the heat of the midday the houses stood with shut doors.
I wandered along the crooked lane.
An old man came out with his bag of gold.
He pondered and said, "I will hire you with my money."
He weighed his coins one by one, but I turned away.

It was evening. The garden hedge was all aflower.
The fair maid came out and said, "I will hire you with a smile."
Her smile paled and melted into tears, and she went back alone into the dark.

The sun glistened on the sand, and the sea waves broke waywardly.
A child sat playing with shells.
He raised his head and seemed to know me, and said, "I hire you with nothing."

From thenceforward that bargain struck in child's play made me a free man.

Rabindranath Tagore: Concluding poem in *The Crescent Moon.*

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