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# THE SILENT SOCIAL REVOLUTION

# THE SILENT SOCIAL REVOLUTION

AN ACCOUNT OF
THE EXPANSION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
IN ENGLAND AND WALES
1895–1935

BY

G. A. N. LOWNDES

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
1937

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
London Edinburgh Glasgow
New York Toronto Melbourne
Capetown Bombay Calcutta
Madras
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

# PREFACE

'If all the nonsense', remarked the Rev. Dr. Opimian in Thomas Love Peacock's *Gryll Grange*, 'If all the nonsense which has been talked on all other subjects were thrown into one scale, and all that has been talked on the subject of education alone were thrown into the other, I think the latter would preponderate.'

The author who would add to the already weighty pile of works upon Education therefore incurs a heavy responsibility —a responsibility which becomes all the heavier if he happens to share the Rev. Doctor's views.

In extenuation I can only offer two pleas. The first is that it is my first offence; the second, that this book began as an expensive opportunity for repentance in that, owing to the war, I had omitted that rather necessary preliminary to a lifetime of educational administration, the taking of my University degree. To these pleas the critic might, and probably will, reply that as a member for fourteen years of a service which, on Mr. Baldwin's authority, is 'as silent in public as it is garrulous in private', I could hardly have made an earlier incursion into print; and secondly that I should never have allowed what began as a rather belated attempt to obtain a degree to develop into a book. I had, however, felt for some years that a need existed for some brief, and if possible readable, account of the steps which this country has taken to build up a public system of education since the first generation to receive compulsory education was disciplined by 'payment by results'. With a few—too few—brilliant exceptions, the existing literature of public education is, as anyone who has to read it knows, voluminous, well intentioned, accurate and cautious. But even in those cases where it is not intentionally soporific, owing to the fear of provoking religious

controversy, it has often seemed to me to be duller than the intrinsic interest of the subject warrants. I wondered if by reading widely enough and yet keeping, the while, a firm check on a sense of humour which my elders and betters at the Board of Education used, I believe, to stigmatise as flippant, I could contrive to bring the blue books to life. For blue books are particularly prone to use their statistics not as a living record of social progress but (to quote a deservedly immortal phrase of Andrew Lang) 'as a drunken man uses lamp-posts—for support rather than for illumination'.

I find that under the standing orders of the Local Education Authority which I serve I am required to state that any views I have expressed are entirely my own and do not in any way commit my employers. That this is the case will, I think, be obvious to anyone who reads what I have written. I have in fact been at some pains to eliminate any direct mention of that Local Education Authority except where absolutely necessary. I would, however, like to acknowledge my very deep sense of gratitude to Mr. E. M. Rich, the Education Officer to the London County Council, and to Mr. H. E. M. Icely, Reader in Education at the University of Oxford, for the encouragement I received from them to persevere with an attempt to do two full days' work in one for more than a year; to Miss Shuckburgh, the Librarian at the Board of Education, for much advice as to the books I must read; to Mr. H. Ward who, actuated by that charming friendliness which exists between former members of the administrative staff of the Board and former members of the Inspectorate, hastened to send me a number of notes for the early chapters of a similar book which he had once contemplated himself. Lastly, to Mr. Brentnall, lately headmaster of Lancaster Road Senior Boys' School, London, for his account of the life of a teacher working under the system of 'payment by results'.

I am told that dedications, even in one's first book, are out of fashion. But even if it cannot have a page to itself I cannot refrain from inserting mine. For to write this book at all it was necessary for me to live the life of a hermit, travelling

daily between Oxford and London for a year and devoting every minute of my private time to it. What sacrifice this entailed for my family only they know. And if I were allowed a dedication it would be to my wife, without whose loyalty this book could never have been written and to one who, had he lived, would have entered school this year.

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

R.E.D. Report of the Education Department of the Privy Council (issued annually till 1899).

C.C.R. 5687. Report of the Cross Commissioners 1886–1889, Answer 5687.

H. Hansard.

B.C.R. Bryce Commission Report (Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1895).

B.E.R. Annual report of the Board of Education for the year shown.

E.P. No. 94. Educational Pamphlet No. 94. The series of Educational Pamphlets prepared by the Board of Education and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

R.C.E. 1868. Royal Commission on Education 1868, usually referred to as the 'Schools Inquiry Commission'.

R.C.C. 1909 etc. Report of the Consultative Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education.

C.M.O. 1909 etc. Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for the year 1909 etc.

# PART I

## Towards the System of Public Education

# CHAPTER I

## THE ERA OF 'PAYMENT BY RESULTS'

The State concerns itself with the supply of elementary schools.—The Education Acts of 1870, 1876, 1891 and 1893 conscript a huge army of infants and juniors.—Their 'militia' training.—The small 'professional army' in the Grammar Schools.—The reluctance of the State to concern itself with secondary education.—The untimely fate of the Endowed Schools Commission.—Progress between 1870 and 1895 in building elementary schools.—The singular educational device employed 'Payment by Results'.—Its origin.—A description of its working.—Its demerits as an educational instrument.—Its one achievement, the disciplining of a far from civilised child population.—The system abandoned 1895.

FOR just over a century successive British Governments have been engaged in an endeavour to extend a modicum of schooling to the whole mass of the child population of England and Wales.

A coiner of epigrams—unfamiliar with the chequered history of public education—might indeed be tempted to remark that they have been endeavouring to purchase an educated democracy on the instalment plan; that for the first forty years of that century (1833–1870) they paid the premiums to men of goodwill wherever they might be found who showed themselves ready to undertake the building and maintenance of voluntary schools; but that in 1870 when voluntary initiative had failed to provide a school place for more than one child in two in London or one in three to five elsewhere, the State itself had to enter the field and pay larger instalments in the form of Education Acts. For

an Education Act is in a very real sense an instalment in the education of a whole people.

First Mr. Forster's Act of 1870—in its ultimate social results one of the greatest measures which has ever received parliamentary endorsement—established once and for all the State's concern with school 'supply'. Next Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 prohibited the employment during school hours of children under ten years of age who lived within two miles of a school, thus virtually introducing the first comprehensive measure of compulsion. A third Act passed in 1891 abolished the payment of fees in all schools charging less than 10*s*. a year, extended the prohibition to all schools to be opened in the future and took power to modify fees in those schools charging more than 10*s*.

Finally, the Elementary Education School Attendance Act of 1893 passed by Mr. Gladstone's short-lived fourth ministry raised to eleven years (from 1st January, 1894) the age at which a child might obtain total or partial exemption from the obligation to attend school.

To appreciate just how much had been achieved by these first four instalments it is necessary to take stock of the extent of educational provision in England and Wales at the end of the nineteenth century. The year 1895 suggests itself as a suitable point for this stocktaking for a variety of reasons which it will be the purpose of this and the succeeding chapters to trace. Moreover, an attempt to present a fairly complete picture of the state of public education in 1895 will render it possible, by contrast, to illustrate the remarkable expansion which has taken place in the intervening forty years.

In the first place it should be noted that the four Acts had, as it were, placed the State in a position of responsibility to a huge conscripted army of quite young children. This army to be precise numbered 5,235,887 in 1895, 4 million of its units being under ten years of age.

It is difficult to get back to what may be described as the greatest common measure in the public attitude towards

education at any given period. Probably, however, it is not far short of the truth to say that, during the 25 years which preceded 1895, it must have appeared a sufficient task to teach mastery of the mechanical tools of education, the 3 R's, to this conscripted army of children up to their 10th or 11th year. As Mr. H. G. Wells remarks in his *Experiment in Autobiography*—'The Education Act of 1870 was not an Act for common universal education, it was an Act to educate the lower classes for employment on lower class lines, and with specially trained, inferior teachers who had no university quality.'

In other words the primary concern of the State in discharging the new responsibilities it had undertaken must be to afford to this army of children a militia training directed to the acquisition of quite general powers such as the arts of speech, reading and writing and the fundamental ideas of magnitude and number. A militia, it was recognised, must be supplemented by a small professional army; and this must have received post primary education. Was the task of providing this post primary education also regarded as the concern of the State? Might it not quite safely be left to the Ancient Grammar Schools? Advanced thinkers such as Matthew Arnold had for years urged that it could not. An authoritative but politically inconvenient Royal Commission, the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867, had been of the same mind. But the Endowed Schools Commission, the executive body created to give effect to the Royal Commission's findings, had come to an untimely end. It had in fact been too successful in its efforts to rescue the Endowed Schools. It had displayed such energy in its handling of moribund or misapplied endowments that it had become unpopular with a section of the Tories. These, on Disraeli's accession to power in 1874, secured the dismissal of Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Roby, two of the paid commissioners, and the submergence of the functions of the Commission in those of the Charity Commission, a Government Department which could be trusted to repress its

enthusiasm. The lot of inconveniently earnest executive bodies during the reign of the Great Queen was never an easy one. Twenty years earlier Edwin Chadwick's Public Health Commissioners had suffered a like fate. 'Master John Bull', as *The Times* put it, had preferred to 'take his chance of cholera' to being 'scrubbed and rubbed and small tooth-combed till the tears ran into his eyes and his teeth chattered and his fists clenched themselves with anger and pain.' Perhaps we ought not to smile too readily at the Victorians. For in our own generation we have witnessed that singular act of Imperial Statesmanship which destroyed the Empire Marketing Board, not, be it noted, because it had failed but because it was becoming too successful.

The peculiar genius of the British people for large scale and more or less spontaneous organisation, the product, as some believe, of the fusion in their make-up of Norman administrative ability, Celtic imagination, Nordic 'practicality' and Roman respect for law, had by 1895, as we shall see, made a success, up to a point, of the vast task which the four Acts had imposed. Here an interesting parallel occurs, for in the years between 1914 and 1918 this country had to raise, house, clothe, feed, equip, munition and train an army of 8 million men and put it into the field to meet the finest continental army ever assembled. In the years which followed 1870 the country had had to encompass a similar, though a more enduring, piece of organisation. In each case the continent was many years ahead of this country. But the founders of our public educational system, so far from being able to enjoy the unlimited financial backing which assembled and sustained the armies between 1914 and 1918, were constantly expected to produce 'results' in an atmosphere of parsimony which made their attainment chimerical.

Thus between 1870 and 1895 the School Boards provided new school accommodation for 2,211,299 scholars for £29,468,477 and the voluntary schools seats for 1,475,000

(between 1870 and 1891) for £7,000,000.[1] The School Board for London built, at a cost of £6 a head for sites and £12 a head for buildings, three-storey erections of such permanence and utilitarian ugliness that generations of local administrators have lived to regret that they did not spend the £12 on the site and the £6 on less regrettably indestructible buildings. Their record, considered as a piece of organisation, was however a most remarkable one, for between 1872 and 1880 they built 197 schools, 1881 and 1890, 151 schools, 1891 and 1902, 90 schools. Moreover, while these schools were being built, against a roll increasing by 8,000 a year, they were often able to organise temporary schools in mission halls, chapels, and even under railway arches.

That the edifice which was erected was in certain respects a makeshift one, and that the militia training was more thorough in its disciplinary than its lasting educational qualities, is perhaps in the circumstances hardly a matter for wonder. The real matter for astonishment is that, in the light of the resources applied to it, it was erected at all!

The 'educational' means employed was a singular one, without parallel—until the recent educational 'reforms' in Russia[2]—in continental or American practice, the system of 'payment by results'. By 1895 this system stood condemned—and rightly so—by most contemporary as by nearly all subsequent educational thought. Thus to the modern student of educational method it is now of little more than cautionary interest as the negation of everything for which true education should stand. To those concerned to trace the successive factors which have made for the growth of the English educational system, it is, however, deserving of closer study. For our modern educational system can be said to have been grounded upon it, and when it was relaxed, teachers' thoughts were directed from the static present to the dynamic future. To understand some of the most important features of

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, p. xxv.

[2] *Times*, 6th November, 1935, 'Soviet School Reform'.

English education, and the rapidity of its development since 1895, the genesis, main outlines and lasting influence—both good and bad—of this singular educational device must therefore be grasped.

The origin of the system does not, as some historians have too readily assumed, appear to have been entirely due to the blind demand of mid-Victorian parliamentary thought for a visible demonstration of value received for money expended. This demand no doubt played a substantial part. It was Matthew Arnold's contention that the Newcastle Commission (1858) had to have a point; that they thought they had found one in the neglect of a body of backward children in favour of the brighter scholars; that a commercially minded Parliament had fixed upon this point to demand a ledger account of educational progress; but that the pre-1862 system had never had a fair trial because the teachers were not properly trained at the time.[1]

On the other hand this opinion was not altogether shared either by his contemporaries or by subsequent Inspectors. As one of his contemporaries told the Cross Commission:

'The teaching and influence of the national school of that era (i.e. the era before the establishment of 'Payment by Results') was quite partial and eclectic. The *people* were not being educated; those of the people who were actuated by parental ambition for their children's education secured a really good education for them; the mass of the children of the struggling poor remained (sometimes in spite of being at school, generally from the fact of not attending school) quite uneducated.'

This view was echoed by another of Her Majesty's Inspectors, Mr. Du Port, writing, in 1895, 'from a very large experience of the life of the schools as observed by me at visits of inspection without notice. Our schools,' he said, 'have learned one lesson from the old annual examination. The radical defect of the pre-Revised Code days has been

[1] *C.C.R.*, 5687–5819.

cured. Every child, however backward, young, or dull, has had its full share of conscientious attention.'[1]

It is probably nearer the truth to say that the originators of the system were aiming at the removal of a political danger and the establishment of a tidier administrative system than at the creation of a balance sheet in which progress could be recorded. In other words Robert Lowe and his advisers were impelled first by irritation and secondly by alarm. They were irritated because the increasing centralisation of the educational system was daily creating fresh routine work in Whitehall, and fresh pressure by the Treasury to decentralise—backed no doubt by resistance to all demands for additional staff. They were alarmed because they felt themselves to be living on a volcano, and that at any time the Englishman's innate distrust of an educational system liable to capture and control by a political party might call them to face an awkward situation in the House. For this was not by any means an imaginary danger in 1862. Kay Shuttleworth who had controlled the destinies of the Education Department up to 1849 does not seem to have displayed any fondness for decentralisation. In fact there is some evidence for the view that he had believed that education could be controlled from Whitehall. 'I understood your Lordship's Government to determine in 1839', he had written some years previously, 'to assert the claims of the civil power to control the education of the Country.'

Certainly this view as to the politico-administrative origin of the scheme is supported by authority no less respectable than that of Lord Lingen who succeeded Kay Shuttleworth in 1849, and was actually serving as Secretary to the Education Department when the system was instituted. His evidence to the Cross Commission on the point is remarkable. While at first stating the orthodox view that the Newcastle Commission had considered that they were justified in stating that the great bulk of the children were quitting school with no

[1] *C.C.R.*, 5822; *R.E.D.*, 1895.

real knowledge of the elementary subjects of instruction, he later changed his ground. 'Mr. Lowe in 1862 dwelt in his speech upon the consideration that the proportions which the grant was taking threw far too much power into the hands of the Government of the day. . . . I think that at the time the particular consideration he had in view was this; the grants were not made as they are now, exclusively to the treasurers of the schools but very largely to individuals. For instance all the pupil teachers were directly paid in their own names by Post Office orders (despatched from Whitehall). The schoolmasters in the same way were paid their grants of augmentation. Mr. Lowe very strongly felt that as this vast number of persons increased it became a serious public consideration to put some check upon that system. Taking the recommendations of the (Newcastle) report seriatim, the first in importance was felt to be to get rid of the direct personal claims of the teachers upon the State and for that purpose it was necessary to pass to some different system of payment such as the payment by results. But that process led to such storms that I think by the year 1864 the Government having in the main carried its point had had about enough of it, and was glad to rest.'[1] A reference to Mr. Lowe's speech (13th February, 1862) confirms this view, although Mr. Lowe inverted the argument, representing that the teachers would capture the political parties if they continued to be paid by Whitehall.

May it not be that Lord Lingen's memory grew clearer as his examination proceeded and that Robert Lowe's primary intention was in fact to secure a measure of decentralisation? With other difficulties pressing upon him he would no doubt be glad to enlist the support of members who saw in his proposals the means to satisfy their demand for some such annual stocktaking as their business experience and habits of thought could appreciate.

[1] *C.C.R.*, 56,209; 56,276; 56,284. *H.* Vol. CLXV (Third Series), cols. 199 and 210–213.

If so may it not also be that those 'storms' of 70 years ago are nearer in importance to us than we think?

For we can now appreciate after 70 years' effort to build an educational system fit to be the servant of the nation, not the servant of the political state, that the infinitely diverse needs of modern civilization can never be met by one system of schools unified under rigid public control, still less by a system at the mercy of successive party machines. Perhaps Robert Lowe, in apparently doing a grave injustice to a whole generation, in reality by this early measure of decentralisation saved English education once and for all from the pitfalls which have ensnared the systems of so many other countries; notably Germany, Italy, and to a less extent, France.

The essential principles of the system itself can be described quite briefly, although many modifications were introduced in the 33 years during which it existed.[1]

The school population was classified, after passing through the infant school, into 'standards', age being the primary consideration. Just as many American children to-day are placed in a class with all the other entrants whose name begins with the same letter of the alphabet, and will remain with the self-same class, irrespective of their attainments, throughout their school life, so those children who passed the examination for their standard were promoted 'en bloc' after the Inspector's visit. A minutely detailed schedule of work was laid down for each standard by the Code of the Education Department.

The children were drilled in this throughout the year and examined on a previously determined day by H.M.I.

[1]I am indebted for much of this description of the system of 'Payment by Results' to Mr. E. J. Brentnall, M.B.E., lately headmaster of Lancaster Road Senior Boys' School, Kensington. I have verified his account where necessary by reference to the Elementary Education Codes and evidence of witnesses before the Cross Commission. 'Payment by Results' has become a household phrase in education circles, but there are few teachers left who actually worked under it.

In arithmetic three straightforward sums were set to each standard and one problem. 'A school containing 568 scholars is put into 43 desks, and there are 9 scholars over. How many scholars are seated in each desk?'[1] 'It really sometimes looked (as one Inspector remarked) as if teachers would hardly rest satisfied till they had obtained five right answers out of four sums set!'

In 'reading' the examination took place from one of three books in Standard III to VII, from one of two in Standards I and II.

These books contained a number of stories, poems and general knowledge extracts each preceded by lists of difficult words and followed by a list of 'meanings' of different words and phrases. In Standard I for instance there would be a reader of this type and a Geographical Reader descriptive of 'The Ball on which we live'. At the examination each child had to read to the Inspector (it took 30 hours in a school of 1000 pupils), and his reading was marked in the schedule, X for an excellent, / for a good pass, | for a bare pass, and O for a failure.

A child who possessed a good memory would often pass, although he could not read at all, if he were given the first word and not told to skip a paragraph, through knowing the set books by heart. Occasionally such children were detected because they held the book upside down!

Even the choice of suitable reading matter was not always so simple as might be assumed, for parents and school managers were often narrow, suspicious or ignorant.

'I beg to call your attention to a book that is being read at the Pangbourne School titled Ivanhoe,' wrote an incensed parent to the Education Department so late as 1886. 'It is a book I cannot allow my Daughter . . . to read. I object to her reading it on moral and religious grounds. Trusting you will use your powerful influence and stop the reading of such novels at School. I don't allow my children to read such

[1]For this and other problems set to various standards, see *C.C.R.*, 23,647 and 23,693–23,698.

books at home and I will not allow them to read them at school, for I believe them to be very injurious to children.'

Similarly *John Gilpin* was objected to by other parents on temperance grounds, and Scott's *Lady of the Lake* as having an immoral tendency, while even Matthew Arnold himself was once reproved by their Lordships for setting to fourth year pupil teachers (aged 18) a passage in which a reference occurred to hinds dropping their young.

Writing was tested in Standard I by a ten-word spelling test, in Standards II to V by a prescribed number of lines of 'Dictation', and in Standard V by the reproduction of a short story read twice by the Inspector, in Standards VI and VII, which few reached in 1895, by an essay. So great an impression did the examination make on the children's minds that teachers now on the point of retirement can still relate how they spelt 'farmer' with three 'rs', to the mortification and disgust of their harassed class teachers. For they knew that they would spend another full year on the same readers if they failed to pass!

Recitation, grammar, geography and music were also introduced as the system drew to its close, the number of lines to be learnt and the amount of knowledge in grammar to be assimilated in each year again being minutely prescribed from Whitehall by the Code. But it was not the modern geography of trade winds and map readings. It merely consisted of maps and lists of towns, capes, islands, etc. There must be thousands of people still alive who can recite the towns of France in alphabetical order: 'Dieppe, Dijon, Dunkirk (querque was too difficult), Havre, Lille, Lyons (pronounced Lions), Marseilles, Montpelier, Orleans, Paris' (pause, then on again).

Drawing and very elementary everyday science in the form of 'object lessons' were late introductions. History was not usually taught at all except as a 'specific subject'.

In 1891 'examination by sample' was introduced, the classes being divided into thirds to save the Inspector's time.

That such a system was bad for the Inspector, bad for the

teacher, and above all, bad for the schools goes without saying. Its condemnation on moral, educational, and psychological grounds, by Mr. Edmond Holmes in *What is and What might be* written immediately after his retirement from the Chief Inspectorship, is a landmark in educational literature familiar to all teachers. It only remains therefore to note briefly its defects and its one merit from the point of view of the growth of the public system of education.

The teacher was put in the false position of having to outwit the Inspector, whose sums were passed quickly from school to school or sometimes published in " The Teacher's Aid'. Some teachers employed an elaborate code of signs to tell their class what was expected of them, e.g. hands in pockets = multiplication, hands behind back = subtraction, etc. The Inspector on his part was forced to look for subterfuge and became the enemy of the teacher instead of his counsellor and coadjutor in securing educational advance. Many Inspectors—as their general reports show—were men of vision and courage. Moreover their reports were published. It does not therefore seem too much to claim that many far-reaching reforms might have been brought about earlier if they had been able to count on the wholehearted co-operation of a united teaching profession.

Again the problem of over-large classes might have been tackled many years earlier if the salary of the teachers had not, in far too many cases, been paid out of the grant earned, making it to their interest to attempt to teach as many children as they could secure rather than share the grant with additional teaching staff.

Finally children hated their schooldays, left them behind as soon as possible, soon forgot what they had learnt, and when they became the parents of the next generation (and marriages took place early) in all too many cases could neither contribute culture to their own children in the home nor readily modify the attitude which they had learnt towards their teachers in their own schooldays. For in some parts the teachers of those times would hardly dare to go home

alone owing, as one teacher whimsically expressed it, to 'the pelting tendencies and rough humour of the neighbourhood'.

The one substantial contribution of the system to the building of our modern educational system was, as noted above, its disciplinary effect. In Dostoevsky's *Winter Notes on my Summer Impressions* (tr. by R. Gill in *European Quarterly*, Aug. 1934) we have a picture of London in 1863, at the start, that is, of the 'Payment by Results' system.

After describing the city with its millions and its world-wide trade, the Crystal Palace, the Great Exhibition, and contrasting these emblems of Victorian prosperity with the terrible dens (such as Whitechapel) and their 'half-naked, savage, and starving population', he gives us some of the most revealing pictures of the child population which it is possible to imagine. 'For instance I was told that on Saturday night half a million working men and women with their children spread like a flood over the whole town, for the most part gathering in certain districts. All night, it is said, up to five o'clock in the morning, they celebrate their holiday, that is, they fill themselves like cattle with food and drink and so make up for the whole week past. The beer houses are decorated like palaces. Drunkenness is everywhere, but it is joyless, sad, and gloomy; a strange silence seems always to prevail. Only now and then do abuse and brutal fights disturb this weary silence which weighs upon you so heavily. The women are in no way behind, and get drunk along with their husbands while the children crawl and run about among them. Many of these husbands thrash their wives dreadfully. The children of these people, almost before they are grown up, go as a rule on the streets, mingle with the crowd, and often do not return to their parents. At the Haymarket I observed mothers who brought their young daughters to trade with. Little girls, about twelve years old, catch you by the hand and beg you to come with them.'

A grim picture, especially when it is remembered that there were many cities which could, and still can, show slums far worse than London.

It was this state of affairs which the 'Payment by Results' system was largely instrumental in sweeping away. For just as the heterogeneous and loosely knit races which inhabited these islands before the Conquest found a new discipline and sense of unity under the impartial rigours of their Norman masters,[1] so the child population of England and Wales found a new discipline and sense of membership of a social community under the impartial rigours of 'Payment by Results'.

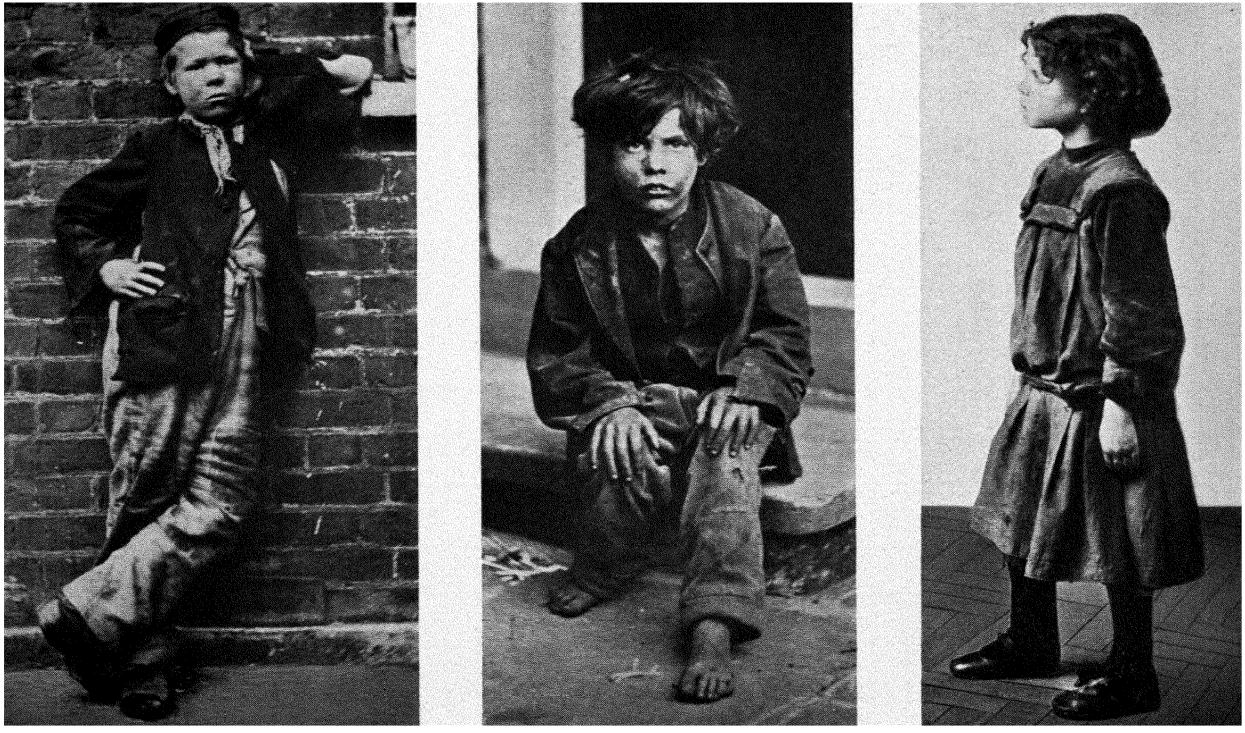
Unfortunately 'discipline' in its narrower sense too often seems to have taken precedence over the social aim, for the times were hard, the children lawless and the teachers hard pressed.

A few photographs and one description of the children to be met with in many of the early schools have come down to us. The description is worth quotation in full:

'They were a wild lot gathered in the Willow Alley shed. Not one boy had experienced any but parental discipline before, and most of the little fellows had been used to blows. When the teacher spoke to a lad the youngster's hands were instinctively made ready to protect the head. Their minds were in a turmoil; their curiosity was at fever pitch. Some were hardy enough; some were very intelligent in appearance; some were cowed and sly but vicious, and some were dulled into semi-imbecility by hunger, disease, ill-usage. They had no conception of the meaning of an order and the teacher was obliged to drill them again and again in the simplest movements. The power of paying attention was almost wanting in them. So far as attainments were concerned, the boys were tolerably level. Not one knew the entire alphabet and those who had picked up a slight idea of the letters from the street hoardings were decidedly vague. The teachers found it impossible to interest them in any subject for more than five minutes. They had the fluid mind of the true barbarian and it was quite useless to attempt any species of coercion.'

To look at a photograph of a class in a school of those

[1]Professor Pollard's *Short History of England*, in Home University Library series, p. 33.



'They were a wild lot.' Children of the 1870's

days—hands folded on the rail in front, backs straight, eyes on the teacher—is to realise something of the iron code of authority which was in many schools a seemingly inseparable concomitant of the system, particularly where, as was frequently the case, from 70 to 120 children had to be controlled by a single teacher, or even sometimes a pupil teacher, for the allotted 5½ hours. The amount of punishment which was inflicted in the five day week must in many cases have far exceeded that now inflicted in five months or even five years in most modern schools. In boys' schools every sum wrong, every spelling mistake, every blot, every question which could not be answered as the fateful day of examination drew near, was liable to be visited by a stroke of the cane. 'I never remember seeing my headmaster in school when he had not a cane hanging by the crook over his left wrist. Every assistant master had a cane and so had the pupil teachers, but we were not allowed to have a crook so that if any question arose they were only pointers. There were no backs to the desks and backs of boys were straightened by means of a stroke of the cane.' So writes one of the best-known headmasters in London, who was a pupil teacher from 1889–1893.

In girls' schools the punishments, if less sharp, admitted of greater refinement. Miss Ethel Mannin has somewhere told a story of how she was made to kneel, with her arms stretched out, on the floor of the empty hall while the school were receiving religious instruction. Such experiences may afford some clue to the much lamented paganism of many middle-aged women to-day!

The Inspectors who had all, as well-nourished schoolboys of 14–18, been flogged at their public schools did not apparently see anything very reprehensible in applying such methods to children who were often under-nourished and all under-age.

'In one school I found a young pupil teacher of about 15 or 16 years sitting up with a long cane in his hand. When I asked him if he used it much he replied "Yes, when it is

wanted." I reported it to my colleague the inspector of that district who I believe checked the youthful Busby.'[1]

This is no doubt the dark side of the picture, and it must be remembered, lest it be construed as a criticism of the teachers, that every year there were many bruised shins and even broken limbs caused by rough boys kicking young women teachers. 'A scholar in the above school,' wrote a perplexed clergyman to their Lordships in 1878, 'some days ago brought small apples into school and threw some at the girls during the sewing lesson; he was of course told to desist but persisted in repeating the offence. Summoned to the desk for corporal punishment he threw himself on the floor and said aloud "Damn you, I'll mark your shins if you come any nearer." ' Modern teaching methods might have been applied by a teacher of genius here and there even to such boys as these, but it is permissible to doubt whether they would have survived in most schools for a single week!

'I once saw a boy,' wrote James Runciman in 1887, 'draw a nine-inch knife, and dash it into the back of another. The blade ran along a rib, slipped in, and barely missed the base of a lung. What does the sentimentalist say to a youth of that kind?'

It is interesting to note that the present Government of the U.S.S.R., having tried for 18 years to work a system of free discipline without examinations in their schools, have in their new educational law decided to institute annual examinations and to apply 'drastic' measures to cope with all forms of hooliganism and anti-social conduct among children.

Fortunately there is a bright side too.

Undoubtedly the exhortation in the Code of 1875 'to bring up the children in habits of punctuality; of good manners and language; of cleanliness and neatness; and also to impress upon them the importance of cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, of honour

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, Mr. Brodie.

and truthfulness in word and act' was, so far as conditions permitted, faithfully observed by both teachers and managers.

That there was much that was cruel and unimaginative in the system there can be no doubt. That it was almost valueless from the point of view of the development of the individual child's self-reliance cannot be denied. But with every generation that passed through its rigours there was some gain in civilisation. It is therefore difficult to disagree with the dictum of Mr. Sharpe, H.M.I. for London, that 'if it were not for her 500 elementary schools London would be overrun by a horde of young savages,' or with the Inspector who, summing up its results in his general report for 1895, the year in which it was finally modified, used the following words:

'Anyone who can compare the demeanour of our young people at the present day with what it was five and twenty years ago must notice how roughness of manner has been smoothed away, how readily and intelligently they can answer a question, how the half hostile suspicion with which they regarded a stranger has disappeared; in fact how they have become civilized.'[1]

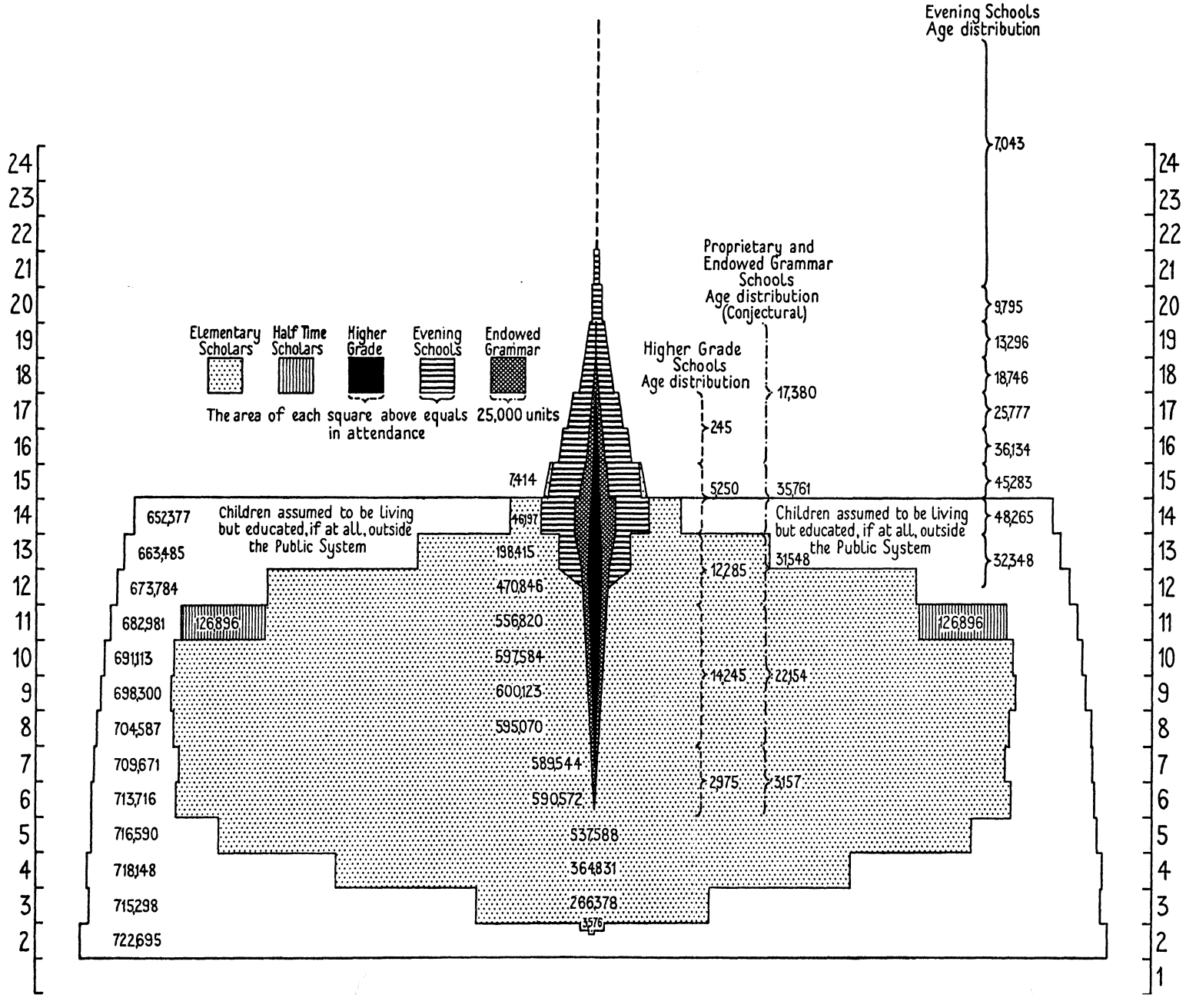
The substitution in the Code of 1895 (S. 84(6)) of 'visits without notice' by H.M. Inspectors in the case of approved schools for the previous annual visits was recognised on all sides to mark the end of an evolutionary era, and to constitute an invitation to the best schools to begin a new period of freedom; freedom that is to experiment, freedom to initiate less rigid classification and freedom in the preparation of experimental syllabuses.

But although their Lordships made haste to report in 1896 rather sententiously—'We have now the satisfaction of reporting that the change has so far been justified by its results, and that it appears to have given more freedom to the life of the schools without impairing their technical efficiency'—the system lingered on here and there for many

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1895, Mr. King, p. 103.

years. This is shown clearly by Mr. Edmond Holmes in *What is and What might be*. It will be remembered that so late as 1911 it was his attempt (couched, it must be admitted, in unforgivable language even for a document designed for private circulation) to protect the schools against control by Secretaries for Education trained in the old methods, which led to the loss to education of Sir Robert Morant, one of the greatest of its public servants.[1]

[1]The fullest account hitherto published of the Holmes-Morant circular appears in Dr. B. M. Allen's *Life of Sir Robert Morant*, 1934. It is doubtful whether the full circumstances will ever be made known. If they were I cannot help thinking that a great many hasty conclusions arrived at in the heat of the controversy would have to be revised.




## GRAPH A

### The Public Educational System in 1895

*Notes*

The object of the graph is to show the number of children or persons of a given age attending any particular type of school in the year 1895.

The diagram assumes that all children attending elementary schools have been told to dress in one particular colour and stand in squares (25,000 to the square) according to their age; similarly all pupils attending secondary schools, higher grade schools, etc. have been distinctively dressed and arranged by age. The resulting diagram gives a complete picture of the public system of education as it existed in 1895 for comparison with that drawn to an identical scale to show the position forty years later (Graph D, facing p. 240).

*Note especially*

(i) The small numbers in secondary* and higher grade schools compared to those in elementary schools.

(ii) The large number of children known to exist, but outside the public system of education.

(iii) The number of half-time scholars.

(iv) The large number of very young children in elementary schools.

* The figures given include the 75,000 in the Endowed Grammar Schools and the 35,000 attending the Proprietary Schools (not conducted for profit) as shown in Appendices A, B and C.

# CHAPTER II

## THE STATE OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN 1895

(See Graph A opposite).

The number, quality, pay and pensions of the teaching staff.—Their difficulties.—The pupil teacher.—A school place at last for every child requiring one.—The difficulty of enforcing attendance.—Half-time attendance and release for domestic employment.—The first 'Black List'.—Cookery instruction.—Introduction of handwork.—Drawing.—Physical Training.—Reading.—The object lesson.—Buildings and furniture.—Out of school activities.—The improvement of the Infant schools.—The increase of 'night schools'.—The blind, deaf and defective.—The general educational result.

HAVING described the system which had for 33 years formed the background of public education, let us proceed with our stocktaking.

The number and quality of the teaching staff—always the first index of the health of any educational system—had been rising steadily, though not sensationally in the case of male teachers, since 1876. Out of 53,000 Certificated Teachers, however, only just over half (29,000) had received two years' training in Training Colleges, the remainder having passed the Acting Teachers' Certificate Examination. Thus in 1895 exactly one Certificated Teacher was employed to every 100 children on the roll. Dilution by 28,000 Assistant Teachers and 31,400 Pupil Teachers (aged 14–18) reduced the overall average to 47·1 children to every Certificated, Assistant or Pupil Teacher in service.[1]

Salaries too had risen, producing an average salary in the case of women almost exactly a third as great as that at present.

The average salary of Certificated Masters was £122, 6*s*. 7*d*.,

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1895, p. xxiii *seq.*

of Certificated Mistresses £81, 3*s*. 3*d*. Throughout the whole country only 400 Headmasters, but no Headmistresses, received a salary over £300 per annum. One fortunate Assistant Master received £300 or more and 7 women assistants between £150 and £200.

The output from Training Colleges was just beginning to overtake the wastage (6%) which this state of affairs produced. No national scales of course existed to protect the country districts from the 'cornering' of the best teachers by the wealthier towns. London, where the average salary of Headmasters was £290 in Board Schools and £154 in Voluntary Schools, and Manchester which had almost doubled her trained teachers in three years, had already taken full advantage of this fact.

Pensions were inadequate in number, fitful, fortuitous and beggarly. As one of Her Majesty's Inspectors reported in 1895:

'The great relief afforded by the more generous distribution of pensions to many well deserving teachers deserves mention. In this district several teachers have been enabled to retire from a painful struggle for existence into comparative ease and comfort. One case is very touching.

'A schoolmistress had contrived to live for many years on £40 a year and a house, and to bring up part of a sister's family who were thrown on the world. At length when age began to tell she found the schoolwork too difficult, and to add to her misfortunes a warning of inefficiency was issued. One of the family whom she had maintained was a pupil teacher in a large town school and completed his engagement soon after his aunt's misfortune occurred. He came to her and taught the school vigorously, and it is needless to say with what great pleasure the inspector was enabled to cancel the warning which he had issued. Now the schoolmistress has been pensioned, the youth obtained employment at once, and we may hope that they may both continue their happy exercise of affection and duty until the final separation comes.'[1]

Despite these unpropitious prospects for those who in the

[1]Mr. King, H.M.I. *R.E.D.*, 1895, p. 108.

language of the day essayed to 'ply the irksome task of public instruction', little difficulty appears to have been experienced in obtaining teachers for urban schools. The real difficulty lay with the rural areas. In these days good roads, frequent omnibus services, and rural telephones link the country teacher with the market town, its cinema, and her friends. Wireless programmes, and in many cases women's institutes, and county libraries offer the prospect of evening recreation. It is therefore becoming increasingly difficult to picture the isolation and barrenness of the rural teacher's life forty years ago. She did not readily fit into any of the strata into which the village communities of the day were divided. The cottage folk were, as always, friendly, but often ill at ease in the presence of 'book learning', the shopkeepers and large farmers superior, the county families and parsons inclined to be aloof. A comfortable home would have been an alleviation but her salary was a pittance often as low as £40, and when a house was provided there was not the wherewithal to furnish it. The attempt to drill single-handed perhaps 60 or 70 children in the minutiæ of the standards—in the knowledge that her salary might depend upon the result—made the schoolwork needlessly arduous. The Managers—or rather Manager—for the greatest difficulty was often experienced in finding two persons other than the Reverend Correspondent to sign official documents—were often difficult to please. Capricious dismissals and extraneous duties were common, nor did they by any means stop at the 'organ on Sundays'. They might even extend in the case of some unfortunate bachelors to marriage with the 'elderly ugly daugher' of one of the Managers. Occasionally rank injustice was perpetrated, as, for example, when a teacher's salary was cut by the amount he had earned by conducting evening continuation classes. This actually occurred in 1895, but the persecution to which the teachers of an earlier day were sometimes subjected can only be judged by readers of such works as *Schools and Scholars*. One illustration must suffice.

The head teacher of an early London Board school was

being attacked (about 1878) by a section of his managers because he refused to go beyond the syllabus of religious instruction laid down by the school board.

The teacher was reading for a science degree and left on his desk during the lunch hour a work on Physiology by a Dr. Michael Foster.

A woman manager, described in the language of the day as 'a strong-minded person who contrives to combine the advocacy of purity with the investigation of indecency' discovered the book. A violent correspondence was thereupon engineered in the local paper under such pseudonyms as 'an Indignant Parent'.

The following are excerpts from the letters which appeared:

'Are we to be taxed in order that the faith for which Ridley and Latimer suffered may be crushed? Let us expel this cockatrice from our midst, Sir, and let the flag of Britain wave unsullied in the breeze.'

'Sir, We were informed that our poor children were to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic only. Now this schoolmaster teaches them the contents of their own insides and thus adds to the rudeness which is innate in the lower orders. If the Author of the Universe had meant us to know what our livers are like he would not have hidden them away in security.'

The picture can be enlarged indefinitely. The results as is only to be expected were patchy. But the good undoubtedly predominated. Witness the following extracts from the General Reports of H.M. Inspectors: 'There is no doubt that the great body of teachers do their work if not always in absolutely the best way still with honesty of purpose, great diligence, steady and increasing success.' 'Forlorn indeed is the lot of the young mistress in some of these outlying rural nooks. It is not surprising that many of them become mere birds of passage: that the country teacher is dying out and being replaced by the failures of the towns. The marvel and the honour is that not a few of them do so well and bravely against wind and tide.'

'England owes a debt of gratitude to the teachers who treat a drunken mother and her neglected child with a patient courtesy deserving of high praise. Indeed, they seldom find occasion to pursue with any severity and endeavour to win the child by firm and constant gentleness.'[1]

No survey of the state of the public system of education in the closing years of the nineteenth century would be complete without some special mention of the pupil teachers.[2]

Their lot by present standards was hard. The less fortunate majority left home at 8 a.m. to walk to school (a good bicycle in those days would cost upwards of £15). They controlled a class of as many as 60 or 70 children for five hours, arriving home about 5.30 p.m. In the evenings they studied from 6.15 to 10 p.m. unless they attended a 'voluntary' evening class for pupil teachers. Saturday mornings from 8 a.m. till 1.30 p.m. would be spent at a Pupil Teacher Centre and the best part of their Saturday afternoons preparing for next week's classes. Thus with the exception of a few hours on Saturday and the late Victorian Sunday their whole week was fully occupied by school work. The more fortunate minority were treated—as in London—as half-timers. They attended the school, as teachers, for half the day and the pupil teacher centre, as taught, for the other half. Experience as to the value of this system of centres was accumulating gradually. But to recall that there were 47 scholars on the books for every pupil teacher is to realise the difficulty which overworked head teachers must have experienced in releasing them to go to the pupil teacher centre or in regarding them when in school as students in the art of teaching placed in the schools for the benefit of the future generation. It was no doubt easy enough—with the 'Madras' system still a living memory—to defend this form of apprenticeship on the ground that

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, p. 21 and p. 62; 1895, p. 148.

[2] For the lot of the Pupil Teacher, see *R.E.D.*, 1894, p. 23, p. 38, pp. 85 and 86; *R.E.D.*, 1895, p. 51 and p. 83.

early familiarity with children was to the apprentices' advantage. But one suspects that a great deal was learnt at the expense of the children and that, judging by modern conceptions of industrial psychology, a great deal more might have been learnt had the hours been shorter. It is true that long hours, often without holidays, were general in those days. Even their Lordships of the Treasury were known to observe that they could not see the force of a demand for longer holidays on the part of the Civil Service since they already enjoyed a fortnight's leave 'and 52 Sundays' every year! But the more one learns of the frequent inadequacy of the supervision, the long hours at a time when, as little more than children (14–17), they should have been enjoying some of the pleasant times now regarded as the right of youth, the more one is inclined to take off one's hat to that splendid body of headmasters and headmistresses, now retiring from the profession, who in their youth endured so much with so little hope of public recognition or reward.

It is curious to anyone who has made a study of the figures to find how prevalent is the belief that, almost immediately after Parliament had passed the Education Act of 1870 (and Matthew Arnold had talked hopefully of 'sweetness and light'), every child in England and Wales trooped gladly into school.

In reality, as we have seen, this happy state of affairs was not reached for twenty-five years, although in certain areas something was done to get children into temporary school accommodation.

The first School Board for London, appalled by the shortage of places revealed by the method of calculation advocated by the Education Department, rather disingenuously invented a new method of their own, thus proving to their immediate satisfaction but subsequent undoing that they had some tens of thousands less places to provide than in fact proved to be the case. For the Education Department's method of calculation unfortunately turned out to be correct.

It should be remembered that the school population was

increasing rapidly between 1870 and 1895 owing to the astonishing birthrate of the late Victorian era.

By 1895, however, that remarkable piece of national organisation to which reference has been made had almost succeeded in providing a school place for every child entitled to one.

In the south, the eastern counties, Wales and the Midlands this result had been achieved mainly through the energy of the school boards: in the more individual North and North-West by manufacturers and coal-owners who rated themselves to provide schools rather than submit to rating by a school board.

It is true that most of the schools were uncomfortably full, owing to the steady rise in the school population, and that the floor area allowed per child was still less than a square yard. This meagre allowance led to special difficulties where the rooms were small, for as an Inspector once remarked, ' Unfortunately the size of the teacher does not vary with the size of her class '. One hopes that the aphorism was intentional, but candour compels one to admit that he was probably thinking of the space occupied by the teacher's desk, blackboard, etc. Moreover the abolition of fees, the increasing appreciation of education by the parents, and the greater attractiveness of the teaching which became possible under the Codes of 1891 and 1895 were continually adding to the pressure by bringing children into school earlier and inclining them to stay longer. In the new 'dormitory' areas such as West Ham and in the rapidly growing Welsh coalfields school supply still struggled to catch up with the demand.

Passing, too, were the difficulties, which must have seemed almost insuperable ten years earlier, of securing regular attendance or even any attendance at all. Here again the removal of fees had helped, the attendance leaping by 7% to 10% at once in certain areas and prosecution becoming easier.[1]

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, p. 31.

The law was still very weak, the magistrates hostile, vacillating or tender-hearted. One might still read of parents convicted for the 20th, 30th, 40th, and even the 61st time and of admission being sought by large numbers of children between six and ten who had never attended school before. Facts such as these seem shocking enough to-day, but it should not be forgotten that wages were often extremely low and that no system of unemployment insurance stood between the worker and the selling up of his home. The following letter is typical of thousands which used to reach the Education Department and the offices of the School Boards from parents who were able to express their feelings on paper. 'I now write a few lines to you to ask you if my daughters can leave school because we cannot finde them in clothes and food and keep a home for them any longer without there help there Father his 60 years of age and he goes 4 miles every morning and four miles back that makes 8 miles a day and then if it is fine all the week so he can work on the farm he gets 14*s*. but if it his wet he cannot work on the farm he his paid for the days he does work so his earning never amounts to more than 10*s*. a week and very often under 10*s*. in the winter months so what can we do if there should be any illness not a farthing to help ourselves with . . . 4*s*. rent for the house 4 children to keep in food and clothes to provide for in illness fireing and everything it really cannot be it his impossible . . . no wonder the farmers do not prosper when they oppress the labourers has they do and this cruel cruel law of a school board it his too bad we cannot cannot do it because the climate his not warme enuff for them to go without clothes.' On the other hand experience was proving two things: first, that where it was distinctly understood that the law would be enforced the difficulty was not insuperable; second, that the influence of a good teacher and of an attractive school was the best attendance officer. The civilising influence of the schools, too, had played its part. One reads less of the spirit of open defiance by parents, which appears in such a lurid light in the evidence

tendered to the Cross Commission by the superintendents of school visitors eight years previously.[1]

The country districts were as usual behind the towns. Potato picking in the autumn, turnip singling and potato dropping in spring, pea picking and the hay harvest in early summer gave far too many farmer members of School Boards a direct interest in irregularity of attendance, and supplied far too many parents with the wherewithal to pay any small fine which might be imposed. Epidemics, too, tended to neutralise the efforts of the school attendance staff. Measles, whooping cough and scarlatina, spread by nature's provision for the cleaning of slates (spit and coat-sleeve!), were regarded and treated as trifles. Correspondingly they took a far heavier toll of a school population the vitality of which was generally lower—largely owing to the absence of licensing hours—than it is to-day in a generation brought up in the principles of healthy living. Thus the predictions of those doctors who had opposed Mr. Forster's Education Act of 1870 on the ground that universal popular education would be the means of spreading every kind of infectious disease were to some extent justified. For another decade had to pass before the school medical service was born.

Where a real drive to secure a high average attendance was made—by school banners, prizes, medals, etc.—astonishing results could be achieved. Those who point to such results to-day, however, should be on their guard in comparing them with present-day figures. No one to-day would tolerate the idea of really ill children being carried to school in blankets in order that they might earn their medal.

In one respect at least the public system of education had by 1895 taken a marked turn for the better. Since the Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act of 1893, which had raised the school age for both total and partial

[1]See particularly the evidence of Mr. Williams, superintendent of school visitors for Lambeth.

exemption from 10 to 11, the numbers of half-time scholars had fallen by 20,000 a year.

The system was still widespread in Lancashire—which, except in the matter of technical education, has only recently begun to think in educational matters what England will think to-morrow. Yorkshire, Cheshire, and, in a much smaller degree, Staffordshire and Leicester contributed the balance of the 125,000 half-timers.

Although, as one Inspector put it, 'The most inflexible Draco amongst us would hesitate to punish a poor woman who keeps a child at home occasionally "to mind the baby or look after the home while she is at work",' the observation of one of his colleagues that 'Domestic half-time is much worse than the factory and "necessary and beneficial" employment is construed with great laxity'[1] holds a special warning for us at the present time in the light of the revival of this system by the Education Act of 1936.

It remains to be added that a great many minor improvements had been effected in the premises of schools since the issue in 1892–1893 of the Education Department's first 'Black List' (Circular 321). The willingness with which H.M. Inspectors' criticisms had been met by Managers had been a welcome sign of the times, for as one Inspector remarked, 'This great work affords an exemplary instance of true public spirit. The man hardly builds to fame who adds a cloakroom to a school: he merely benefits his neighbour in an effective and unobtrusive way.'

It is necessary, however, to add that the Inspector of those days was not inhibited, as in later times, by an undue fear of restraint from Whitehall. He knew what he wanted and how to secure it. One courageous individual chanced to visit the school owned by Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden at the time when special trains used to be run from the northern towns and halted at the station to allow their passengers a sight of the G.O.M. chopping wood. Finding that the school

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1895, p. 95 and p. 13.

still had a stone floor he commented severely upon the fact in his report, adding, 'It is not as though it is not common knowledge that plenty of wood is cut on this estate'. Tradition has it that the G.O.M. demanded his dismissal but that he was hastily transferred to another district!

The officials of the Education Department, too, could on occasions exercise a freedom unheard of to-day. On one occasion when the Correspondent of a school had written protesting his complete inability to comprehend their Lordships' letter, the reply began: 'Their Lordships note the Correspondent's statement that he is completely unable to understand their Lordships' point of view. That, if they may say so, does not appear to their Lordships to be a matter which calls for any observations on their part.'

To trace through the Codes of the Education Department the development of the curriculum of the public elementary schools would require a separate volume. The background formed hitherto by the 'payment by results' system has been described. Since this is a study rather of the expansion of the public system and of the various elements which contributed to that expansion, it only remains to point to a few of the newer tendencies observable as the century drew to a close, and to utter a caution against the acceptance of the statistics of particular forms of instruction as representing their modern equivalents.

For example, to read that cookery instruction had spread to nearly one department in ten is to conjure up a vision of the 122,000 girls, who earned the 4*s*. grant, at work in caps and aprons in centres or travelling vans of the type so well known to-day, and engaged under trained cookery teachers on a graduated course of two or three years' duration.

The real picture is very different. At one extreme the inquirer would find a slovenly classroom, as often as not unswept, filled with the fumes of uncovered gas rings. Disposed about the various desks he would discover groups of girls, from four to six in number, under their ordinary class teachers, interfering with each other's efforts to make beef tea,

rock cakes and pancakes, or to re-cook cold meat cooked by the previous class. At the other extreme he would encounter large classes of girls drafted to cookery centres fitted with elaborate stoves and appliances of a type which they could never hope to see in their own humble homes, and by sheer weight of numbers compelling their harassed teachers to set them to endless rubbing of flour through sieves and the picking of every single stalk from every single currant. That there cannot have been very many centres of the latter type may, however, be inferred from the opinion expressed by one Inspector that £12 to £15 should be an ample allowance to provide the whole equipment required for cookery classes.

In one case an Inspector reported (1896) to their Lordships in some perplexity that 'owing to all the Managers of the School being strict Vegetarians no meat dishes were allowed to be taught in the school. The children were only being taught to make pastry and cakes and such light and fancy foods.'

The Managers retorted with some heat that 'our syllabus shows Bread, Yorkshire Pudding, Savoury Omelettes (not the French one but a real substantial dish). Further we urge that it is an article of religion in the Church to which these Schools belong to abstain from fish flesh or fowl and consequently it is a matter of conscience with us that we could not possibly surrender.'

On the other hand, however makeshift appliances and methods might be, encouraging signs were not wanting. First there was observable an awakening interest in the principle of 'learning by doing', an importation from German experience. Centres for woodwork and metalwork were springing up in London. The first had been started by the schoolkeeper, an ex-carpenter, at Beethoven Street School in 1885. The auditor surcharged the expenditure, but the City and Guilds paid for the class until it could legally be provided. Earlier centres had been started in Manchester and elsewhere. The first class ever started was in a non-provided school, which was struck off the roll by the Education

Department for its audacity. Clay modelling, brushwork, paper folding, cutting and pasting were making their appearance, and if their evident popularity with the children was making some schools even more uncomfortably full than before, it was also contributing to the lengthening of school life—or at least checking the tendency so noticeable eight years before for school life to shorten. Of even greater importance perhaps was the fact that the rapid spread of 'night schools' was teaching the staff the value of preparing syllabuses and that they were carrying this experience into the day schools.

Drawing, which at the time of the Cross Commission, seven years earlier, had hardly been taught at all[1]—although already well taught on the continent—was becoming more general. Unfortunately, however, the inquirer who is not content to be impressed by mere figures will find that it amounted to little more for Standards I and II than the ruling of interminable squares with their diagonals at the top of the slate and the laborious copying of the resultant figure in freehand below. Rectangular models, prisms and cones, with paper on which to draw them, as yet only made their appearance in Standards III to VII.

A new spirit was abroad, too, in the world of physical training. It is true that military drill, first recognised by the Code of 1871, still held sway in 1343 schools. It was a convenient method of managing masses of children in a small compass in those thousands of schools, for example, which possessed no playground. It might even show sporadic signs of new vitality around the military and naval centres, or under the stimulus of an active school manager retired from one of the services. 'At Torquay an enthusiastic school manager has provided the school with 100 dummy rifles, 100 solid leather belts with bayonets and leather sheaths complete; as preliminaries, however, only to a more real gun drill with actual carbines procured from the Horse Guards

[1] *C.C.R.*, Sir Philip Magnus' evidence.

for the elder boys.'[1] But its death-knell had in reality been sounded by the work of such pioneers as Madame Bergman Osterberg, who, as organising teacher in London, had imported the Swedish system and demonstrated its advantages in substituting harmonious development of every muscle at once for the biceps over-developed by dumb-bells and the 'pouter pigeon' chest, which contributed to the heavy mortality from pneumonia among the gallant sergeants of those days. In 1894 schools had been notified that the higher grant for discipline would not be paid after 31st August, 1895, to a school not providing for the teaching of the Swedish system. Although we read that 'teachers are easily fluttered and the new requirements have somewhat alarmed many of them', we are reassured by the statement that 'the more thoughtful have already considered matters attentively and are beginning to see their way.'[2] Thus after the Boer war the army awoke to find that many of its potential recruits had been trained (where school playgrounds had been large enough to allow of more than 'wrist and arm' drill[3]) in a new system—the importation of a very remarkable woman.

The ground had been cut from under their feet, and a syllabus in the preparation of which the War Office had been too obviously interested was in 1901 subjected to severe parliamentary criticism. The Swedish system was adopted willy-nilly and the millions of 1914–1918 were spared both dumb-bells and pneumonia.

'Reading' appears to have varied greatly from school to school. In the country districts the mumbled monotone, which would change electrically to a shrill sing-song on the teacher's exhortation to 'shout it out', was dying hard. The child who ever opened a book at home shone at H.M.I.'s visits like a good deed in a naughty world.

In the town schools, on the other hand, as evidence that

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, p. 15. [2] *R.E.D.*, 1894, p. 11.

[3] Within a mile radius of Charing Cross there were 30,000 children in schools without a square yard of playground.

a new spirit was abroad, we find H.M.I.s stressing the fact that children, 'not necessarily the better for being good writers, cipherers, grammarians, or embryo scientific scholars', 'save for habits of attention and industry which mastery of any useful branch of knowledge implies', could be trained morally by the influence of good reading lessons blended with poetry and history. No good child's History of England as yet existed, but magazines and newspapers were beginning to make their appearance in the schools. A few schools too had libraries ranging from 60 to 1000 volumes. At the same time the idea that older children might sometimes profitably be allowed to learn for themselves from a textbook was still regarded as somewhat revolutionary, and individual notebooks for science lessons had so far only made their appearance in Sheffield.

This is perhaps not so surprising as it may seem, for elementary science as a school subject was as yet in its infancy. As noted earlier, it traces its origin to the 'object lesson'. These object lessons were strongly advocated by their Lordships, and from 1895 onwards a miscellany of objects of truly alarming variety began to find their way into the schools' museum cupboards. In the case of urban schools or the remoter rural schools a bird's nest full of assorted eggs was usually the *pièce de résistance*, but stuffed dogs and even alligators were not unknown. It is perhaps difficult for the science teacher of to-day, surrounded by the electrical apparatus made in the boys' department, or the charts and specimens prepared by the girls' department to illustrate the life cycle of the frog or genetic experiments with rabbits, to restrain a smile at these quaint beginnings. Probably, however, few developments in education during the last decade of the nineteenth century exercised a greater influence in changing the attitude of children to their work. The interest excited might, in fact, prove quite embarrassing, as the following extract from a report upon a school by H.M.I. in 1906 clearly shows.

'The premises have a very neglected appearance. The

offices are inadequate and dirty. A dead stoat and other litter was in the boys' offices and had apparently been there for some time.'

These strictures elicited the following spirited reply:

'The mistress, following the directions and suggestions of the officials of the Board of Education, collects specimens of natural objects and encourages the children to collect them themselves. Thus the stoat came. After being used for the purpose of teaching it was buried, but the boys further interested themselves after school hours and dug it up more than once. The dirt and litter referred to consisted of the substances which had become associated with the stoat in the course of re-interments and re-exhumations. There was no order from the Home Office for these proceedings, but boys will be boys and curiosity when excited often leads to a desire for further examination.'

Buildings and furniture which had been acceptable when education was optional were beginning to be called in question now that it had been compulsory for fifteen years. The cheerful atmosphere of so many modern classrooms with their bright pictures was, it is true, a thing of the future, but such amenities as cloakrooms were appearing in country schools, where coats had hitherto been hung in the crowded schoolrooms or thrown promiscuously into baskets. The blackboard was replacing the reading cards or letter sheets hitherto almost universal. For the era of 'chalk and talk' had to intervene before the era of textbooks. Wall maps were becoming more plentiful, although we read of a pupil teacher who was found industriously illustrating a reading lesson on the geography of the British Isles from a wall map of Africa! Dual desks—frequently made to do service for three children—were replacing the backless forms in London. They seem in the opinion of some Inspectors to have been replacing them almost wantonly at times, for we read that 'the tendency is very strong to resolve all school buildings into nests of classrooms all furnished with desks. A babies' room with 35 little dual




'Stuffed dogs were not unknown.' An object lesson

desks covering all the floor may be looked on as the *reductio ad absurdum* of this system.' Another Inspector was, however, less critical, for he had made the discovery that these nests of classrooms actually permitted 'silent' lessons to proceed at the same time as 'noisy' lessons. Moreover, the dual desks for infants' rooms led eventually to an appreciation of the advantages of a level floor. In other schools the high galleries, often thrown together by the village carpenter, continued for many years to confine the infants to their weary seats. Free activity was almost unheard of for the simple reason that it was not usually feasible. It is recorded as a phenomenon that one school in the country was so much in advance of its time (Huddersfield Higher Grade Boys) that it was lit by incandescent electric lamps, but Huddersfield of course had a reputation for enlightenment to keep up, for had it not been the first town to run electric trams in 1884?

Out-of-school activities and corporate life still lay largely in the future, except in London where pioneers among the teaching staff had already begun to organise cricket and football clubs. Swimming, too, was beginning to be taught —rarely to girls—although the general inability to swim even among boys who lived in the seaside towns—a phenomenon now confined to remote islands such as Lundy—was a matter of frequent comment. One enterprising school had already built its own bath in the playground. That this too was a phenomenon is illustrated by the comment passed by another Inspector on the suggestion of a well-meaning reformer that a bath ought to be provided at every school and children should compulsorily be made to wash at least once a week: 'How School Boards and voluntary school managers would receive the suggestion we may leave to the imagination!' Finally school savings banks were springing up like mushrooms since the abolition of fees, a development which was to exercise a remarkable influence on the saving habits of the people in time to come.

To anyone who knows the schools as they are to-day,

even if he has reason to deplore the fact that in some schools and in some particulars 40 years' advance has not made more difference, the picture presented so far must seem a dark one. It is, in fact, a picture of ragged bodies matched by ragged minds, of frail forms sustained by slender resources, of unshod feet little prepared at 11 for the roughness of life's highway. Yet in reading the General Reports of Inspectors for these years two encouraging features stand out clearly, the tendency of the infant schools to become the most distinctive contribution to educational science which this country has yet made, and the renaissance of the evening continuation schools.

In a sense both owed this distinction to the same circumstance. The infant schools had never known the full rigours of the 'payment by results' system, the evening continuation schools had been released from those rigours in 1893. Indeed it seems likely that the expansion which followed this release had much to do with the framing of the new conditions for day schools in the Code of 1895.

Inspector after Inspector bears witness to the contrast which the infant schools presented to many of those for older scholars.[1] Here the cynic might observe that the Inspector must have approached the infant school with the pleasureable anticipation of a morning's 'inspection' rather than a morning's 'examination'. That this would be unjust seems to be borne out by the weight of evidence as to improvements in methods. 'Revolution is the only word which will convey to the mind the contrast between what I found 25 years ago and what obtains at the present moment. Instead of being huddled together on low forms in a corner of the principal, or rather the only, schoolroom, the infants have now almost everywhere a classroom of their own.' 'All the good teachers have more or less adopted the Kindergarten method.' 'There is a visible and decided advance in the teaching and bad styles are disappearing, such as counting

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, pp. 7, 10, 60; 1895, p. 48.

on the fingers and unnatural sing-song. The old-time formal methods, abstract and verbal, have been discarded and superseded by the real practical, vivid and concrete.'

The girl pupil teachers must have been more at home among the infants too, for their youth would supply that need for cheerfulness, brightness and a constant supply of animal spirits which so readily replaces the infection of dullness by the contagion of brightness. 'Even Thule is gained at last,' writes an Inspector. 'The high tide of infant instruction is gradually reaching even the remoter classes in country schools.' With their musical drills, hand occupations, kindergarten work, games, and fairy, maypole and other dances the infant schools seem to have impressed the preponderantly male inspectorate of those days as 'almost as good as any imperfect human institution can be'.

It remains to be added that (as graphs A (p. 21) and D (p. 240) show) the number of infants of 4, 3 and even 2 years of age attending the schools of forty years ago was many times as great as to-day, a testimony to the improvement in working-class homes during the intervening years.

The evening continuation schools were in like case.[1] The substitution of inspection for examination, by the Evening School Code of 1893, and the action taken by the Technical Education Committees of the County Councils (established under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889) to encourage the formation of classes and guarantee them financial support out of the 'Whiskey Money' had already begun to exercise a remarkable effect upon the attendance, which was to multiply sixfold between 1892 and 1900. By 1895 the numbers of scholars on the registers had risen to the respectable total of 270,285, taking Inspectors by surprise and causing more than one of them to wonder whether the new popularity 'of the night school' was more than a 'flash in the pan'.

The truth was, as some of the more intelligent Inspectors were quick to appreciate, that a very large body of men and

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1894, pp. 43, 57; 1895, pp. 108, 137 and 138.

women had experienced in their own minds the fugitive qualities of the instruction they had received in the day schools. But they were sensitive, afraid of their own voices, afraid in particular of displaying their ignorance in public. The annual examination before 1893 had called those who braved the night schools sharply to account for their work, and had stood them up to be made ridiculous in the sight of their neighbours. This annual examination once removed, they flooded into the evening continuation schools. Moreover, what many of the schools lost, in the sense that they ceased to be properly continuative of the work of the day schools, they gained by the accession of older men and women who came meaning business and prepared to suppress the sportive tendencies of their more youthful companions, 'to demand wholesome and nutritious food in place of the confectionery plum'. 'It is a well-known fact,' wrote one such student, 'that if a boy leave school, and in the course of about two years he be asked a few questions, it is surprising what he has forgot' . . . 'a few nights at the evening school, however, and it soon comes back.'

Thus, as is to be expected, the elementary subjects, reading, writing and arithmetic, attracted the largest numbers, followed by geography (32,469), needlework (29,290), shorthand (26,222), vocal music (20,087), and mensuration (18,648), then *longo intervallo* by domestic economy, 'the life and duties of a citizen' (politically suspect though it was in certain areas), French, German, 'the science of common things', English, elementary physics and chemistry, human physiology, chemistry, algebra, agriculture, magnetism and electricity, and elementary physiography.

Sometimes grandfather and grandson would be found side by side. More frequently the father or mother would appreciate their own deficiencies from observation of the progress of their own children at school.

'At a night school for adults a middle-aged man was found struggling manfully with a sum in compound long division. The pounds he could divide, but the treatment of

the "remainder" was a mystery that defied solution. The Inspector tried to explain the puzzle, eventually with some success; and then the man opened his heart—"I have a boy", he said, "in the 5th Standard, and he can do all these things, and he thinks I can, but I can't, and I shouldn't like him to know it".'

Thus although the same difficulties existed which still exist to-day, the long hours in shops, overtime at Christmas, the attractions of the streets and music halls to those newly emancipated from the Standards, the tendency for numbers to fall off in the spring, the deterrent of fees (usually 3*d.* paid three-monthly in advance), the evening schools were at last alive. The teachers rose to meet the needs of the new type of student admirably. They were 'free and easy', no standing on dignity, no tripping up of blunderers. Attention and courtesy were given to any question or remark made, however inconvenient. 'A rural policeman complained that his occupation was almost gone since the night school opened.' 'I believe parents and farmers would prefer compulsion by night to compulsion by day,' one Inspector records.

Our stocktaking so far as elementary education is concerned would still be incomplete without some brief reference to the lot of the blind, deaf, physically and mentally defective.

That humanitarian determination to afford help to those least able to help themselves which has built up the English educational system from the bottom—thus avoiding so many social pitfalls—had already achieved something for the blind and deaf. The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act of 1893 had enabled those special schools which had been established for the blind and deaf to escape from confinement by the strait-waistcoat of the Elementary Code. The application of the Code had sometimes led to ridiculous results in their case, for it had prevented the school earning any substantial grant for no other reason than that the blind scholars could not do what sighted children could. New schools, mainly residential in the case of blind scholars, were being provided, and the number certified by the Depart-

ment had risen from 78 in 1894 to 87 in 1895, with accommodation for 1460 blind children and nearly 3000 deaf. Nevertheless the cold shadow of charity still hung over too many of these schools. Stone floors, inadequate equipment, and absence of toys and games too often rendered barren indeed that part of the day which was not filled with 'healthy work and recreation'. The dietary, too, if plentiful, was often unimaginative, a conspicuous defect being the complete absence of green vegetables.

A tendency was, however, observable among parents of blind children to send them to school earlier. The Act of 1893 had wisely recognised the need for two further years' education to the age of 16 to compensate these children for their defects. They had need of all the help the schools could give them, for the earnings of a capable blind worker were not as yet supplemented by the Local Authority, and in those days were not more than 2*s*. a day for a man and 1*s*. a day for a woman.

In the deaf schools instruction usually proceeded for the first year or two by 'silent' methods, and oral instruction through lip reading gradually supervened.

The case of the mentally defective was hard indeed. Apparently only London and Leicester were making any attempt to discover them and segregate them in special classes. In the rest of the country they generally remained in the lower standards and hindered the work of the other scholars, adding considerably to the burdens of the pupil teachers. Sometimes, no doubt, school attendance officers were advised not to be too zealous in discovering them.

If the home was respectable they might be 'treated as a disgrace or encumbrance to the family and be hidden away, in some obscure corner, not allowed to play, and in one case, which was brought to an Inspector's notice, "forbidden even to walk".'

If the home cared even less for them they often drifted into the hands of the Guardians. The extreme number in England and Wales stated to show signs of mental weakness

was thought at the time to be 80,000, and this may go some way to explain, though it cannot palliate, the remarkable gap between the total number of children of each age group known to exist and the number known to be attending school.

Of the physically defective no record appears at all. It is to be presumed that those who could hobble to school, on crutches or otherwise, did so and that the rest spent their schooldays either at home or in hospital.

What, one may well ask, was the total educational result of the public provision for elementary education as disclosed by this stocktaking?

If the picture I have attempted to draw is a fair one it will be realised that, despite much roughness among 'the great horde of street loafers who infest every large town',[1] the majority of the children left school disciplined and well grounded in reading, writing and arithmetic. But they left far too young; just at a time, in fact, when what they had learnt was most easily lost and ought to have been carried on and made a part of them; just at a time when proper religious and moral training might have done the most for them in the formation of habits and character; just at a time when they could not be expected to follow up what they had learnt by a profitable use of their leisure and the intelligent reading of good books. It will be realized, too, that in far too many cases their physique had been impaired by preventable illness, and that if they had the misfortune to be crippled or mentally defective life could not hold much in store for them.

At the same time the importance of affording their children a longer school life was being brought home to a few at least of the parents, whose self-appreciated deficiencies were sending them back in increasing numbers to the evening

[1]This, it must regretfully be noted, embraced the unemployed—whose lot was in those days seldom a matter which called forth sympathy. See Halévy, *History of the English People, 1895–1905* particularly pp. 367–368.

schools. Half-time was decreasing, the number and variety of subjects taught increasing. Both teaching methods and the more glaringly insanitary schools were being improved; and equipment was becoming a little more plentiful.

The real task of the time was the twofold one of prolonging school life and linking elementary education with secondary education, and the training of the teachers with the universities.

In London and the great cities Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds, the initial difficulties created by the conscription of 1876 had been overcome with greater success than in the smaller towns and in the country districts.

'Of one thing I am quite sure,' wrote Mr. Sharpe, Senior Chief Inspector, referring to London in 1895, 'that so far as their teaching goes it is thoroughly intelligent and practical, but it rests with the generation of 10 or 15 years hence to pronounce how far it has been successful in training English men and women for their lives' work.'

One wonders if he lived to see the triumphant vindication of his London elementary schools by the London battalions in the withering machine-gun fire at Gommecourt, in the desperate resistance at Cambrai and Gavrelle, on the sun-scorched plain at Gaza and in the mud of Glencorse Wood.

# CHAPTER III

## THE PLIGHT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN 1895

Absence of data to determine number of schools and scholars of secondary type.—The Ancient Grammar Schools jeopardised by the revival of the Public Schools.—'Whiskey Money' to the rescue.—Numbers in attendance in 1895 probably about 75,000.—Parental indifference towards Secondary Education.—The upthrust of the older age groups in the elementary schools leads to formation of Higher Grade Schools.—Summing up.

To the modern investigator of the educational system of 40 years ago no feature presents more baffling problems than the extent of the provision for education above the elementary stage. Despite the 9 volumes of the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education and the annual output of the Charity Commission, the Science and Art Department and the Education Department, the figures either do not exist at all or have to be extracted from lists of schools running into many hundreds of pages. Moreover, no attempt ever appears to have been made either in the Board of Education or elsewhere to clarify the position. The only existing evidence of such an attempt is contained in a chapter[1] in the Board's Annual Report for 1911–1912. This hazards a guess that there were probably about 800 schools, endowed and proprietary, which ultimately became recognised secondary schools.

It only remains therefore to set out the evidence available

[1] § 20, p. 7, and § 24, p. 9.

and to draw from it such conjectural inferences as are possible.

Outside and remote from any contact with the rising public system of education stood the so-called public schools, then, as now, mainly attended by boarders whose parents could afford to pay a substantial fee. They had been saved and made respectable earlier in the century by a galaxy of strong headmasters and rendered accessible by the development of the railways. Their success in attracting the sons of those whose fortunes had been made at a time when England was still 'The Workshop of the World' had ruined some and jeopardised many of the ancient grammar schools, and had called into existence many proprietary schools which sought to imitate their example in the matter of high fees and social exclusiveness. It is impossible to calculate the numbers in attendance, but it seems unlikely that more than 30,000 to 40,000 pupils were receiving within their walls what would to-day be regarded as a good secondary education. The ancient grammar schools with their endowments totalling nearly three-quarters of a million, and a handful of Higher Grade schools to be referred to later, provided what was virtually the sole avenue by which the brilliant child of poor parents might attain higher education. It appears to be a fairly common supposition among modern students of the history of education that these ancient grammar schools continued to languish, in every stage of financial and educational inefficiency, until they were rescued by the generous subventions made to them by the Local Education Authorities for Higher Education first established by the Education Act of 1902. This view appears to be only partially true. The process of rescue had in fact begun much earlier, with the work of the Endowed Schools Commission whose activities and fate have been briefly mentioned on page 5. It continued with the diversion to some at least of the schools of a substantial amount of the 'Whiskey Money' which became available under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890. This windfall

amounted to nearly three-quarters of a million pounds annually[1]—or slightly more than the total annual income received by all the schools from their endowments. It was intended originally to compensate publicans whose licences had not been renewed. But Mr. (later Lord) Goschen, who from his German associations was a strong believer in Technical Education, was at the time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was persuaded, perhaps by Mr. (now Sir) H. Llewellyn Smith, to devote it to the promotion of Technical Education. Thus it came about that by one of those illogical twists of the late Victorian conscience which sometimes set on foot such remarkable social movements, it was made payable to County Borough Councils and to the recently formed County Councils. In fact—as a witty member of the House remarked—these newly created organs of Local Government were told 'to distil wisdom out of whiskey, genius out of gin, and capacity for business out of beer'. At the same time one feels that this parliamentary wag missed his full opportunity. For to be comprehensive he ought to have added 'and pensions for Robert Peelers out of rum punch'. Apart from this first charge for policemen's pensions it was earmarked, although with no guarantee of permanence,[2] to be expended on technical education or in relief of the rates. As we have seen, some part of it found its way into the evening continuation schools, which offered perhaps the nearest approach to technical education in most parts of the country in those days. Another part was devoted by parsimonious areas to the relief of the rates, another less legitimately by certain County Boroughs (whose accounts were not then subject to the scrutiny of the Government Auditor) to a variety of purposes ranging from the cost of a cricket and football ground to the expenses of a deputation visiting London. Fortunately for the renaissance of secondary education in England—the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 had already set a similar renaissance on foot in

[1] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 1, pp. 442–445. [2] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 3, 6238.

Wales—by far the most substantial part was from an early date given to the local grammar schools. Rarely of course was it given on any considered plan. Sometimes the gift took a non-recurrent form—as for example a contribution to build science laboratories to earn the grants available from South Kensington; sometimes the form of an annual subvention in return for the offer of scholarships.[1] Moreover, the schools which profited varied greatly in standing. Usually they had already established a firm local reputation for sound work, but occasionally they exercised a less legitimate 'pull'[2] through the interest of a local representative on the new county council. In 1895 the counties made such grants to 198 schools containing about 23,000 scholars, and county boroughs to 20 further schools containing about 5400 scholars.[3]

What proportion of the total did these 218 schools represent?

On this point the nine volumes of the Bryce report preserve a discreet silence. Indeed it must seem almost inconceivable to anyone conversant with the thoroughness of Royal Commissions to-day that a Commission specifically charged 'to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies', should not have made it their first object to find out how many schools offering education of secondary type already existed, how they were distributed and what were the numbers in attendance.

The explanation probably lies in a change in the attitude of Governments to Royal Commissions. The tendency to-day is for a Royal Commission appointed in the first year of a Government's term of office to be regarded as a convenient delaying device. The publicity attendant on its appointment gives the appearance of a keen interest at Downing Street

[1] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 1, pp. 378–399. [2] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 3, 6236.

[3] I have arrived at this figure by tracing the number in each school from all the available reports of the Science and Art Department, the Education Department and the Bryce Committee.

in some national question, but in reality the existence of the Commission enables the Government to parry awkward questions until they have dealt with other planks in their platform. The Bryce Commission, on the other hand, appears to have been appointed, by Lord Rosebery's Government on its accession to power, with a view to early action. It originated in a Conference held in the Examination Schools at Oxford, and the Chairman may have been told privately to report as soon as possible. Certainly the statistical volume, the ninth produced in less than two years, bears every mark of hurried compilation, and by its inaccuracies, both clerical and mathematical, goes some way to explain the Treasury's greater friendliness towards secondary than towards elementary education. For the Government and local government services of those days must have found it a difficult matter to recruit an adequate supply of efficient clerks. This difficulty was clearly in Lord Lingen's mind when he gave evidence to the Cross Commission some years previously, and it is also mentioned in an early report of the Board of Education (1904, p. 45).

Thus all it is possible to say is that if the average size of the endowed schools in six of the seven counties which the Commission found time to investigate was reproduced in the country as a whole, and that if those counties were representative, the number of scholars attending the 621 endowed schools of secondary type shown in the 'Roby' return cannot well have been less than 75,000.[1]

It is true that the Commission may have chosen counties for investigation—as they undoubtedly chose Bedfordshire —because they suspected that they were better supplied with endowed schools than other counties. It is true too that their report described the provision for secondary education as unevenly distributed. But since they had apparently neither a map nor figures for 36 of the county areas their conclusion on this point is perhaps open to question.

[1]See Appendices A, B and C. For the 'Roby' return, see *B.C.R.*, Vol. 9, pp. 7–175.

If in fact the attendance by 1895 had reached 75,000 and that at the proprietary schools not conducted for profit 34,000, certain interesting deductions ensue. For, looking back to an estimate of 15,000 compiled twenty-seven years earlier by Matthew Arnold in his report on 'Higher Schools and Colleges in Germany', it becomes clear that the real founders of what an Eton Master (Mr. C. H. K. Marten) some years ago described in *The Times* as 'that wonderful system of Secondary Schools now scattered all over the country' were the Endowed Schools Commissioners, Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Roby and Mr. Griffith Boscawen.[1] Again, looking forward from 1895, it becomes evident that the growth of our modern system of secondary education does not date from the Act of 1902, although that Act provided the means by which forces already at work could find expression.

Of the thoroughness, or otherwise, of the education provided by the endowed and proprietary school of those days and of the parental attitude towards secondary education, all that can justly be said is that both exhibited the widest variations between school and school, district and district, parent and parent.

It should be remembered that the idea of secondary education as a second stage in education following upon a primary stage was at this time virtually unknown in England. The grammar schools were generally regarded as schools which catered for a different social order from that attending the elementary schools, although a few scholars from the elementary schools might, it was thought, profitably spend a couple of years at a grammar school after leaving the elementary school at 13 and before becoming apprenticed.

The established schools such as Manchester and Bradford

[1]Mr. Roby, who is now perhaps better remembered as the author of a Latin Grammar, was Secretary to the Commission from 1864–1868 and a Commissioner up to 1874. He subsequently became M.P. for a Manchester division, and was a Governor of the Manchester Grammar School and Hulme Grammar School.

Grammar Schools were already supplying an education which, if cramped as judged by modern standards, was at least threatening the prerogative of the 'Public Schools' in the production of sound scholarship, and the capture of the prizes offered by the universities. The tendency to attempt to force all scholars into an antique mould instead of endeavouring to find the mould to fit the individual scholar was of course still strong. But it was giving way gradually under the material inducement of the Science and Art Department grants.

Of some of the smaller and remoter schools perhaps the less said the better. As the Rev. M. G. Glazebrook told the Bryce Commission:[1] 'The (Manchester) Grammar School is an efficient first-grade school numbering about 800 boys; the Hulme School is a successful second-grade school on a smaller scale. That would be a poor provision for Manchester and Salford alone with their population of 600,000. But not more than two-thirds of the boys come from Manchester and Salford.

'The rest come in by train from Oldham, Bolton, Rochdale and Bury and a score of outlying towns. I have even known boys come daily from Fleetwood (40 miles) and Huddersfield (35 miles). The reason is that in those towns there are no efficient schools. In some like Oldham there has hitherto been no secondary school at all. In others, there are small grammar schools, which produce such miserable results, that all parents who desire solid teaching are obliged to send their boys into Manchester. Out of a population of five or six millions, that is, some 1200 boys are enjoying an efficient secondary education. If that were a district in Germany there would be at least one good school for every 100,000 inhabitants.'

Moreover for every parent who was prepared to send his boy 80 miles daily for secondary education there were no doubt many at the opposite extreme. Their attitude may

[1] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 5, p. 455.

perhaps best be summed up in the words of the Devonshire farmer reported by the Bryce Commission to have said: 'My boys want to go in for bicycling and athletics and these 'ologies, but I say to them—A man consists of three parts, back, belly and brains. Now this technical education may work the brains but it won't fill the belly; but if you work the back you can fill the belly and so get on.'

No system of inspection, of course, existed to ensure either that those who benefited by endowments, worth three-quarters of a million, were in any sense capable of profiting by secondary education, or that those who gave it kept up their educational qualifications. It is to be feared that there must have existed many quiet backwaters where the staff would have echoed the retort of an Endowed School Headmaster to an official of the Charity Commission: 'My dear Sir, ambition and I have long been strangers.'

The tendency, already noted, for children to stay longer at school than the strict letter of the law enjoined was, however, presenting a new problem to the more active School Boards. By 1895 there were nearly half a million children over 12 and 250,000 over 13 in the elementary schools, and obviously the conception of a militia training supplemented by a small professional army in the ancient grammar schools was breaking down. For every year an increasing number of children worked through the 7 standards and was found to be capable, where the necessary equipment existed, of earning for the school the grants made available by the Science and Art Department. Now to give such children an adequate training not only special equipment but specially trained staff were desirable. Moreover the principle of concentration already applied to pupil teachers by certain School Boards, with such gratifying results in the form of Queen's Scholarship Examination successes, had already been well understood for the past 10 years.[1] Sir Philip Magnus, an educational reformer 40 years ahead of

[1] *C.C. Final Report*, pp. 90 and 271.

his time, who lived to see many of his dreams realised, had as early as 1887 given the following exposition of a substantial part of what would now be called the 'Hadow' policy: 'Among the advantages of the grading of schools and of the establishment of higher elementary schools may be mentioned the fact that by collecting together the élite from a large number of different schools better instruction can be provided than if the instruction is given to a few pupils in a large number of different schools. I think this is a strong reason for the establishment of higher elementary schools. For in these schools scientific instruction might be given in laboratories provided with suitable appliances, and drawing might be taught in rooms furnished with the necessary models, and handicraft instruction might be given in workshops provided with the requisite tools. Great economy, I believe, would be effected by the collection of the best children from the ordinary elementary schools into graded schools thus furnished.'[1]

The solution to which Sir Philip Magnus pointed, namely, the Higher Grade, Central or Higher Elementary Schools, was in fact widely adopted, and to modern educational thought the rapid growth of these schools in the 1890's, so cruelly cut back by the 'Cockerton' judgment of 1899, must always appear one of the 'might have beens' of English educational history. For had not Sir Robert Morant, in his midnight reading, found just one answer out of 60,000 given to the Cross Commission[2] which threw doubts on their legality, and had he not communicated that doubt to his friend Dr. Garnett, the Hadow reorganisation might have become possible a decade or more before 1926. Moreover England might have developed, parallel to the secondary school system, a complete system of schools providing alternative forms of secondary education, of a highly practical type, akin to the German Realschulen and to what we now know as junior technical and commercial schools.

[1]*C.C.R.*, Vol. 2, 28,616. [2]Answer, 35,481.

By 1895 the growth of these schools had not, it is true, proceeded very far. A detailed investigation of the 300-page list of schools aided by Parliamentary grants discloses no more than 67 schools specifically termed higher grade, containing 24,584 scholars, while the Association of Headmasters of higher grade schools had as yet under 50 members. Moreover the term 'higher grade', like the term 'central' to-day, did not mean the same thing from area to area. The majority undoubtedly 'creamed off' those scholars who had passed Standard VII from the whole district, seeking to carry their education beyond the elementary stage and to give them a practical education fitted to their future occupation. But there were others where the permission to continue to charge fees—and higher fees at that because the education cost more—conferred a social rather than an educational *cachet*. Lastly there were so-called higher grade schools which combined both 'social' and 'selective' features and had in addition a full range of younger children.

Their greatest stronghold was in Lancashire and the North, and the evidence of the Rev. M. G. Glazebrook quoted above no doubt supplies the reason. The Bryce Commission found 14 higher grade schools in Lancashire containing 7664 scholars and 12 in the West Riding containing 8263 scholars.

A number of the secondary and higher grade schools were recognised as 'Organised Science Schools'. In theory an organised Science School could be a separate entity sustained by the grants paid on results by the Science and Art Department at South Kensington. In fact, in the first ten years after their creation only one school (Nottingham High Pavement) existed. In the next ten years (up to 1895) 92 more schools were recognised. Only after 1895, when capitation grants replaced payment by results and modifications[1] were introduced in the 'Directory' to allow schools to be recognised in spite of the taint of humanism, did the

[1] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 2, 1243–1296.

number increase with any rapidity. On the other hand, a number of schools contained separately organised science and art classes, the total, including evening classes, amounting to 3011.

To sum up. The revival in the numbers attending the endowed schools had evidently proceeded steadily since the Endowed Schools Commission had imparted the first impetus to it. But, apart from those pupils in attendance at certain of the specially favoured schools, usually those in large towns, probably not more than 30,000 out of a total attendance of 75,000 were as yet receiving an education which would be recognised either in point of quality or length of school life as a sound secondary education to-day. That is, few of the schools were yet able to 'offer to each of their scholars a general education of a wider scope and higher grade than that of an elementary school, given through a complete progressive course of instruction continuing up to and beyond the age of 16', and 'in a group of subjects so selected as to ensure due breadth and solidity in the education given'. The salaries of the staff were lamentably inadequate, even lower than those of favoured elementary school teachers. Finally, many of the grammar schools were beginning to feel the competition of the higher grade schools with their lower fees and more practical education, a competition which was to reduce seriously the numbers in the London endowed secondary schools before 1902.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE LAST DAYS OF THE SCHOOL BOARDS

The Education Act of 1902.—Its interest and what it achieved.—Its place in the history of English Education.—The part played by Mr. Morant.—The chaos in the central control of public education.—Gradual rejection of *laissez faire* by local government opinion.—The Local Government Act of 1888 completes the system of Local Government.—Sir Francis Sandford's attempt to bring education into the main stream of Local Government.—Its failure.—The views of the Bryce Commission.—The unpopularity of the smaller School Boards.—Their parochialism.—The new county councils ready to take charge of all forms of education.—The difficulty, rate aid for the voluntary schools.—The Duke of Devonshire versus Sir John Gorst.—The Higher Grade Schools a final obstacle.—Their dramatic destruction by the Cockerton Judgment.

IT is an axiom of political thought that, however desirable it may seem to translate the views of the time into an Act of Parliament, it is not sufficient for those views to be felt keenly by a few of the population for all of the time and by a larger proportion for some of the time. If the Act is to be worked it must receive the assent of the majority for all of the time. Public opinion, in fact, may be moulded but it cannot be driven.

Thus to the social historian the real interest of an Act of Parliament is often not so much its precise terms, and the interplay of parliamentary forces by which they were fixed, as, first, the slowly moving currents of public opinion which converging, naturally or by human design, produced it; secondly, the results which flowed from it.

From both these points of view the Education Act of 1902 is one of the most interesting, in the sphere of social legislation, which has ever found its way on to the Statute Book. For, in the first place, although its main outlines had been on paper since 1888, it is at least doubtful whether they could have obtained a sufficient measure of parliamentary assent at any time within the 14-year interval, despite Lord Rosebery's anxiety at the time of appointing the Bryce Commission in 1894 to undertake some such comprehensive legislation. Two earlier attempts, that of 1896 to be referred to later and an end of session attempt in 1899, had in fact already failed. The knowledge that the Government could not afford to fail a third time probably had a good deal to do with Mr. A. J. Balfour's decision to take charge of the Bill himself—although he was First Lord of the Treasury and became Prime Minister during its passage. In the second place, even when the Act had reached the Statute Book, after one of the most bitterly contested passages in history, it was in certain respects so far in advance of public opinion that it gave rise to a substantial passive resistance movement involving 70,000 prosecutions for non-payment of rates, and took some years to gain acceptance in Wales. Lastly, as the first Act to deal with education in England and Wales as an integrated whole, it achieved three remarkable results at once. The first of these results was the extinction of no less than 2568 School Boards, and the abolition of the direct access to Whitehall, with no intermediary, hitherto enjoyed by 14,238 bodies of Voluntary School Managers. By the substitution of 328 Local Education Authorities for this multiplicity of small or independent bodies education was for the first time brought into the main stream of central and local finance. Remembering that the School Boards had in most cases enjoyed a clear run of 30 or more years in which to establish vested interests, this achievement would have been sufficiently remarkable standing alone. But it was excelled by the second achievement, the conferring of rate aid upon the hard-pressed voluntary schools which had

hitherto subsisted on 'grants, endowments, ping-pong tournaments, whist drives and jumble sales'. This achievement, by securing that the salaries of teachers, whether serving in board or voluntary schools, were all paid from a common initial source—the rates—set in train that movement which ultimately led to the Burnham salary scales.

Thirdly, the Act unobtrusively, and probably to the surprise of its authors,[1] launched a great system of higher education, accompanied by an astonishing expansion of the facilities for passage from the elementary grade of education to the secondary.

With the Act of 1899, which established the Board of Education, the Education Act of 1902 is still the bedrock of our modern educational system.

To appreciate the genesis of these two Acts and to form some estimate of the forces which might have brought them to shipwreck, it is necessary to go back to the evidence of witnesses before the Cross Commission fifteen years before, and the Bryce Commission seven years before, for anyone familiar with this evidence will be able to detect every point made in the introductory speeches of Mr. A. J. Balfour and Sir Robert Finlay (who spoke for the Government in the absence on first reading of Sir John Gorst).

Undoubtedly, too, the most interesting way in which to study the Acts is to survey the educational scene, not as described in the last chapter when seen through modern eyes, but as it must have presented itself to an educational administrator lately returned from abroad, namely, Mr. (later Sir Robert) Morant. For he it was upon whose broad shoulders the burden of the initial administrative synthesis largely fell; the assessment of the forces at work; the calcula-

[1]See Mr. A. J. Balfour's admissions quoted by Halévy in his *History of the English People, 1895–1905*, p. 207. Also footnote on p. 201. An even more interesting clue to Mr. Balfour's subsequent concern at the cost of the machine he had set in motion will be found in a speech he delivered on 1st March, 1907, *H.*, Vol. 107, Col. 428.

tion of the probable balance between the general desire of the Liberal opposition for a move forward and their reluctance to pay the Unionist price by bringing the church schools on the rates; and finally the measures necessary to fit together elementary and higher education into an articulated whole. Moreover, as we can now appreciate, he must all the time have had to disguise his fear that if the Bill failed, the forces of tradition and the vested interests of the School Boards would probably combine to prevent its resurrection, and to disguise even more completely (owing to the cost of the South African War[1]) an almost passionate conviction that education in this country could never hope to enjoy the financial resources it would require unless it was brought into the main stream of central and local finance. This realisation and the superhuman efforts which he put out in organising the Board of Education, lobbying in favour of the Bill, and advising Mr. Balfour simultaneously, constitute Sir Robert Morant's greatest contribution to English education.

Morant had hitherto imagined that his career lay in the East where, as tutor to the Crown Prince of Siam and later Educational Adviser to the Court, he had earned the title of 'the uncrowned king of Siam'. He returned to this country in 1894, having as he imagined seen 'the things he gave his life to broken'. How must he have regarded the educational scene? Probably the first thing which would strike him as an administrator would be the muddle at the Centre, which was to be dealt with by the creation in 1899 of the Board of Education to co-ordinate and supervise the development of all forms of education.

Mr. (later Lord) Goschen when President of the Local Government Board in the 70's, looking at the Local Government scene of the day, had told Parliament: 'There is chaos as regards authorities, a chaos as regards rates and a worse chaos than all as regards areas of taxation.'

[1]See particularly Dr. B. M. Allen's *Life of Sir Robert Morant*, 1934, p. 168.

Something of this chaos still persisted in the multiplicity of authorities which divided among them the control of education in Whitehall.

From the office of the Privy Council in Downing Street the Education Department wove its web of annual Codes for the uniform regulation of the elementary schools, assessing the grant annually on every individual school in the country and endeavouring to correspond directly with the 2568 School Boards and the correspondents of the 14,238 schools which were independent of School Board control. That the Department's endeavours to do so expeditiously were not always crowned with success is evident from the complaint made to the Cross Commission by the Chairman of the Manchester School Board that they had been waiting 10 months for a reply to an important letter!

From Gwydyr House on the opposite side of Whitehall the Charity Commission made new schemes for such of the endowed schools as desired them, priding themselves on their advanced outlook in the matter of making concessions to the upstart claims of science to a place alongside the time-honoured 'classical studies'.

At South Kensington the Science and Art Department—whose grants were also paid on results until 1895, but whose 'Code' was known as the 'Directory'—lost no opportunity to extend its sphere of influence impartially among the higher grade schools, the secondary schools, and the evening continuation schools. If all was fish which fell into its net, it is to be feared that before 1895 the curriculum of many of the schools which were enmeshed tended to become sadly warped by the undue insistence on a preponderantly scientific training. In that year new rules, requiring a sound course of literary instruction with one modern language, began to adjust the balance between literary and purely scientific instruction.[1]

Finally, yet another of the Whitehall Departments—the

[1] *B.C.R.*, Vol. 3, 11,972; Vol. 4, 17,309.

Board of Agriculture—made grants to universities and to one County Council in aid of agricultural education.

In all, ten members of the Cabinet controlled educational institutions supported out of the rates and taxes.

It is not perhaps fair to suggest that no liaison whatever existed between the three Departments principally concerned, for a joint departmental committee was appointed before the Bryce Commission came into being 'to consider generally the question of a properly organised system of secondary education for England and Wales, and particularly the relation to one another of the three Departments represented on the Committee'. The Bryce Committee's appointment terminated the first but not the second of this committee's terms of reference, and we are told that the committee afforded a valuable organisation to avoid contradictory or inconsistent action. On the other hand, the avoidance of contradictory or inconsistent action is a very different thing from the harmonious working of a single great Department of State free from those inter-departmental jealousies which must have complicated the labours of Mr. Bryce and his colleagues, and which complicated still more the early days of Sir Robert Morant when he became Permanent Secretary. Members of the staff transferred from the Charity Commission to the Board of Education to deal with secondary schools used to recall the saying in pre-Board of Education days that 'the secondary schools are administered by gentlemen for gentlemen, the elementary schools by men for men, but the technical schools by cads for cads!' The jealousies of the Departments of course obtrude themselves on the notice of anyone who reads between the lines of the witnesses' evidence to the Bryce Commission. The Charity Commission perhaps took a proselytising interest in the Education Department, but the Science and Art Department as 'poachers' were anathema to both.

In the provinces, on the other hand, the shape of things to come could already be dimly discerned.

Fawcett's *Political Economy*, first published in 1863, was

still widely read by those interested in Local Government—even by Cardinal Archbishops.[1] But it no longer, by its appeal to the good Victorian principles of individualism and 'self-help', ruled administrative thought so exclusively as it had a generation earlier. For the achievements of the Birmingham 'Radical' school of Liberalism were beginning to overshadow those of the Manchester school. Those Birmingham Liberals who had even dared to say 'Let us acquire the gas undertaking and run it for the benefit of the town' were making men wonder if there might not after all be some fallacy in Fawcett's uncompromising dictum that 'the conclusion above all others which we desire to enforce is that any scheme, however well-intentioned it may be, will indefinitely increase every evil it seeks to alleviate if it lessens individual responsibility by encouraging the people to rely less upon themselves and more upon the State'. The assertion of one M.P. in the First Reading Debate on the Bill that 'the tendency and the spirit of the age are in favour of municipal socialism' may of course seem an exaggeration to modern notions. On the other hand the Fabian Society—many of whose leading members Morant would meet at Toynbee Hall—and other thinkers were continually widening the circle of those inclined to inquire whether in fact the best, fairest and cheapest way to secure the services they wanted was not by co-operation through the rates; nor is it probable that an observer returning from abroad could fail to notice how the whole tendency of the times seemed to be for Parliament to devolve upon the Local Authorities new schemes for social amelioration calling into existence new rates.[2]

Most important of all, the desire to straighten out the over-

[1]See Cardinal Manning, question to Lord Lingen in final volume of evidence to Cross Commission.

[2]Fawcett quotes ten cases: the Burial Board Rate, the Public Library and Museum Rate, the General District Rate, the Sewerage Rate, the Parish Improvement Rate, the Animals' Contagious Diseases Rate, the Borough Lunatic Asylum Rate, the Borough Baths and Washhouses Rate, the Borough Improvement Rate and the Borough Burial Board Rate.

lapping and financial chaos to which this tendency had given rise had led at last to the completion of the system of Local Government by the creation of the County Councils in 1888. At last a stock had been provided upon which an articulated system of education could be grafted.

Against these imponderable tendencies Mr. Morant would no doubt balance others.

If the Local Government Act of 1888 had provided a stock, the first attempt to graft education on to that stock had proved abortive.

It had been made by Sir Francis Sandford, a former Secretary to the Education Department, when serving as a member of the Cross Commission. Just before the Local Government Act was published he had presented to the Commission a memorandum showing how the County Councils, proposed in the new Local Government Bill, could take over the work of the School Boards and assume the responsibility for aiding the voluntary schools.[1]

A study of the text suggests that he had at least shown the draft to Lord Lingen and Mr. Patrick Cumin, his predecessor and successor respectively, at the Education Department. More probably the files of the Education Department would show that the three had worked out the plan together. For Mr. Cumin had told the Commission that to establish areas wider than those of the rural school boards would present undoubted administrative advantages.

No doubt he was thinking of the county boards recommended by the Newcastle Commission twenty years before and also by the Royal Commission on Technical Education, 1884, who had reported (Vol. I, p. 517): 'It is to be desired that in the proposed reorganisation of local government, power should be given to important local bodies like the proposed County Boards and the municipal corporations, to originate and support secondary and technical schools in conformity with the public opinion, for the time being, of their

[1] *C.C. Final Report*, pp. 204 and 233.

constituents.' County Boards, he explained, would get rid of an immense number of elections and perpetual expense—the last School Board elections had cost £50,000. A very superior class of person, including ladies who would not face a school board election, would be attracted to serve on education committees; jealousies between school and school might be expected to decline; finally, county authorities would have far less difficulty than voluntary managers in raising money for necessary improvements and would be able to employ skilled supervisors of handicraft, cookery, physical training and needlework.

Lord Lingen's mind too had been shown by his evidence to be moving in the same direction, and Lord Lingen's mind may be taken for all practical purposes to have represented the mind of the Treasury, from the Secretaryship of which he had recently retired. It was not of course the case that their Lordships' solicitude for elementary education was such that they were anxious to spend more upon it, although the time was one of unparalleled budgetary prosperity.[1] Quite the reverse. Lord Lingen had in fact seen the Education Department as a colander. The more money their Lordships poured into it the more holes it found through which to escape and the less could the demand for the next year be calculated. To Lord Lingen devolution to county boards was attractive because it would enable a scheme of block grants to be instituted as a barrier against parliamentary pressure and the importunities and inventiveness of the Education Department. The Treasury policy towards education has at least been consistent for the past 40 years, although their experience of block grants under the Local Government Act of 1929—

[1] I have used the word 'budgetary' advisedly, because although there was usually a substantial annual surplus about this time and our invisible imports in the way of interest on capital invested abroad (producing 100 millions annually) were buoyant, there was a good deal of anxiety about our industries and commercial position *vis-à-vis* Germany and the U.S.A., whose exports were rising, whereas ours were stationary or decreasing. (See Halévy, *op. cit.* Chap. I.)

which was followed by such sharp changes in the values of money—may have shaken their old beliefs.

The majority of the Commission—Mr. Morant would no doubt observe—had been impressed by the evidence of these two witnesses. But like other Commissions after them they had shrunk from the consequences of their own logic. 'We recommend,' they had said, 'that the school boards might in time, if not at once, be merged in the local authorities charged with the general civil administration.' 'Sir Francis Sandford has prepared a scheme; without expressing any opinion upon it we think it worthy of consideration.' 'But in the present uncertainty as to the form which county government may hereafter take it would be premature to make any definite recommendations as to the nature and the powers of the local educational authorities which it may be necessary to constitute.'[1]

Those who signed the minority report, on the other hand, angered by the readiness of the majority to contemplate rate aid for the voluntary schools, had been frankly caustic.

'Lord Lingen brings the vigilant economy of an ex-Secretary of the Treasury to bear against the tendency to increase the burden on the Exchequer. Mr. Cumin brings the grievances of an overworked secretary to the Education Department to bear, from other motives in the same direction, the decentralisation of our educational machinery and the throwing [*sic*] more responsibility and more power on local authorities. . . . We are of opinion that the large changes opened up by the evidence of Lord Lingen and Mr. Cumin, of which aid from the rates to denominational teaching forms only a small part, would not be acceptable to the mass of voluntary managers who value highly their present direct relations with the Education Department, and, while we dissent from their views, we think that the consideration of so extensive a revolution must be consequent on any new scheme of local government that may pass into Law'.[2]

[1] *C.C. Final Report*, pp. 204 and 222. [2] *C.C. Final Report*, p. 356.

If the scheme put forward by so able and authoritative a team as Sir Francis Sandford, Lord Lingen and Mr. Cumin had proved stillborn so recently as 1888, were the chances of reviving that scheme any brighter now seven years had passed? On the whole they must certainly have seemed to Mr. Morant to be distinctly brighter. For a great deal of water had flowed under Westminster Bridge in the interval.

In the first place the Bryce Commission (1895), with seven years' experience of the working of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, and the distribution of the 'Whiskey Money' by county councils to guide them, had begun their consideration of the chaos at the centre and the problem in the provinces where the Cross Commission left off. Where the Cross Commissioners had groped in the dark the Bryce Commissioners—as it were—emerged on a fully lighted stage. Where the Cross Commission were divided they were unanimous. 'Some central authority is required, not in order to control, but rather to supervise the Secondary Education of this country:' 'it ought to consist of a Department of the Executive Government, presided over by a Minister responsible to Parliament, who would obviously be the same Minister as the one to whom the charge of elementary education is entrusted.' He should be served by 'a permanent secretary with a general oversight of the various branches' 'and qualified Secondary Inspectors'. The Minister should be advised by an Educational Council (Consultative Committee). Further 'There should be created Local Authorities for Secondary Education in every county and in every county borough; that is to say speaking generally boroughs with a population exceeding 50,000.' Moreover 'it should be the duty of the Central Office to require from the various local authorities a statement of the provision existing or proposed to be by them created for Secondary Education in their respective areas and to consider these statements for the purpose of ascertaining whether that provision is or will be sufficient in quantity and quality, due regard being had to the character and wants of the population of each area.'

So much for the future organisation of secondary education for which Matthew Arnold had pleaded so eloquently and for so many years. He had died before the Bryce Commission reported, but their references to him and quotations from his works show the influence he had exercised upon them.

'But,' Mr. Morant must have wondered, 'can the school boards be expected to assent to their extinction, and the handing over of their powers to the county and county borough councils, without a severe struggle? Do the county and county borough councils want those powers? And if so, which can be expected to secure the greater sympathy from members of parliament, the sitting tenants or their would-be dispossessors?'

On this point he may have felt more at ease. For the smaller school boards had probably made themselves fairly unpopular; the number of members of parliament who regarded 'looking after roads and bridges' as the proper business of the new county councils was decreasing, and the number of county councils which expected to be given the control of all forms of education was increasing; and finally a large number of those who served as members of the better school boards had also gained seats in their town and county councils.

The unpopularity of many of the smaller school boards appears to have gone deeper than that normally to be expected by bodies sufficiently small for their members to be known personally to many of those whom they are called upon to regulate. It should, moreover, be remembered that only 1,189 out of the 2,527 had been brought into existence by popular demand. The remaining 1,355 had been formed compulsorily or of necessity to replace closed schools. Moreover if the enforcement of school attendance had made them unpopular with the rank and file of the parents, they had become unpopular too with the intelligensia of the day, among whom Mr. Morant moved. On this point the contemporary reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors leave no possible doubt. A single example will suffice:

'On the bombardment of the vicar of one of these parishes —by the vicar of the other—who (by help of the village blacksmith's battering ram) smashed through the door of this same school and captured the meeting (going on inside) under the chairmanship of the above-mentioned vicar (the former) —the management has fallen into the hands of a committee. This though not a School Board, too faithfully represents the faults of small rural Boards.

'A neighbouring similar Board Chairman asked me if I could find them a mistress over 40 as (he whispered) one of the members of the Board is dead on any woman under 40. This very chairman who signs this letter was dragged drunken out of a public house by women who literally tore out his whiskers so that he was seriously ill for a time. . . . When I had occasion to complain of the schoolmaster's visits to the alehouse, they alleged their incapacity to interfere as they met him there!

'To me, it is astonishing that the wider areas so long pronounced advisable by good authorities still lag behind. I wish the heads of the Department could be asked to read this, as it is in their power to shape coming legislation'.

Well might Mr. Sidney Webb remark that the smaller school boards had made themselves hated and even the sober Mr. Asquith admit that 'The School Board system has not been a success!'

Mr. Forster had indeed proposed in the original draft of his Bill in 1870 to make the electoral body for the school boards the town councils, and in counties the select vestries, or failing that the vestries.

It was perhaps natural that they should have belied their first promise. Men of the stamp of Huxley who were attracted to school board membership immediately after the Act of 1870 could not perhaps be expected to face for long the turmoil and expense of repeated elections—especially since the expenses of a single election in a large town might amount to as much as £700. All too often the Huxleys were replaced by those who sought election from less disinterested

motives; the status it would give them in their local community or the power of patronage. Dark stories began to be told and no doubt exaggerated in the telling; of teachers, for example, who had been given to understand that the reversion of a coveted headship would be brought distinctly nearer by a subscription to a school board member's organ fund. Thus one witness after another before the Cross Commission expressed dissatisfaction with the increasingly parochial outlook, the lack of education or the greed for 'cheap labour' of those who had begun to secure election, particularly to the rural boards, after the initial supply of enthusiasts had dropped out.

One reads of the cab stall proprietor whose knowledge of education was nil but who was elected to the local school board by the cumulative vote of the local cabbies because he sold good coffee; of farmers who put up the fees to children as soon as they reached the age of exemption in order to force them out into the fields; of the candidate who was disallowed election expenses of £60 spent on 'oyster patties'; and, strangest of all to modern notions, of the notice posted in a school to the effect that double fees would be charged in future in respect of any children whose parents had joined the labourers' union!

These were no doubt extreme cases but they serve to illustrate the weaknesses to which small 'ad hoc' authorities were prone fifty years ago, the criticisms to which they were subjected and the stories which Mr. Morant would hear—with embellishments—in the clubs. Indeed the evidence shows that they were being told in the lobbies of the House of Commons itself. How stories such as these must have reinforced Mr. Morant's longing to sweep away an outworn system and bring it into the main current of local government! How the administrator in him must have despaired at the sight of education in the hands of 'ad hoc' bodies so small that the addition of a single teacher to their schools would often involve a penny on the rates! In Northants, for instance, there were 40 boards, 23 exercising jurisdiction over as

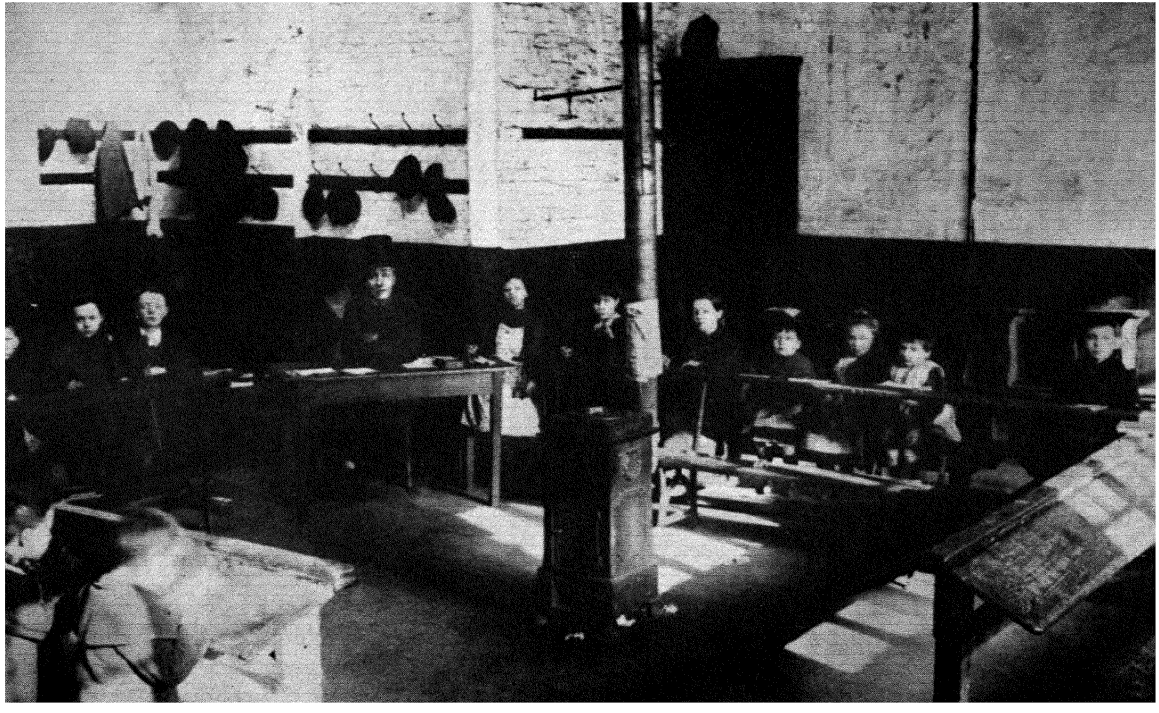
population of less than 1,000, one over a population of less than 250. Moreover by 1902 only about half as many voters went to the poll to vote at school board elections as at county council elections.

As to the willingness of the majority of the county and county borough councils to add education to their growing powers and duties there could be little doubt. The fundamental of crowd psychology, that every crowd likes to increase its number and sense of its own importance, could be trusted to operate. Moreover the success of the county committees established by the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, under which at least 15 new secondary schools had been opened by 1895, had been impressive; the English county councils too had acquired a taste for dealing with education through the Technical Instruction Acts and the Whiskey Money; and this had made them inquire 'If secondary and technical education why not elementary?' As Mr. Haldane remarked 'Local Government begins to show signs of getting uninteresting'.

In the first reading debate on the Bill of 1902 Sir John Dorington announced that his county (Gloucester) had been looking forward to a Bill of this kind for many years, and that he was strongly of opinion that the county councils would be found quite capable of undertaking and willing to undertake the work. One can almost picture Mr. Morant settling more comfortably into the uncomfortable seats of the officials' gallery to the right of the Speaker's chair!

One question remained. How far had public opinion progressed in a tolerance of the notion of bringing the church schools on to the rates?

This was the crux of the whole matter, for no advance could be made towards a national system of secondary and technical education except on the basis of an efficient system of elementary education. There could be no profit in attempting to teach a boy engineering if he had first to attend a preparatory class to learn over again what he should have learnt in the elementary school.



'The real difficulty lay with the rural areas.' A rural school of the 90's (see p. 23)

How far could the voluntary schools, with their devoted £40 teachers, offer this efficient preparatory teaching, for they numbered over 14,000 and contained more than half the school population? In at least 8,500 districts, too, the parent had no choice at all. The law compelled him to send his child to the denominational school—and there were no omnibus services. The most he could do was to make himself and his child conspicuous by exercising his right to have the child withdrawn from religious instruction.

The answer was clear. However devoted the teachers, the voluntary schools could very rarely offer anything comparable to the strictly educational advantages of the rate-fed board schools. Their premises and equipment were inferior; their teaching staff less well qualified;[1] their income from subscriptions, although double that raised in 1870,[2] only equivalent to 6*s*. 5*d*. a child plus a special aid grant of 5*s*. as compared with the 25*s*. 6*d*. per board school child contributed by the rates.

Yet the child in the voluntary school was just as much a citizen of to-morrow as the child in the board school.

It was clear that the voluntary schools must either be ended or mended.

If Mr. Morant and others saw this clearly,[3] and the Vice-President of the Council (Sir John Gorst) 'saw no difficulties', why did the Lord President (the Duke of Devonshire) 'see nothing else'?[4]

[1]*H*., Vol. CVII, Col. 905—In the board schools 51% of the teachers were fully certificated; in the voluntary schools 38%.

In the board schools there were 76 children to each certificated teacher; in the voluntary schools, 103.

In the board schools the cost of teaching staff was 45*s*. 2*d*. a child; in the voluntary schools, 35*s*. 2*d*.

[2]*H*., Vol. CVII, Col. 904—1870: 8,281 schools, 1,693,000 children, income, £418,000; 1902: 14,319 schools, 3,056,000 children, income, £863,000.

[3]See letter from Dr. Garnett to Mr. Morant quoted on p. 113 of *Memoir of William Garnett* by Dr. B. M. Allen.

[4]Sir Almeric Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 62.

Historical perspective favours the judgment of the Duke, who as nominal leader of the Liberal Unionists was of course in a difficult position.

In the first place the last parliamentary election which had been in any real sense indicative of the balance of forces likely to be encountered on a question of domestic policy—as distinct from foreign relations, imperial development and the Boer war—had been a very near thing. The Unionists (340) and Liberal Unionists (71) had, as it appeared, secured in 1895 a comfortable majority of 152 over their Liberal (177) and Irish Nationalist (82) opponents. But it was in reality a majority with feet of clay. In fact it rested on nothing more substantial than a 76% poll and, more ominous still, a margin of a bare 31,000 votes. Clearly despite the 'khaki' election of 1900 Liberalism was not dead. Rather it was disrupted, disunited or dormant. At any time it might be galvanized into life by an issue of home politics upon which all shades of Liberal opinion could be induced to feel sufficiently strongly.

Nor could the available religious statistics have afforded the Duke much ground for confidence. For a number of religious censuses made about this time all told the same story. The six leading Nonconformist denominations provided seats in their places of worship for 9,610,000; the Church of England for no more than 6,718,000. How many of these seats were occupied was of course more doubtful. George Cadbury's religious census of Birmingham in 1892 had shown that the seating accommodation in Anglican, Catholic and Nonconformist places of worship in that city could barely hold a quarter of the population, and not one million in the five million in London, it was supposed, ever visited church or chapel.

The rolls of the Nonconformist Sunday schools contained 3,103,285 names; those of the Church of England 2,329,813. Again it was stated that 1,000,000 children, or nearly half the total number in the Anglican voluntary day schools, were Nonconformists.[1] Next—the Duke must have wondered—

[1] *H.*, Vol. CVII, Col. 1102.

would the rural voter welcome higher rates as readily as his county council was likely to welcome the control of the voluntary schools, a control which would be bound to raise those rates? For the rural voter was then, as now, the mainstay of the Duke's adopted allies the Tories, and then, as now, he paid his taxes in sorrow but his rates in anger.[1]

To put the whole of the children in the voluntary schools on the rates, at the 15*s.* a child required to bring the expenditure per head up to that of the board schools, would cost several millions. Some of the county councils had spent the Whiskey Money readily enough, but not all. Gloucestershire was in 1902 still only giving a moiety, Hereford half. Even London had applied £1,100,000 to relief of rates in 10 years. That, however, was other people's money. Would they spend their constituents'? No county council had as yet dared to raise a rate over its area as a whole to supplement the Whiskey Money.[2] When they were suddenly faced with the necessity to demand 4*d.*, 5*d.* or 6*d.* more in rates from those in whose power it was to express their indignation at the polls, would they face the outcry? Might they not rather seek to level down the board school expenditure in order to balance the new charges for the voluntary schools? Or might they not demand that the Exchequer should foot the bill? The Royal Commission on Local Taxation had recently been incautious enough to refer to education as a 'national service'. Worse still, the First Lord of the Treasury himself (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had included in his election address in 1895 'Poor Law and School Board rates to be charged on the Imperial Exchequer'—although he had since repudiated such an alarming intention.[3]

Lastly, the Duke must often have had cause to exclaim,

[1]See letter from one of the Duke's chief supporters quoted by Dr. B. M. Allen, *Life of Sir Robert Morant*, p. 164.

[2]*Fabian Tract*, 106, p. 5. In 1899–1900 22 county boroughs added £44,960 to their Whiskey Money. A few counties levied a rate on part of their areas.

[3]*H.*, Vol. CVII, Col. 905.

like many politicians both before and after him, 'Oh Lord, save us from our adopted friends'. The Churches might justly remind him that they had provided and largely sustained what education there was before 1870. They might with equal justice claim that the parsons had often come to control the schools for the simple reason that they were usually the only people in the neighbourhood who took any real interest in education. Nevertheless some of those parsons had behaved very badly and some very incautiously. 'Our syllabus is arranged so as to give distinctive denominational instruction.' Canon Pennington, a diocesan inspector of schools for 20 years, had written in the *Guardian* on 4th August, 1897, 'I always saw it was given, and always asked the children, *chiefly the children of the Nonconformists*, questions bearing upon it. Thus in fact we trained the children of the Nonconformists to be children of the Church.'

Poor Duke! He was probably a much shrewder man of affairs than later educational critics have supposed. But as a survivor from an earlier 'patrician' era in political life he must have found it a difficult matter to adjust himself to the new ideas stirring beneath the surface. For example, his contemporaries were not slow to attach to him the story told by Mr. Winston Churchill of his father, Lord Randolph, that, confronted with the decimal points in his estimates, he had complained wearily that he could never understand those damned dots! With what a delicious sense of a painful duty to be tactfully performed he must have put his head round Sir John Gorst's door on his return from the Cabinet meeting which had decided to abandon the Bill of 1896. And yet the only words of comfort which rose to his lips were 'Gorst, your damned Bill's dead!'

This Bill, after passing its second reading by a big majority, made no progress after 11 days in Committee owing to the revolt of the smaller boroughs whose school boards were to be extinguished, and the joint objections of the teachers and the Nonconformists to 'right of entry'. This the teachers had

always resisted, and the Nonconformists had not sufficient clergy to implement.

But if the Bill of 1896 was dead, Sir John Gorst was still very much alive. So were the Church authorities who had already seen the writing on the wall in the Liberal Welsh Disestablishment Bill of 1894. Both set out to learn what lessons their failure had to offer. The Church must close her ranks. The Vice-President must recognise that, the school boards being radical strongholds, he could not hope to hand over all education to the county and county borough authorities. He must allow boroughs with a population over 10,000 and 'urban districts' with a population over 20,000 to retain powers over elementary education. Moreover, a way must be found to enable the Church school teachers to be better paid, without 'right of entry' for the clergymen of any denomination.

The Church, therefore, led by the bishops of Rochester and Winchester, redoubled its efforts to prevent collapse,[1] and set out its claims clearly in a lengthy statement by Convocation. Sir John Gorst on his part did much by administrative measures and minor legislation which appeared 'innocent' to bring about a position in which it could be represented that a final settlement did not change the existing order too drastically. Thus by a series of additional grants he set out to undermine the understanding which had formed the basis of the Act of 1870. That understanding had been that the cost of the denominational schools should be borne in equal thirds by fees, subscriptions and exchequer grants. By 1902 it had been so radically altered that the

[1] 'I think I can claim that the battle has been gallantly fought: the Bishops have everywhere put their whole influence into the task of heartening the clergy to keep on; the clergy have worked themselves in many places to the bone about it, subscriptions have very slightly fallen (in my Diocese not fallen). And all through spirit has been kept up by the belief that a change was coming, and that this Government would give relief'. Bishop of Rochester to the Prime Minister, 4th Dec., 1901. Quoted by Dr. B. M. Allen, *Life of Sir R. Morant*, p. 163.

exchequer was bearing 77% of the cost, subscriptions 14% and other sources of revenue the remaining 9%. The cost of public education, in fact, was doubled between 1895 and 1902.

More important still, the school leaving age was twice raised; first in 1899 to 12 without exemption, achieved by the Vice-President's precipitate and hearty support, without Cabinet authority, of a private member's Bill[1], secondly by a Government measure passed in 1900 under which school boards were permitted to make bye-laws raising the age in their area to 14.

The year 1899 also saw the first Act to deal with defective and epileptic children; and a system of annuities for teachers was instituted in 1898.

Clearly some new force was beginning to stir in the field of popular education, but one obstacle stood firmly in the way of comprehensive legislation — the system of higher grade schools. As we have seen, every year saw more and more of these schools coming into existence to meet the upward thrust of the hundreds of thousands of children now desiring to remain at school beyond the statutory leaving age, and to provide a substitute for secondary schools. There was therefore no time to be lost. For once a school board established such a school it soon began to take more pride in it than in any other aspect of its work. From this it followed that the greater the increase in the number of such schools, the greater would be the difficulty in getting the school boards to relinquish their powers to the county and county borough councils; the greater, too, the difficulty in establishing, against their competition, a system of secondary schools which could fulfil Mr. Morant's dream of rendering the pupil teacher system obsolete by providing an alternative stream of recruits to the teaching profession, every one the product of at least a partial course of secondary education.

[1]Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act, 1893. Amendment Act, 1899.

Obviously the higher grade schools could not be killed outright. But could they somehow be absorbed into the secondary system as the Bryce Commission had appeared to desire? Could it, for example, be proved that they were really not elementary schools at all and that the school boards had no business to conduct them? If some such thoughts as these were passing through the mind of Mr. Morant they were not, it is clear, shared by his official chief, Sir George Kekewich. Sir George, in fact, was making missionary journeys to tell the school boards that 'these advanced schools have now become not a mere luxury but an absolute necessity.'[1] Mr. Morant was still a very junior official. What was he to do? Was he submissively to watch his Permanent Secretary building the obstacle higher? Or was he to burn his boats and throw in his lot with those who, like Mr. Sharpe, the Senior Chief Inspector, had conceived a prejudice against higher grade schools and had told the Bryce Commission that they would be dangerous competitors if it were desired to set up a state system of secondary schools?[2] We know now the choice he made and the part he played in hatching a plot against them. As suggested earlier (p. 53) it seems probable that his reading of the evidence before the Cross Commission gave him the first clue. This he followed up by tracking down two decisions by Mr. Cumin, throwing doubts on their legality. Next he published his discovery to the world in—of all things—a report on Swiss Education. Finally he made quite sure that his friend Dr. Garnett, Secretary of the London Technical Education Committee, appreciated the importance of this discovery, and used it in a case he was preparing against the School Board for London.[3] Dr. Garnett brought in Sir John Gorst, and the Cockerton judgment, followed by that of the Queen's Bench and Court of Appeal, which ensued, probably did as much to clear the

[1] *H.*, Vol. CVII, Col. 1199.

[2] *B.C.R.*, Vol. I, 1501–17, also *R.E.D.*, 1895, p. 123.

[3] Dr. B. M. Allen, *Sir R. Morant*, pp. 121 and 129.

ground for the Act of 1902 and to render its passage inevitable as all the preliminary activities of the Church and Sir John Gorst put together.

The Court of Queen's Bench ruled that the London School Board could not, out of the School Board rate, conduct classes for the examinations and grants of the Science and Art Department, or go beyond the Code of the Education Department, or give instructions of any kind to adults, whether in day or evening schools. This ruling would still have left the School Board free to conduct such classes if they could render them self-supporting by fees and the use of endowments. The Court of Appeal, however, endorsed the more radical view of Mr. Cockerton himself, that the School Board did not possess the right to apply to a form of education which came under the control of the Science and Art Department, any portion of the school fund, that is to say, any portion of the funds to which the School Board was entitled under the provisions of the Act. Thus they held the power to be non-existent even if the schools could be made self-supporting. (*Times*, 31st May, 1901.)

Mr. Morant's strategy had been learnt in Siam, and looked at from the point of view of strategy alone this ruthless and apparently premeditated indiscretion was a masterstroke, purchased at a price which it has taken educational opinion thirty-five years to appreciate, and regret. Looked at from the point of view of modern civil service ethics, it is better to admit frankly that it seems to have been an astonishing step for a comparatively junior official to have taken.

# CHAPTER V

## THE BALFOUR-MORANT EDUCATION ACT OF 1902

The proposals in the Bill as presented.—An historic debate.—The optional clause.—The religious difficulty.—The clash of conviction.—The party machine takes control.—The Government's resolute use of the closure.—The influence of the Boer war, and of foreign trade competition.

THE Government produced their final and definitive solution in the late spring of 1902. Any county or county borough council, any borough council with a population over 10,000 and any urban district with a population of over 20,000 would have power by resolution to take over the work of the school boards in their area, so becoming the 'local education authority'.

The county and county borough councils (but not the borough and urban district councils) were, in addition, charged to consider the education needs of their areas and take such steps as might seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education; over and above the 'Whiskey Money' they might expend a 2*d.* rate upon such higher education.

The new Local Education Authorities so created were to have the control of all secular education in the schools hitherto provided, or to be provided in future, by the denominations. Thus the aid of the rates was for the first time to be brought to the 'non-provided' schools, but—significantly—although the ratepayer was to find the cost of maintenance as distinct from the provision and upkeep of the fabric, four

foundation managers might be appointed by the denomination compared to two by the local authorities.

The appointment of teachers was vested in the Managers subject to a veto on educational grounds by the local education authority. Assistant and pupil teachers—as distinct from the principal teacher—might be appointed if thought fit without reference to creed or denomination.

'I think we have reached a point,' Mr. Asquith remarked, during the fourth day of debate, 'at which it would be impossible for the wit of man to contribute a new idea to this discussion.' The historian faced by the imposing pile of *Hansards* which contain the debate may perhaps be pardoned if he is tempted to echo such a time-saving sentiment. Yet if he would understand the profound influence which this debate, and those which ensued upon the attempt to repeal the Bill in 1906, were to exercise upon the future growth of the public educational system, he cannot afford to leave the pile unread. Better still, he should try to imagine himself an impartial spectator in one of the galleries or sitting next to Mr. Morant in the officials' gallery to the right of the Speaker's chair.

At this interval of time it seems clear that had the Bill been confined to the twofold task of creating local education authorities and endowing them with power to establish and maintain secondary and technical schools, and training colleges for teachers, there would have been little opposition to it.

For the mind of the House was clearly set upon these reforms and a great deal of favour was shown to the Bill even by those who felt obliged to announce their intention of voting against it.

Indeed, one leader of the parliamentary opposition, Mr. Haldane,[1] actually refused to vote against the second reading.

[1] Mr. Haldane was of course a great friend of the Webbs, who had done so much to set out the case for comprehensive legislation in Fabian Pamphlet No. 106: 'The Education Muddle and the Way out'. See *Sidney and Beatrice Webb*, by Mary A. Hamilton, p. 128.

In what must surely be one of the half-dozen greatest speeches upon education to which the House has ever listened, he had the courage to tell them that they were discussing a question far beyond sects and priests, whether of conformity or nonconformity, a question vitally affecting the whole national life; a question in fact which, with the rise of the industrial competition of Germany and the U.S.A. had become one of vital national urgency. The Bill was a step forward to the creation of an enlightened public opinion which would demand improvements such as had not been seen for 25 years.[1]

A curious feature of the debate is that few members actually spoke directly against the school boards, despite the general agreement that they must be abolished. Many in fact paid graceful tributes to their work. This would in any case have been natural, for Parliament knows intuitively how many tears to shed in the performance of a painful duty. More important, perhaps, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the real leader of the Liberal Unionists—arbiter of the Cabinet and of the Bill—was known to be a supporter of the school boards, and to favour the optional clause which would have allowed any school board to remain in existence unless the appropriate county or county borough council passed a resolution in favour of taking over its functions.

But as the third day of debate was running its course the fate of the optional clause was virtually sealed outside the House at the Westminster Central Hall, where a meeting of the County Councils' Association resolved by thirty votes to seven—

'That without expressing any opinion on the controversial questions raised by the Education Bill, the proposals contained in that Bill to place the control of all education in administrative counties under local education authorities, meet with the general approval of this Association; and that as regards the administrative counties, the County Councils, acting through Committees as the educational authorities, are well qualified and prepared if so requested

[1] *H.*, Vol. CVII, Cols. 703–716.

by Parliament, to undertake the powers and duties imposed upon these authorities by the Bill.'

In the face of this resolution, it must have become clear that there could be little further justification for the concession to Liberal Unionist sentiment contained in the clause, which would have left certain school boards 'with a noose round their necks liable to be tightened with fatal consequences by any casual majority at a town council election'.

The clause was accordingly dropped in Committee, a traffic accident to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, which kept him away from the House, facilitating its demise.

'I would ask anyone whether, if the educational objections to the Bill had been the only objections present, there would have been a division on the Second Reading,' said Mr. A. J. Balfour at the close of the fifth day of debate, and Mr. Dillon for the Irish Nationalists was equally emphatic. 'If you could eliminate the religious difficulty, your Education Bill would pass the Second Reading in a single night and the Committee stage would not take a week.'

In what then did this historic religious difficulty consist? What currents carried it forward to become for two decades the bane of politicians, whatever their party, and the nightmare of all progressive administrators; to fill the single school areas with little mushroom undenominational schools; to inhibit the natural growth of the elementary school system until the 'Hadow' report of 1926 came like a clean wind to blow away some of the cobwebs which obstructed administrative thought? Was it sustained merely by prejudices and grievances, long since remedied, or did it rest upon deep spiritual convictions touching the very springs of national life?

The historian who would attempt a simple answer has not read his sources. Deep spiritual conviction was certainly present but it was not confined to those who, like Dr. Clifford, opposed the Bill as a flagrant encroachment upon the Englishman's inalienable right to liberty of conscience and

religious equality. It was equally shared by the Catholics[1] who, placing dogma and authority over the right of individual judgment and holding no subject secular in the sense that all, to their minds, should be permeated by their distinctive beliefs, welcomed the Bill wholeheartedly. The Catholic school problem was however a comparatively small one and principally confined to the urban areas, where a choice of school existed. Theirs was a standpoint for which the Nonconformists could make allowances. Was it deep spiritual conviction which enlisted the support of the Anglican clergy, or did the Bill merely seem to them a just reward of patience held out to them by their Unionist friends to relieve them of an 'intolerable strain'? No one can read Lord Hugh Cecil's second reading speech without realising that here too was deep religious conviction; the belief that, however readily a churchman might agree that the minutiæ of dogma were an unsuitable pabulum for infants, the church schools would fail in their purpose if they did not teach a religious habit of mind and religious customs; if they did not in fact seek to implant in the minds of those who attended them the idea of membership and the desire to attach themselves to a denomination.

A moment's contemplation of this clash of conviction is sufficient to explain why few Bills have ever offered more material for the skilled debater—or, let it be added, been debated in the initial stages with a loftier earnestness.

But as the debate proceeded, and as the Nonconformist press and pulpit campaign grew in intensity, making the proceedings in the House seem tame by comparison with the 'froth and frenzy' outside, less lofty if more practical minds were quick to see in it an irresistible opportunity to restore the breach in the Liberal party caused by the Liberal Unionist secession.[2] Here surely was an issue of home politics upon which that great party could be united once more.

[1] *H.* Vol. CVII, Cols. 991–1000.

[2] For the standpoint of a leading Liberal Unionist outside Parliament, see *H.* Vol. CVII, Cols. 728–729.

Split by the eleventh hour conversion to Home Rule of the aged Gladstone, by the conflict between the *laisser faire* policy of the Manchester school and the radicalism of the Birmingham group, shaken by the difficulty of obtaining for the 1895 election candidates who were wealthy as well as suitable, further divided into Liberal Imperialists and 'Little Englanders' by the Boer war, disturbed by the emergence of Socialism in the Trade Union Movement upon which they had relied, this Unionist Bill must have seemed to them like the sight of land to a shipwrecked boat's crew. The strong impression made upon one who has attempted to regard the debate in impartial historical perspective—after himself spending many weary and a few edifying hours in the gallery to the right of the Chair, endeavouring to assess the trend of debates upon later education Bills—may be summarised quite briefly. From the moment when Mr. Lloyd George rose at 2.40 p.m. on the fourth day the whole trend of the debate changed, and it began to have less and less to do with education, more and more to do with the movement which led finally to the Liberal triumph of 1906. Mr. Lloyd George's speech was, in fact, as it later proved, the first in a four years' successful election campaign.

For the Nonconformists, more united than for many years owing to the efforts, conceived with very different motives, of Mr. George Cadbury the Quaker, could produce perfectly genuine grievances which at the time must have seemed unanswerable to the ordinary voter—although, let it be repeated, they have all, or nearly all, long since been remedied.

They could, for example, claim that in 12,000 out of 14,000 denominational schools conducted by and in the interests of a single denomination, 8,000 to 9,500 of them being the only schools available in the district, 700,000 Methodist and perhaps 300,000 other Nonconformist children were either being compelled to make themselves conspicuous by withdrawal from religious instruction or to run the risk of petty proselytisation. They could add that so far from seeking to end this injustice the Government

were proposing to perpetuate it by compelling the parents to support it out of the rates, thus incidentally relieving the squire, the parson, and the richer inhabitants of the parish from the burden of its support. Moreover, they could show that although the Government could not produce a single precedent where ratepayers had not a controlling voice in the management of a fund derived from the rates, the proposals in the Bill would ensure that the two representative managers appointed by the Local Authority would be in a permanent minority. Worse still, in every one of these 14,000 schools no head teacher could be a Nonconformist and few Nonconformist children could hope to become pupil teachers without accepting Anglican Baptism.

Even where a Nonconformist pupil teacher passed high in the King's Scholarship examination for entry to a training college, he must, it was claimed, be prepared to see those he had beaten in the examination obtain places before him. For nearly all the colleges were Church colleges and the few Nonconformist colleges, being expressly undenominational, were filled as to a quarter to a third of their number by Anglican students.

Much capital was made out of the case of an Anglican student who was No. 2681 in order of merit on the examination list and was at once received into a Church training college, while No. 237, a Nonconformist, had to wait a year.

Yet—it was asserted—the total cost of the staff of the Church schools was only £3,400,000 as against grants from the State totalling £3,600,000, and the 'intolerable strain' represented no more than a farthing a week per head for every adherent of the Church of England.[1]

We have seen the system under which a large part of the electorate of that day had been educated and the attitude of hostility too often engendered towards the teachers and parson, as representatives of the system, by the discipline and drudgery of payment by results.

[1]For these and other Nonconformist arguments see *H.*, Vol. CVII, Cols. 909, 982, 1000, 1102–1109, 1139, 1140, 1174, 1194.

If such electors could not appreciate the subtleties of the religious debate, grievances of this latter type—as one or two bye-elections showed—were both genuine and readily intelligible. They were in fact the very ammunition with which to batter down the crumbling defences of a Party Government—although not, as the Liberals were to discover in 1906, ammunition sufficiently durable to effect the repeal of a four-year-old Act.

It is easy for the historian in the light of his later knowledge to regret the slowing down of progress which resulted in the field of elementary education. But once he realises the gradual supersession of those in whose minds religious principle was uppermost by the more practical and purposeful party machine, much in the debate which would otherwise be obscure becomes plain: why, for instance, the Methodist Conference overruled their Education Committee, which in its annual report had appeared to give a modified support to what were understood to be the intentions of the Bill;[1] why the Nonconformists turned a deaf ear to repeated appeals to them—one backed by the offer of the whole Irish Nationalist vote—to get together and propose a concordat on the Irish or Scottish model or that which had in Liverpool anticipated the later 'Anson Byelaw'.

Looking at the debate after an interval of thirty-five years and in the light of the educational achievements which those years have witnessed, it is difficult not to sympathise with the far-sighted remark of the member for Peterborough, Mr. Purvis: 'It is a fictitious agitation got up by disappointed politicians in search of a cry, and the truth, when revealed by experience under the working of the Bill, will be rightly appreciated by the country.'[2]

The Government, who at the start of the debate had felt secure in their own majority, reinforced by the Liberal

[1] *H.*, Vol. CVII, Cols. 1004 and 1191.

[2] Contemporary evidence for the view that political influences were taking hold of the Free Churches will be found in *H.*, Vol. CVII, Cols. 847, 849, 914, 1001, 1125, 1189, 1190, 1211.

Unionists and Irish Nationalists, found themselves faced by a difficult situation. They met it courageously. Realizing in time that no legislation 'goes bad' so quickly as legislation which can be represented as touching matters of conscience, they forced the Bill through as quickly as possible by the use of the newly invented machinery of the 'closure'.[1]

Was it then solely by the use of their 'big battalions' and the closure that the Government finally placed this Act on the Statute Book?

Although it seems doubtful whether a simple referendum on the principle of bringing the Church schools on to the rates would have secured a majority in the country, there is much evidence to suggest that final success was in reality ensured by two factors which have barely been noticed by any of those who have written about the Bill. The first was the genuine and widespread uneasiness in industrial and commercial as well as educational circles over this country's educational resources compared with those of her competitors; the second factor, equally widespread, was that the new spirit, which as we have noticed was stirring in educational affairs, was sustained by a genuine popular interest in education; an interest heightened no doubt by psychological factors arising out of the Boer war, the commencement of a new century, and the fact that the children of the first generation to receive compulsory education were by this time in the schools.

It would be an interesting study to trace how often in the course of the history of western Europe warfare, whether actual or economic, has stimulated interest in education. Indeed there seem to be substantial grounds for the assertion that an unsuccessful campaign has usually stimulated interest in secondary education, lack of success in the economic field

[1]It is just possible that had the Labour Government in 1930 adopted similar tactics, the school leaving age might have been raised to 15, for the House of Lords was undoubtedly encouraged to veto the Bill by the back bench and Catholic revolt which led to the 'Scurr' amendment. The same Labour Government a few months later suddenly decided to leave the Sunday Cinemas Bill to a free vote of the House.

interest in technical education, and successful war interest in elementary education.

No doubt an unsuccessful campaign is usually attributed by a western government to defective educational equipment in its officer and official classes. 'We must make up intellectually what we have lost nationally' said a Minister to his Sovereign after Jena, and upon that sentence was built the Prussian system of education.[1] Similarly, lack of success, supposed or real, in the economic field has directed men's minds to the nation's technical equipment—as is evidenced all through later nineteenth-century British history. Even at the very time when Victorian complacency probably reached its zenith with the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851, it is interesting to read in the panegyric of *The Times* leader upon 'that stupendous act of homage to industry and the peaceful arts' such sentences as the following: 'The great attention which the industrial communities of Europe bestow on matters of artistic design and ornamental manufacture enabled them to decorate their divisions of the nave in a manner more effective than we, with our utilitarian tendencies, could hope to achieve.' Or again, following a paragraph in which lavish praise is bestowed upon the sculptures from Italy, a reference to 'several objects of art in our own division which we could have wished removed to some quiet and retired coal cellar, among them especially a very lachrymose group called "The Mourners" at which foreigners will be much amused.'

Just as that exhibition produced the Department of Practical Arts, placed at first under the Board of Trade, so the Paris Exhibition twenty-five years later led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, and the trade difficulties of 1921–1926 to the renaissance of interest in technical and art education in which Lord Eustace Percy took such a leading part.

[1]Cf. also the Danish high school movement whose organisers felt, after their first school had been driven out of North Slesvig by the annexation of 1864, that 'What Denmark has lost in outward power she must strive to gain in inner strength'.

Why a successful war should stimulate an interest in elementary education it is more difficult to say. Is it some deep biological reaction concerned with the preservation of the race, such as that which sends up the number of male births after a war or renders girls only half as prone to street accidents as boys? Or is it wholly answered by the simpler explanation that national consciousness is roused to a higher pitch, and a keener public appreciation is fostered of the debt which the country owes for its preservation to the ordinary man in the street?

> For it's "thank you, Mister Atkins,"
> When the band begins to play.

Whatever the ultimate reason, Government spokesmen, as we have seen in our generation, are sensitive to the importance of the phenomenon. In fact they are usually among the first to proclaim that 'a land fit for heroes' must be created by schemes of social amelioration for those who return.

The Boer war ended on the day that the debate on the 1902 Bill began. It had cost £270,000,000, just ten times the capital sum which Mr. Balfour estimated would have been required to replace the whole of the voluntary schools at the building costs then current. But only one member had the audacity—with income tax at 1*s.* 3*d.*—to suggest such a daring solution. The conclusion of the war found not one, but all these psychological factors at work. For the wiser heads in the services were far from happy about the educational equipment of the officer class, a wave of interest in elementary education was apparently sweeping over a people not hitherto remarkably sensitive to its claims, and everywhere business men were regretting that the city offices were forced to employ so many thousands of well grounded and industrious German clerks for want of a home-grown substitute; forced to employ them, too, in spite of the irritating criticism and ridicule to which Germany had subjected this country's African venture and her strategy in the field!

The uneasiness of the city had found expression in Prince

George's 'Wake up England' speech at the Guildhall. In Whitehall and Parliamentary circles it was focused upon our educational deficiencies as compared with those of 'the solid, laborious German, the eager, nimble-witted American' by the arresting series of Special Reports on educational subjects edited by Mr. (now Sir Michael) Sadler, who had been appointed by the Education Department to direct such inquiries in 1895.

The contrast between this country's leisurely progress in educational affairs hitherto and that achieved by America and Germany was indeed an alarming one. Men compared the 150 day students at the Manchester College of Technology with the thousands gathered at Charlottenburg, increasing on an ordered and organised plan since Germany—already it was thought 60 years ahead of this country—had realised that it was impossible for a modern nation to progress without the training of experts. They contrasted Germany's 22 universities for a population of 50 millions, and the 484 men's and 162 women's colleges and 48 schools of technology valued at £57 millions in the U.S.A., with our own humble provision of seven universities for a population of 31 millions. The attendance at public, primary, and high schools in the United States was put at 16,000,000. The number in the 5,000 high schools and 2,000 private schools had, it was stated, risen from 280,000 to 480,000 between 1890 and 1896. Here was common ground upon which members of all parties could meet, whatever their differences upon the religious clauses of the Bill.

The Imperialist seized upon Mr. Sadler's phrase 'The very existence of the Empire depends upon sea power and school power'. His 'Little Englander' opponent echoed the same sentiment but with a different twist: 'Education after all forms the basis of a nation's greatness far more than fleets and armies, and the country is at last beginning to find out that this question is more important than imperialism.' The sober Liberal in Mr. Asquith spoke to the same effect: 'The relative ignorance of our people menaces our very national existence

as well as our industrial supremacy'; and the Radical Mr. Charles Trevelyan added: 'This Bill has not originated in the complaints and clamour of a convocation. It is demanded by the people from a sense of shame in our possessing the worst instructed peasantry in the West of Europe, a fear on the part of our industrial population that we shall not be able to meet commercial competition, and the belief that the time has come when equality of opportunity should be really given to all men.'

The popular interest, too, which the Bill provoked cannot have centred wholly on the religious issue. It is true that any political meeting was probably better attended in those days than to-day. The cinema did not yet afford to the citizen a weekly chance of satisfying his herd instinct without undue mental exertion, or the wireless absolve him from quitting his fireside for the gas-lit hall, where he could hear his local member on the problems of the day. Even so, members seem to have been taken by surprise by the interest aroused by the Bill. Audiences of 5,000 were apparently common, and one member went so far as to say that in Manchester no subject, the South African war excepted, exercised such an appeal upon his audiences as education.

After the deletion of the 'optional' clause, the extraction of three concessions from the Exchequer to still the forebodings of those who feared too abrupt an increase in rates, and the passage of the Kenyon Slaney clause,[1] the Bill received the Royal Assent on 1st December. At last the Mother of Parliaments, after a difficult labour, had produced an Act destined profoundly to affect the social life of England and Wales for many decades. If Sir Francis Sandford was the real father of the Bill, it had been brought into the world by the forensic skill

[1]This clause provided that religious instruction in a non-provided school must be in accordance with the terms of the original trust deed of the founder. It was, of course, designed to meet the apprehensions of Nonconformist parents, having children in attendance at a Church school, lest a change of incumbent might lead to the introduction of ritualistic practices in the school.

of Mr. A. J. Balfour with Mr. Sadler as consultant,[1] under the watchful eye and assisted by the tireless ministrations of Mr. Morant, who was to continue to nurse it for the first nine years of its existence.

Sir John Gorst, the faithful servant, was dismissed for his uncertainties of temper[2] at a critical stage.

Mr. Sidney Webb hastened to announce the birth in the *Daily Mail*.[3] 'For the first time,' he wrote, 'the Bill definitely includes as a public function education as education, not primary education only, or technical education only, but anything and everything that is education from the Kindergarten to the University. This renders the Bill of 1902 epoch-making in the history of English education.'

It only remains to be added that the School Board for London, granted the boon granted by Polyphemus to Ulysses —that of being swallowed last—was duly consumed in the following year by a separate Act. Its work was handed over to the London County Council after various vicissitudes which as yet cannot decently be recounted.

[1]Mr. Sadler's reports on the educational system of other countries had clearly been studied by almost every member who spoke. Mr. Balfour himself did not, I believe, consult him personally.

[2]He had offended the Government's supporters in the rural districts by such injudicious utterances as the following: 'The School Boards in country districts have . . . represented the worst kind of local authority that could be devised and have in many cases very greatly neglected the duties which Parliament put upon them.' We know to-day that he was right and the more one reads of his speeches the more one comes to think of him as a man born in advance of his time.

[3]17th Oct., 1902. Mr. Webb's contribution had been no mean one. His Fabian Pamphlet No. 106—but in its first form before he himself rewrote it—had been circulated as a 'Cabinet paper' by Sir John Gorst. Moreover, the Webbs strongly supported the Bill throughout. He had seen the working of the secular solution in the United States and in Victoria (Western Australia) and it offended his sense of fairness in the treatment of minorities. Moreover, he wanted to preserve variety in methods of teaching, variety in subjects taught and variety in atmosphere. See *Sidney and Beatrice Webb*, by Mary A. Hamilton, p. 127.

# PART II

# The Building of the System of Public Education

# RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

WE have seen how during the quarter of a century which followed the Act of 1870 the central problem of public education had been the housing of a huge army of infant and junior children. It has further been shown how during the next seven years (1895–1902) the focus shifted; how with the up-thrust of the older age groups a new problem had arisen, namely, how to provide a second stage of education for those older children who were remaining at school. The promoters of the Act of 1902 no doubt believed that they could find the answer to this question by the expansion of the small professional army in the grammar schools. But long before that Act had outlived its usefulness they were to find themselves called upon to provide post-primary education for a whole conscripted nation of adolescents.

In the chapters which follow, an attempt must accordingly be made to trace, first, the growth of the system of public secondary education for which the Act had prepared the way; secondly, the progressive enlivenment of the elementary schools (as 'payment by results' fell astern), leading up to the 'New Prospect' initiated in 1926 by the 'Hadow' report on the education of the adolescent; thirdly, the growth of our modern system—or rather systems—of technical and further education drawing their strength both from the secondary and (since 1926) the Hadow senior schools.

Before taking our leave of the Act of 1902, however, it should be noted that on its passage England found herself for the first time in possession of the three essential ingredients of a democratic system of education; first, a department of the central Government responsible for the general supervision of all forms of education; second, local education authorities

each responsible for the detailed control of education in their several areas and largely composed of members answerable to the local government electorate; third, bodies of local residents to serve as the governors or managers of the actual schools, enjoying certain defined powers and duties with regard to the school or schools under their control, but obliged to admit to their number an admixture of representatives appointed by the local authority in return for the privilege of rate assistance.

Two-thirds of a century had passed in the building of this tripartite partnership. The remaining third was to see it change the whole face of English education.

# CHAPTER VI

## THE EXPANSION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1902–1935

(See Graph B opposite).

A rising tide.—Some comparisons between 1895 and 1935.—Brief historical survey: the education of the new Local Education Authorities, 1902–1907.—Steady expansion, 1907–1914.—Rapid growth, 1914–1921.—Consolidation, 1921–1929.—Readjustment of function, 1929–1935.—The social, economic and political forces at work.—Social: the English attitude towards secondary education.—The growth of secondary education for girls.—Economic: the changing attitude of the business world.—The improvement of transport.—Political: attitude of the parties.—Propaganda, national and local.

THE growth of secondary education in England and Wales since 1902 has been compared to a rising tide. The simile is not inappropriate provided it is remembered that the rate of flow has varied considerably from year to year and that the phenomenon has not by any means been confined to these islands or even to the countries of the northern hemisphere.

Readers of certain books on secondary education, which appeared before the Hadow report and were written with an avowedly political flavour, may well ask whether in fact it has justified the appellation 'phenomenon' at all so far as these islands are concerned. They must raise their eyebrows in surprise to discover such a disinterested and acute observer as Professor Halévy writing in 1923 of the rapid growth of numbers in the secondary schools from 1902 to that date and

describing it as 'a social revolution of the first magnitude'.[1]

Since 1926, however, there has been a clearer and more widespread conception of the task which lies before any nation that would claim to have found a solution to the problem of the proper educational treatment of the adolescent. The realisation that more than half a million children still leave elementary schools for employment every year at the age of 14 has made us chary of laying too much emphasis on the fact that 102,000 now pass on every year to secondary or other full-time schools.[2]

But, if there has been a slump in superlatives, no one can study a diagram showing the growth which has actually taken place without realising that something very important has certainly been happening in the field of secondary education since 1902. He might with the figures at his elbow be tempted to describe it as quite remarkable. But with the figures of the corresponding growth in the United States at his other elbow he would hardly dare to call it sensational. This may be all to the good. For the English never like to espouse a new cause too wholeheartedly before they are quite sure that they are not abandoning some 'old good'. The assets accumulated by older traditions must be carried forward to each new page of the balance sheet. We have not absorbed our efficient public and proprietary schools[3] at

[1] *History of the English People*, 1895–1905, p. 205. *Secondary Education for All. A Policy for Labour*, edited for the Education Advisory Committee of the Labour Party by R. H. Tawney, does not of course fall into the error of minimising what had been achieved between 1902 and 1922. 'The number both of pupils and school places in 1922 is, as we shall show below, all too small. But, inadequate as they are, they represent something like an educational revolution compared with the almost complete absence of public provision which existed prior to 1902,' p. 20. This book, written about 1923, advocated the wider interpretation of secondary education later adopted by the Hadow report.

[2] *B.E.R.*, 1934, Table 7, p. 114.

[3] These may contain another 300,000 pupils, perhaps 50,000 to 70,000 carrying their education to a high standard, see *E.P.* No. 94, p. 21 (H.M.S.O.).

the same pace as the United States. Moreover, the pace has not been too hot to consolidate the ground won; to secure a steady numerical expansion concurrently with the lengthening of school life; to preserve that 'variety set in a national framework' which is the envy of our more thoughtful friends abroad.[1] At the opposite extreme the United States has at times seen the rising tide become a tidal wave, to the considerable concern of many of those most jealous for the good name of secondary education.[2]

Whatever may be the ultimate verdict of the social historian of the future upon the efforts made by successive British Governments, in co-operation with the local authorities, to repair in three decades the neglect of three centuries, this much is certain, that their efforts have quite outstripped the capacity of the man in the street to keep abreast of what has been happening. Much modern politico-social writing is accordingly vitiated by the tendency to demand social revolution without first pausing to discover how far and how fast the silent social revolution effected by educational changes has proceeded.

Another consideration, too, prompts the hope that the advent of a social historian capable of doing justice to the advance of English education may not be too long delayed. For he might be tempted to look rather at the number of new secondary schools built, or old schools restored, each year

[1]I. L. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, 1931, p. 383.

[2]For the increase in numbers in the U.S. secondary schools see I. L. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, 1931, p. 449. Number of pupils, all secondary schools—1889–1890, 297,894; 1899–1900, 630,048; 1909–1910, 1,032,461; 1919–1920, 2,041,308; 1927–1928, 4,486,562.

For the results and dangers see I. L. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, 1931, p. 449; also *The Quality of the Educational Process in the United States and in Europe* (1927), by Dr. W. S. Learned, pp. 4–7 and 42–48; also the report by Dr. A. Flexner, *Universities: English, German, and American*, 1930. On the other hand, it has been claimed by Professor Charles H. Judd in *The School Review* (University of Chicago, February, 1928) that Europe is in fact following America about a generation behind.

rather than at the actual numbers in attendance and the lengthening of school life. Worse still, he might neglect what is even more difficult to recapture, namely, the rising standards of improvement in teaching power from year to year. In that case he might even be tempted to believe that no great movement had taken place at all. For he would find that England possessed one grammar school for every 8,300 of her population in the year 1546, one grammar school for every 23,750 in 1867, one grammar school for every 46,700 in 1895, and one secondary school for every 29,145 in 1934.

To look at the matter in this way would of course be to overlook a number of crucial facts. That the grammar schools of 1546 were often, if not invariably, the only schools of any type which existed; that even by the standards of the day some of the 830 grammar schools of 1867 'were very elementary and some decrepit'; that it seems at least doubtful whether more than 30,000 pupils were receiving in the grammar schools of 1895 anything which would be recognised as secondary education at all in these days; but that the 1,381 secondary schools on the Board of Education's grant list in 1934 contained nearly 450,000 full-time pupils enjoying an average school life of nearly 5 years after the age of 11.

Thus if the total of those receiving an efficient secondary education in the endowed schools in 1895 may be put at 30,000, the number has increased fifteenfold in a bare forty years. Reckoning purely on the basis of numbers without regard to efficiency, there may of course have been as many as 75,000 attending the endowed schools and another 35,000 in the proprietary schools, and some of these latter schools subsequently became grant-aided secondary schools although in 1895 they were completely outside the *public* system. This would make the number 4 to-day for every 1 in 1895, irrespective of any question of length of school life or efficiency of instruction.

The comparison is equally remarkable if it is made on the basis of the facilities which now exist for children to enter

secondary schools from homes which forty years ago would have had no choice but the elementary school, or the private school of more than doubtful efficiency.

For in 1895 probably not more than from 3 to 6 out of every 1,000 children leaving the elementary schools can have passed on to one of the endowed grammar schools: by 1934 the proportion had increased to 119 per 1,000.

Again the slender thread, beaded with scholarships of short duration and doubtful value, which joined the elementary to the secondary school 40 years ago, has become, if not a broad collar of costly pearls, at least a respectable necklace. For 40 years ago the total number of pupils holding county and county borough council scholarships (usually of strictly limited duration) at schools of secondary type was 2,424[1] as compared with the 224,981 totally and 23,188 partially exempt from the payment of fees in the grant-aided secondary schools of 1934.

To put the matter in another way, the odds against a child in an English elementary school gaining a scholarship to a secondary school in 1894 were 270 to 1: the odds against a child in a public elementary school (England and Wales) gaining a special place had, forty years later, been reduced to 11 to 1. The scholarship link between the secondary schools and the universities is of course now stronger than was the link between the elementary and the endowed grammar schools in 1894. The average number passing immediately from the grant-aided secondary schools to universities over the four years 1930–1934 was 4,318, and probably a further 1,000 enter the universities each year after an interval spent at work or abroad. Of those who entered universities in July, 1934, 1,983 of the men and 831 of the women had commenced their education in elementary schools; 2,209 paid no fees; 54 paid partial fees.

[1] *B.C.R.*, Table in Vol. I, p. 405. The length of tenure must have been very short, for the total number elected to scholarships by county and county borough councils had been: 1892, 635; 1893, 1,442; 1894, 2,207.

In contemplating these figures it is interesting to recall the reply given in 1888 to the Cross Commission by a 'father of three' described as 'Mr. T. Smyth, a representative of the working classes'. He appears to have tried the patience of some of the Commissioners by the expression of sentiments which to-day would barely be challenged at a meeting of a society for the preservation of the prerogatives of the upper classes. One of the Commissioners asked him sharply if he was not aware that children from public elementary schools sometimes reached the universities. 'It would be next to expecting a boy out of the London Board Schools to take wings,' he replied, 'as to expect him to advance by his own efforts to the university.'[1] He was right. The odds against such an event were at this time almost astronomical. One would suspect that the Commissioner had been reading his *Joseph Vance* too assiduously overnight if that remarkable book had not, although written, been lying unpublished in a bedroom cupboard.

Finally, a marked change has taken place over the same period, if not in the devotion of the secondary school teacher to his work, at least in his attitude towards his subject and his training to expound it.

Before the twentieth century opened, apart from the limited opportunities afforded for the interchange of professional experience by the meetings of the associations of head and assistant masters and mistresses, hardly a single association of teachers had been called into existence with the professed object of studying teaching technique and pooling new experience in the teaching of the various subjects.[2] The proportion of graduate teachers, too, in secondary schools

[1] *C.C.R.*, 52,653–52,655.

[2] Mathematical Association, 1871 (an association for the improvement of Geometrical Teaching); Geographical Association, 1893; Science Masters Association, 1900; Classical Association, 1903; Historical Association, 1906; English Association, 1907; Music Teachers Association, 1908; Modern Humanities Research Association, 1918.

has increased from 62·7% in 1905 to 85·5% in 1934 in the case of men and from 41·7% to 68·1% in the case of women. Moreover, although the alteration in the cost of living makes a full comparison difficult, the attractiveness of the profession to the best product of the universities is probably about three times as great financially as at the commencement of the century, when the remuneration of secondary school teachers was even lower than that of their colleagues in the elementary schools.[1]

To anyone studying the growth of the public system of education in this country it is of greater interest to inquire why, rather than to ask how, this progress has been achieved.

In the mechanical sciences the development of the machine is the point of interest; the motive power is usually simple or reducible to a formula. In the world of education it is the political, economic and social forces which have provided the motive power that are interesting to the student of social history. But before passing to an attempt to trace these currents, social, political and economic, which have carried the movement forward, some brief review of the successive stages in the development of the machine must be undertaken—if only to illustrate the growth recorded in the five yearly stages shown on graph B (facing p. 97).

Five main periods are discernible, although they overlap, merge into each other, or are difficult to distinguish when a laboratory study is made of a single area.

1. The period of survey by the new local education authorities for higher education during which the elected members had themselves to be educated to an appreciation of the claims of secondary education.

This period had, as we have seen, begun before 1902. For practical purposes it may be said to have ended with the commencement of the free place system in 1907.

[1]For the salaries payable see the evidence tendered to the Bryce Commission by the teachers' associations and the reports of Sir Michael Sadler on the counties and county boroughs which he surveyed by invitation: Essex, Hants, Liverpool, etc.

2. The period of steady expansion, 1907 to 1914–15.

3. The period of rapid expansion due to the improvement in the economic condition of the wage-earning classes during the war and immediate post-war period 1914–1915 to 1920–1921.

4. The period of consolidation in the face of economic difficulties.

In this period the interest aroused by the publication by local education authorities of schemes of educational development required by Mr. Fisher's Education Act of 1918 prevented a set-back, in spite of the trade difficulties of this country. Moreover, those very difficulties called forth a livelier appreciation of the importance of education for economic success in the international competition for markets; and, if they gave rise to industrial upheavals, they turned the minds of those in authority to the part education should play as a factor in social progress and the appeasement of class consciousness (1920–1921 to 1929).

5. The period of readjustment of function as between the secondary schools proper and the alternative forms of secondary education arising out of the educational reorganisation set on foot by the 'Hadow' report. During this period the lengthening of school life has become as important a factor in growth as the increase in the annual entry (1929 to 1935).

### 1. *The period of survey and self-education by the new Local Education Authorities.*

As we have seen, the local authorities, led by the county councils created by the Local Government Act of 1888, had already moved some way before 1902. They had used the whiskey money and, in a few cases, had applied a local rate to make some inroads upon the vested interests and popular inertia which had brought the Endowed Schools Commission to an inglorious end. Already by 1895 the county and county borough councils separately or in combination had seventeen secondary schools newly completed or 'on the

stocks' to match the fifteen provided in Wales[1] under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889. In 1902 it was claimed by Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons that between 1889 and 1901 the English county councils had established 391 new schools of secondary type and extended, or modified and adapted, 282 more, making a total of 673. This claim should be treated with great reserve. I suspect that the clerk concerned must have counted all the pre-Cockerton judgment higher grade schools and added up all the secondary and proprietary schools to which a county or county borough had ever given a grant. With three separate departments issuing lists of schools, organised science schools, endowed schools, and higher grade schools, it must have been very difficult in 1902—as it is to-day—to avoid counting the same school twice. What is at least clear is that the number of schools recognised by the Board of Education, including endowed schools and those provided by the local authorities, had reached 272, with 31,716 pupils taking the approved course.

Despite these efforts, real or parliamentary, wide areas of England were still living at the commencement of the twentieth century in the social atmosphere of the eighteenth. The 'pale-fence' tradition of a landed aristocracy of 'county' families and their dependants, so brilliantly described by Mr. H. G. Wells in *Tono Bungay*, still pervaded many of the shires.

This landed class was well represented on the county councils. Its members might agree with the Bryce Commissioners that a few more scholarships would enable children of scanty means and exceptional ability to prolong their education. But they could easily be led astray by specious arguments and appeals to their sporting instincts—or prejudices. They reared pheasants. Would it not be 'bad form' to trespass upon the preserves of the private schools? And might not scholarships, if too liberal, draw promising boys

[1] *B.C.R.*, Vol. I, p. 358.

from the less wealthy schools in much the same way as they suspected their neighbour's keeper of enticing their birds into his coverts?

The newly created Board of Education too was suspect in some quarters. A central department had long been suspect in principle, and the Board was regarded in much the same light as a new and very young arrival to the staff of a public school. It spoke with the mild accents of Winchester and New College and might be sparing of chastisement, but it had yet to prove—as it has proved since—its genuine eagerness to lead rather than to drive and its capacity to grow up with its charges.

It is no longer possible to trace by what diplomatic channel it was first suggested to various county and county borough councils that to get an independent report by an expert might prove the best way to carry out the 'survey of the needs of their areas' required by the Act of 1902. Probably some authorities were influenced by the example of London, where the zeal of Mr. Sidney Webb and the resource of Dr. Garnett had already worked wonders following a comprehensive report upon facilities for higher education in the metropolis prepared in 1893–1894 by Mr. (now Sir Hubert) Llewellyn Smith. Others no doubt listened to the suggestions of Whitehall or the advice of the local inspector of schools. It is sufficient to record that within a few years of the passage of the Act Mr. (now Sir Michael) Sadler (who as Director of Special Inquiries and Reports had played such an important part in educating parliamentary opinion to the necessity for action, but who was now free from the restraints of Whitehall) had been commissioned to report upon areas covering a ninth of the population. Still other areas invited the good offices of His Majesty's Inspectors.

Mr. Sadler's reports were written thirty years ago, but fortunately no expense seems to have been spared on their printing and binding. To the teacher they must still present a rich storehouse of arguments in favour of a liberal education. To the administrator they are an object lesson in the

art of arousing the popularly elected representative by an appeal to his sense of civic responsibility, by interesting him in the past achievements of his area and by providing him with just the right arguments with which to still the murmurings or rebut the arguments of his constituents. A brief analysis of one report must suffice. The county councillors of Essex were told how for many generations during the middle ages there were public secondary schools supported by town guilds and corporations as at Colchester, and reminded of the fine tradition of taste and craftsmanship in their country churches. Their existing provision for secondary education was compared with that of corresponding areas in the United States and Germany. A tactful reference was made to the 'good human ore' in their rural districts, and by the contrasted example of semi-feudal Russia and democratic Hungary they were warned of the social dangers of neglecting rural education. In parenthesis it was mentioned how the Danish butter trade rested at bottom on the co-operative spirit and the scientific intelligence generated by an appropriate and elevating kind of popular education. Coming nearer home, it was explained how necessary it was for the market gardener to know how to organise, to use intelligent scientific methods, to combine and co-operate in putting produce on the market in convenient and attractive forms. Examples were quoted of sons of Essex grammar schools whose names were household words, and of the more modern successes of the winners of the 6 major and 20 minor county scholarships which in those days represented the counties' effort to provide an avenue to higher education. All this and more, but always embodied with it and surrounding it a mass of graphs, statistics and thorough, pertinent and sound advice about the proper payment of teachers, the number of pupil teachers who ought to be trained annually, the need for more scholarships, the way in which private schools could be brought into the county system, and the contribution which the Exchequer ought to make but was not yet making.

So too with the other reports. All were equally detailed—for in those days the modern administrative maxim 'stop the mouth of inquisitiveness with the sugar plum of apparent information' had not gained currency. All displayed the same lucidity. All were written in a style which could not but compel the admiration of the county councillors for the product of a liberal education. All showed too that same understanding of the probable reaction of the critics which filled several pages of the report upon Hampshire—always a county rich in expensive private schools—with a trenchant analysis of the reasons why private schools could not meet the real needs of the day. Many years later the author of these reports was to refer to Ruskin's definition of a liberal education in *The Crown of Wild Olive*: 'Not teaching the youth of England the shapes of letters and the tricks of numbers; and then leaving them to turn their arithmetic to roguery and their literature to lust; but on the contrary training them to the perfect exercise and knightly continence of their bodies and souls.' His comment speaks for itself: 'These remarks, if made to the members of a City Education Committee assembled at a meeting with the usual agenda, would not be persuasive!'[1] Although Mr. Sadler's surveys probably did as much as any other agency to diffuse a widespread interest in secondary education as rapidly as possible—for they were read outside the counties for which they were written—the Board of Education too played a notable part. They did so first by requiring that pupil teachers should in future (from Aug. 1st, 1905) be educated full-time up to the age of 16, where possible in a secondary school. In the second place, they urged a more liberal provision of scholarships not only for intending teachers but 'open to the cleverest pupils from all the schools in the area without distinction', and incidentally themselves set a good example by increasing the local science and art scholarships to 7,110. Thirdly, they secured the services of a strong team of Inspectors of secondary schools. The reports of this team

[1] *The Outlook in Secondary Education*, p. 43.

could not, it is true, be tuned to such a persuasive key as those of Mr. Sadler, but they evidently pricked the four-square civic pride of the individualist north. To quote a typical account: 'At the request of the local authority the secondary schools of the city were inspected by the Board of Education in the Autumn of 1905. From the report it was evident that the provision for secondary education was inadequate and unevenly distributed, whilst some of the schools were insufficiently staffed and badly equipped.'[1] By 1906 the number of schools on the grant list had risen to 689, with 81,370 scholars taking the approved four-year course; 25,269 scholars (in 600 of the schools) were paying no fees and had entered from public elementary schools. The odds against an elementary school child obtaining a free secondary education had thus fallen appreciably although the materials for a calculation are not available.

2. *The period of steady expansion, 1907–1914.*

With the election of 1906 politics entered the field. To quote once more our 'father of three', Mr. T. Smyth, a representative of the working classes: 'We say that the State should defray the whole cost and absorb to itself for such purposes all funds and endowments left for educational purposes, not otherwise specified, giving large control to local school boards in the management with strict national supervision under a Minister responsible to Parliament.' 'At present I believe most of the higher education, at least there is a tradition amongst us that all the higher education, is practically free to the upper classes. The State provides it largely, but (for) the universities and grammar schools, and all sorts of places to which the poor have no access. The universities possess lands and endowments, and that being, I say, national property, the upper classes are receiving education freely.'[2]

[1] *Education in Leeds. A Backward Glance and a Present View*, 1926.

[2] *C.C.R.*, 52,313, 52,321, 53,332.

The State was still nearly as far as it had been in 1888 from defraying the whole cost of secondary education, since the grant payable for each scholar taking the approved course merely amounted to two or three pounds according to the scholar's age. It had certainly absorbed to itself funds and endowments left for educational purposes the value of which by the year 1888 would have made Mr. Smyth incoherent with anger had modern scholarship by that date disinterred this ancient wrong. I refer of course to the action taken under the Chantries Act of Edward VI (1547). In brief the State absorbed the lands and merely continued to pay out of the proceeds the amount bequeathed by the pious founder to be paid to the schoolmaster—often a matter of a few pounds a year since money had possessed a wholly different value, calculated by Mr. G. Baskeville at about thirty times present values,[1] when the bequest was made. Judging by the present-day value of the lands of a few schools which were wise enough to purchase back their lands after confiscation, the Commissioners of Crown Lands should be able to pay for the greater part of the modern State system of secondary education.

On the other hand, 'large control' had at last been given to local school boards with strict national supervision under a Minister responsible to Parliament. Clearly working-class opinion had done much between 1888 and 1906 to make itself felt!

The time now seemed ripe to strike another blow at privilege as represented by the endowed schools.

Accordingly in the spring of 1907 new regulations for secondary schools were promulgated by the new Liberal President of the Board of Education. These raised the grant to £5 on each pupil between the ages of 12 and 18 in secondary schools which satisfied certain conditions 'in respect of freedom from denominational restrictions or requirements, representative local control and accessibility to all classes of the people'.

[1] In *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, 1937.

The third of these conditions heralded the 'free place' requirement under which schools accepting grant at the higher rate were ordinarily required to open a proportion of school places, equal to 25% of the total admissions of the previous year, to scholars from public elementary schools who passed an approved entrance test of attainments. It is interesting to note that the free places were originally intended to be gained by a mere qualifying test. The growth of demand for secondary education has made that test to-day a highly competitive one. The idea of making grants conditional upon the acceptance of scholarship winners was not a new one. It was originated by Mr. Webb and Dr. Garnett in London in 1894.

Hitherto some of the schools[1] and most of the parents of fee-paying scholars had enjoyed the benefit of both grants and endowments without giving any serious thought to the social implications of what they were doing. The alarm and misgivings aroused by the new regulation were therefore considerable.

A few of those governing bodies who felt themselves to belong to the socially superior order of 'armigerous gents' hastened to shelter behind the school's coat of arms. Some indeed have successfully resisted the acceptance of free place scholars till this day.

The 'pale-fences' in the shires rattled with indignation or apprehension. Headmasters of the most expensive private schools spoke gravely to their boys of the increased competition they would have to face—when their 'public' schools and universities had done their best for them—from these new secondary schools where the boys did such an unfair amount of work.[2]

[1]Not all; for in the schools as a whole 24% of the pupils were already paying no fees and 54% had entered from the elementary schools.

[2]Although I was only ten at the time I can clearly remember one such talk and the impression it made on my mind. I recall the incident not in any spirit of criticism but merely as showing how far class consciousness has since been sublimated by the social forces at work—education among the first of them—in less than 30 years.

Ingenious arguments were not wanting to prove that the new requirement would empty the schools, weaken their quality and shorten the average period of school life. In fact there are secondary school masters and mistresses still serving who can remember that the sole question they were asked at the visit of one of their governors was 'How many girls in your class have nits in their hair?' or 'How many of your boys have skin disease?' As a matter of sober history the greater readiness of the parents of scholarship holders, as compared with those of fee-paying pupils, to encourage their children to enjoy what they had won for as long as they could, assisted the schools to continue their numerical growth as steadily as ever, lengthening rather than shortening school life. Thus instead of the quality of the work being lowered, sixth form work began to be developed. Finally the payment of the more liberal grant at a lower age tended to stabilise the age of entry at eleven. This last achievement was to have valuable repercussions on the elementary school system, and to prepare the way for the final embodiment in Mr. Fisher's Act of 1918 of the dictum that brains and character are qualities which cannot be bound by any social distinctions or limitations.

The truth is, of course, that widening social and educational opportunity operates as a sedative upon class consciousness. The social or educational innovation of to-day unobtrusively broadens down into the accepted commonplace of to-morrow.

Moreover the peculiarly English tradition that no pains should be spared to obtain the best possible man or woman to put in charge of a school, and that the candidate finally chosen should then confidently be left alone, was gradually providing the schools, now that the prospects seemed better, with an appreciable constellation—if not a galaxy—of first-class heads. This tradition is very old. In founding St. Paul's school in 1510 'nothing gave Colet so much anxiety', wrote his friend Erasmus, 'as the question to whom he should entrust the management of the school. . . . And so he ap-

pointed as master of his school a married man with a large family.' These new heads were quick to appreciate the value, both intellectual and—it should be admitted—material, of drawing into their schools the most intelligent scholars from the elementary schools and accepting the increased grants.

By the outbreak of the war the grant-aided schools had increased in number to over 1,000, the numbers in attendance to 187,000. The odds against a child from a public elementary school obtaining a free secondary education at the age of 11 had been reduced to 40 to 1 and 56 elementary school children in every 1,000 of the 10–11 age group were finding their way to the secondary schools.

3. *The period of rapid expansion, 1914–1915 to 1920–1921.*

During this period, as graph B (facing p. 97) shows, the rate of growth of the schools more than doubled. Unfortunately no materials exist for its study except those contained in a few admirably condensed pages in the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1923–1924. The publication of the annual reports and statistics of the Board ceased during the war. To-day statistics, which in those days employed fifty clerks and took eighteen months to produce, are turned out by electrically operated tabulating machines and a few typists in three months. The fifty clerks were otherwise engaged and, even if the statistics had been compiled, paper upon which to print them was too valuable to be devoted to such a purpose.

The curtain which closes over the schools was not lifted till 1920. It rose upon a very different scene. Obviously the diffusion of the national wealth among new classes of the population in the form of so-called 'war wages' had made it considerably easier for wage-earning parents to pay fees. One read a great deal in those days of the luxury spending of war profiteers, of the miner who bought a piano and then bought a second piano to keep it company on the other side of the fireplace. The unprecedented demand for places in secondary schools and the mounting sales of War Savings

Certificates are the other side of the picture, less romantic in 'news value' but perhaps a truer index of the national character.

The writer of the chapter in the Report of the Board of Education for 1924, whose anonymity does not conceal either his obvious experience or his great capacity to form conclusions, based on an intimate knowledge of the schools as a whole, sees other factors also at work. 'The changes that had been going on in the previous twenty years—the multiplication and the increasing accessibility of schools, the growth of appreciation among parents, the example of others —had been working silently and unsuspected beneath the surface to create a new desire for education.' Obviously the same leaven which we have seen at work at the time of the South African war and the 1902 Act was again stirring the inertia of large sections of the population.

Moreover the flower of the pre-war secondary schools for boys was being swept away, and the places of those who would never return would have to be filled when the war came to an end. Even to-day when so much has been written about the war, it is seldom realised how heavy a proportion of the casualties was suffered by those age groups which had passed through the secondary schools immediately before 1914. The number of names of those killed appearing on the 'Roll of Honour' of most secondary schools will usually be found to approximate to the total number in the school at the beginning of the war. That it was a 'subaltern's war' is indicated by the fact that whereas 720 old members of one school were killed, a count of the sons they had left for the school to educate in the future revealed a bare 80 names. Old boys of the 'public' or secondary schools who are now aged 38 to 45 may well feel that they are the survivors of a lost generation.

William of Wykeham, contemplating the dearth of 'a due supply of men fitted to serve their country in Church and State' caused by the ravages of the Black Death, founded his college at Winchester. His successors in a modern age, the

local education authorities, contemplating the ravages of the Great War, set about modernising and adding to the number of their grammar and county schools.

The 'outburst of demand' led to much overcrowding of premises built before the war and even to the exclusion at the beginning of 1919–1920 of 10,000 applicants for admission as fee-paying scholars, and of a further 10,000 who would have been qualified for admission as free place scholars. Some of those qualified for free places ultimately, however, secured admission as fee payers.

By the year 1920–1921 the number of schools on the grant list had risen to 1,205, the numbers in attendance to 337,000. The odds against a child from a public elementary school obtaining a free secondary education at the age of 11 had been reduced to 21 to 1 and 97 elementary school children in every 1,000 of the 10–11 age group were finding their way to a secondary school.

4. *The period of consolidation, 1920–1929.*

Despite the inevitable 'time lag' in providing adequate premises to house nearly twice the number of pupils for whom it had been necessary to provide before the war, the rapid increase of numbers brought strength to the schools in a variety of ways. Moreover, surprisingly enough, expansion did not suffer any marked set back when the industrial activity of the war years gave way to the economic difficulties of 1921. Probably this may to some extent be accounted for by the publicity afforded by the local education authorities, at Mr. Fisher's suggestion, to the 'schemes' for the development of all forms of education in their areas required by his Education Act of 1918. The continued demand, in the face of a falling index of national prosperity, provided a welcome indication that secondary education in England had at last come into its own.

With the greatly increased attendance and larger average size of the schools consolidation was able to take a variety of forms.

For example, the occupation of school places by young children in preparatory departments could no longer be justified when older children were unable to obtain admission. Correspondingly parents could be expected to sign agreements to keep their children at school for a full course to avoid vacant places in the higher forms which might have been filled by older pupils. Thus in the junior stages of the school course the tendency to stabilise the age of entry about the age of 11, already fostered by the higher grants obtainable after that age, was increased, and the larger numbers of seniors remaining at school enabled 'advanced courses' and sixth form work to be developed.

Again order was in 1917 brought into the dense jungle of unco-ordinated and unstandardised examining bodies which up to that year had been able to compete for the custom of the schools.

Superimposed upon the structure of examinations qualifying candidates for entrance to the universities were examinations devised by professional bodies, competitive examinations for the Civil Services and the Army, and various special examinations in science. The effect upon the coherence of secondary education was undoubtedly serious. Enough separate examining bodies existed to give half the pupils in every form a new objective for every year of their course.

Each examining body could require those pupils seeking to enter for its examinations to follow a separate syllabus giving effect to its particular theory of the proper content of a secondary education. Each could refuse to accept examinations already passed as equivalent in value to its own.

This chaos was resolved by the institution of the 'first' and 'second' school examinations conducted by eight recognised examining bodies. A national currency was assured for the two school certificates, lest bad coinage should drive out the good, by the institution of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council, which investigates every few years the whole machinery of each of the eight bodies with a view to the maintenance of a correlated standard.

The institution of the school certificate undoubtedly contributed to the growth of secondary education by altering the attitude of the middle school boys and girls to their work, requiring the development of habits of personal effort and providing their future employers with a readily understood criterion by which to assess their quality and persistence. The tendency of industry and commerce to regard the possession of the certificate as a *sine qua non* for all recruits to their businesses has often been a potent factor in causing parents to demand the provision of a local secondary school. Unfortunately the very success of the system has in the course of years led to a considerable volume of dissatisfaction among parents and educationalists alike. Briefly, the parent sees in the three years' strenuous preparation for the examinations a potent source of overstrain, particularly in the case of girls. As the report of the Consultative Committee on 'Differentiation of Curricula between the Sexes' pointed out, if a girl is given too much homework she will often break down. A boy on the other hand will not do it. Similarly those jealous to ensure that the secondary schools should give a liberal education (as distinct from a largely disciplinary education with an academic bias to conform with the requirements of universities to which 93% of the pupils will not pass forward) fear the re-enactment in the secondary schools of many of the educational dangers from which the elementary schools escaped when 'payment by results' came to an end.

It would be outside the scope of this book to discuss the matter further. Fortunately that care in the selection of candidates for headships, and that freedom accorded to heads after appointment, which has been mentioned above, is likely to come to the rescue. For English educational history abounds in instances where heads, refusing to take the line of least resistance, have—to adapt Pitt's words—saved their schools by their own efforts and English education by their example. Already some of the universities have announced their readiness to free their school certificates to develop

along the lines originally laid down, by devising a new and separate passport for those who desire to enter upon university courses on leaving the secondary schools. Already, too, some headmasters and headmistresses have worked out, with the co-operation of the university examination boards,[1] alternative courses of study adapted to the circumstances of their individual schools but still leading to an examination which will confer the certificate. Possibly within the next 20 years the school certificate examination as now conducted will be a thing of the past and will have been replaced by a 'modified internal' examination still possessing a national currency on the model set by the National Certificate Examinations in mechanical and electrical engineering, building, chemistry, naval architecture and commerce.

Before passing from the period under review (1920–1929) two further developments remain to be noted. First that the whole conception of the term secondary education was to be altered by the 'Hadow' report on the Education of the Adolescent (1926). That report has in fact so widened the conception of post primary education that the grammar and county schools are now coming to be regarded as constituting one only among the many roads which must in future lead to higher education. When the fundamental reorganisation of the whole educational system which that report set on foot is complete, the secondary school will not cater, as now, rather indiscriminately for those whose parents can pay the fees demanded and for a leavening of scholarship winners from the elementary schools. They will progressively come to be restricted to that intellectual élite who, irrespective of their home circumstances, are required by a modern democracy to recruit its universities, its professions and its municipal and civil services.

Again, during the closing year of this period a considerable quickening of conservative thought in regard to higher educa-

[1]See the article on 'The New History Examination' in *The Times Educational Supplement* of 23rd May, 1936.

tion was observable. Largely through the brilliant advocacy of Lord Eustace Percy[1] it was led first to an appreciation of the fact that a nation situated, as Great Britain is, in a competitive modern world can only hope to maintain and improve the standard of living of its crowded population by a continual increase in the volume, value, appeal and design of its exports, in fact that the struggle for existence, like the battle for civilisation itself, must be fought with the weapons of science; secondly, it was led to a truer understanding of the place of secondary education and a liberal scholarship scheme as factors in the promotion of social unity.

Thus the long-drawn industrial unrest of the post-war years which reached its climax in the General Strike of 1926 was followed by Mr. Baldwin's appeal for co-operation, unity and appeasement. In this secondary education had a special part to play. 'One of the strongest bonds of union between men,' Mr. Baldwin wrote in a letter addressed to the teaching profession in 1929, 'is a common education, and England has been the poorer that in her national system of schooling she has not in the past fostered this fellowship of the mind.'

'The classification of our schools has been on the lines of social rather than educational distinction; a youth's school badge has been his social label. The interests of social unity demand the removal of this source of class prejudice and the drastic remodelling of the national structure to form a coherent whole.'

At the close of this period (1929) the number of schools on the grant list stood at 1,341 and the total number of scholars in attendance at 386,993. Of this total 169,254 were paying no fees and had entered from public elementary schools. The odds against an elementary school child obtaining a free secondary education had been reduced to 13 to 1, and 113 per 1,000 children of the elementary school age group were passing on to secondary schools. For purposes of comparison it may be noted that a reply in the Chamber of

[1]President of the Board of Education, 1925–1929.

Deputies on 1st August, 1928, gave the numbers attending secondary schools in France in 1927–1928 as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Public Lycées and Colleges .. .. | 167,781 |
| (*b*) Private .. .. .. .. .. | 118,909 |
| | 286,690 |

5. *1929–1935.*

The years since 1929 may be described as a period of re-adjustment of function as between the grammar and county secondary schools and other full time schools providing parallel educational courses for the adolescent.

During this period, the first preoccupation of the central and local authorities has been to increase their provision for such alternative forms of secondary education as those provided in the junior technical schools and to ensure a proper 'place in the sun' for the new senior schools created by the spread of 'Hadow' reorganisation. The grammar and county secondary schools have therefore been tending to take their rightful place as one among a variety of roads along which children may travel to a higher education. Moreover a feeling has spread in Whitehall and parliamentary circles and among the local authorities themselves that the country probably has for the present enough accommodation in secondary schools (which should look to the university) to satisfy the specific needs for which such schools should cater in a modern community. Several counties indeed, surveying their provision for secondary education and contemplating the extent of the problem of reorganisation which lies before them, have come to a definite decision to call a halt in the provision of new schools. These two tendencies have checked the building of additional schools, but the numbers in attendance have continued to rise by 7,000 to 10,000 a year. An examination of the graph and an analysis of the number of annual entrants supplies the reason. The schools are slowly reaching a position of

equilibrium in exactly the same way as the population of the country is remaining constant despite a decline in births. In the one case pupils are remaining longer at school, in the other the population is living longer.

Another important feature of the period has been the final acceptance by conservative thought (as embodied in a National Government) of the theory that ultimately the secondary schools must be thrown open completely, and on no other basis than talent, to those most fitted to receive a secondary education in whatever stratum of the population they may be found.

This came about in a curious way.

When the century opened, as we have seen, the idea was deeply rooted that elementary and secondary education represented not successive stages of education, but alternative kinds of education meant for different social classes. When the free place system was instituted no test of parental income appeared necessary. The fact that the parent had allowed his son to be educated for two years previously in an elementary school was thought to provide a sufficient guarantee without further scrutiny of his income that he could not afford to send him to a secondary or private school as a fee payer. The 'scouring away of old class barriers' and the ever-increasing attractiveness of the elementary school achieved by 30 years' progress appeared to the Committee on National Expenditure (the May Committee, 1931) to call for the imposition of such an income test upon the parents of the greatly increased number of scholarship winners of 1931. The Board of Education sought to give effect to this principle by the substitution for 'free places' of 'special places' carrying a value related to the income of the parent. The Board's circular to local education authorities on the matter (Circular 1421) aroused a controversy so considerable as to cause the Government to consider anew the logical principles upon which accessibility to the secondary schools should ultimately rest. In a matter of a few weeks 1,600 resolutions from meetings of protest were received at the offices of the

Board besides a heavy volume of correspondence from individuals and members of parliament. The result of the Government's second thoughts was stated by Lord Irwin in the House of Lords as follows:[1] 'It seems to me that there are two principles upon which a reformer of our secondary education system might think it proper scientifically to proceed. He might say that his idea was that secondary education should be made entirely free for all pupils, quite irrespective of parents' means, and parents would be invited to make no contribution; or he might say "let us build up a system under which we will charge full fees, reduced fees, or no fees, according to the circumstances of the parents of all the children in the school, and not confine this remission or graduation of fees only to the parents of children who secure a fixed and limited proportion of special places"; that is to say, admit all your children by a competitive examination and, when they are there, decide what their parents are to pay towards the cost of their education.'

Either system, he continued, would be logical and in particular the second might well be kept before the country as an educational ideal, although in the existing circumstances the country could not afford it.

To this ideal the Government returned after the restoration of the reductions made in educational expenditure in the circumstances of 1931. In their statement of policy before the general election of October, 1935, appeared the following words: 'Brains are the prerogative of no single class. They are as likely to be found in the poorest as in the richest homes, and wherever they are found it is essential in the interest of the State, as well as of the individual, that they should be given every opportunity of development.' . . . 'The National Government intend to remove altogether the existing restrictions on the discretion of authorities in regard to the proportion of children who may be admitted to secondary schools either free or at reduced fees.'

[1]H. Lords, Vol. 85, Col. 910.

For the future the chief administrative problems in the field of secondary education are four in number:

(1) To perfect the machinery in each locality to ensure that no child whose ability and bent of mind fits it for a full secondary course fails to obtain that course because its parents cannot afford to send it or keep it there. This, as has often been pointed out, will involve the award of much greater sums than at present in maintenance allowances on top of remission of tuition fees.

(2) To prolong the period of attendance at secondary schools so that there are no empty places in the top forms where the real benefit of a secondary education is felt.

At present, as graph B (facing p. 97) shows, far too many children still leave at 14, 15 and 16. A general extension of school life to 17 would increase the numbers in the schools to well over half a million.

(3) To find a satisfactory way out of the present burden and over pressure along a narrow channel caused by the school certificate and matriculation examinations. As noted above there are hopeful signs that this may be achieved by action on the part of the universities and the schools themselves.

(4) To exercise care lest in the extension of the system of 100% special places a small but potentially valuable section of the child population is excluded. This section comprises the children of young professional men, the clergy, etc. The parental income may be just above the scale for a special place, but it often has to meet calls which do not fall to the same extent upon the ordinary wage earner.

This brief sketch of the advance of secondary education in England since the Act of 1902 exhibits a typically British adaptation to meet the pressure of social, economic and political forces. Yet the task of isolating and evaluating those forces is a difficult one. After 34 years it is beginning to be possible to view those earlier currents which led up to the Act of 1902 in a perspective which may not appear unduly distorted to the future historian. The streams which combine to make a river at its source can be traced on a map. But in the broadening river of our modern educational system, with its steadily gathering momentum, the task of

separating the social from the political and the political from the economic currents, is one which as yet can only be undertaken very tentatively.

Has the demand for secondary education on the part of parents in reality increased? Would there in fact be so many times the number of children receiving it to-day as 40 years ago if the provision of special places and maintenance grants by the local authorities had not been so liberal? Is it not perhaps the case that the very provision of facilities for secondary education breeds a demand for it? Such questions are not perhaps so illegitimate as they appear. They might in fact very properly be asked by a foreign observer confronted for the first time by the number of 'special places' now held, the amount spent on maintenance allowances annually and the number of fee-paying scholars in the total number.[1] To ask them would, however, betray a serious misunderstanding of the working of central and local government in this country, and the reluctance with which popularly elected representatives are prepared to make calls upon the ratepayer's pocket for an ideal unsupported and guaranteed by a clear local demand. The truth of the matter was never more clearly stated than by the Schools Inquiry Commission nearly 70 years ago.[2] 'It is vain to expect to educate the people of this country except by gradually inducing them to educate themselves. Those who have studied the subject may supply the best guidance, and Parliament may be persuaded to make laws in accordance with their advice. But the real force whereby the work is to be done must come from the people.

'The people perhaps cannot give guidance but they can give life, which is even more valuable than guidance. With the people what we may do may be imperfect, without them we shall probably do little or nothing.'

[1]Total number in the schools, 1934, 448,421; total number of free scholars, 1934, 216,255; partially free, 15,152; Aid to students, £2,329,625. This figure, however, includes aid to students in training colleges. [2]*R.C.E.*, 1868, p. 658.

If the first impulse towards our national system of elementary education arose out of the humanitarian conscience of the more fortunate elements in the community, the national system of secondary education has been built principally upon the aspirations of the wage-earning classes, and the determination of those in receipt of small salaries themselves to equip their children to earn larger ones. It is an interesting study, for example, to compare a graph showing the rise in the attendance at secondary schools with one showing the rise in the membership of trade unions.

England, it has been remarked, is primarily a social democracy, using the word 'social' in the sense that the logical conception of a career open to talents finds far less ready acceptance than, for example, in France. It is replaced by a much less rationally based solicitude on the part of the English parent to afford his particular child a better chance in life than he himself enjoyed. In this reason and self-interest normally play a lesser part than sentiment and the feeling that the commencement of wage-earning is not of itself a desirable thing if circumstances permit it to be postponed, and if, by such postponement, a start can be made in a job carrying or leading to greater social prestige.

On the other hand England has never experienced that whole-hearted acceptance, as a democratic ideal, of the principle of affording secondary education to all who show any desire to receive it, which has filled the secondary schools of the United States. Her conservative habits of thought and the equally conservative financial traditions of her central and local government, accentuated by the financial strain of the war, have been brought at last to accept the theory, first enunciated by Comenius three hundred years ago, that there must eventually be equality of educational opportunity where there is equality of capacity to profit by it: but they have never conceived it to be possible to entertain the much more expensive theory, first put forward by Robert Owen a century ago, that 'all inequality of educational and social

condition must cease' and the secondary schools be thrown open to all who demand admission to them.

The public attitude towards secondary education in England thus seems to occupy at present a middle position between that of France and Germany on the one hand and that found in the United States and in certain parts of Wales on the other. For it is interesting to note that in Wales 223 children per 1000 of the elementary age group pass forward to secondary schools as compared with 119 in England.

While the 'gentlemanly amateur' was still setting the tone in England, France and Germany had for long been concerned to recruit a substantial officer and official class, to advance the national welfare by intellectual achievement and to secure that the corpus of human knowledge painfully acquired over the past centuries should be handed forward to the safe keeping of a sufficient intelligensia in the next generation.

Yet the army of pupils receiving secondary education which has grown up in England in less than a third of a century is respectable even by continental standards. What is more, it has grown up without such adventitious aids as 'military privileges' to induce parents to seek secondary education for their boys; without the prospect of compulsory military service at 18 to check premature withdrawal; without even any clearly expressed philosophy of secondary education in the mind either of State or parent beyond a vague belief that it may lead to better opportunities in life, such as a wider circle of friends or a happier marriage, to greater competitive efficiency in securing a job or to increased chances of rendering service to society. Characteristically, too, the schools have avoided what the English parent might regard as the rather rigid erudition fostered by the German secondary school or the too purely intellectual tone of the French lycée.

Instead there has grown up a loosely knit complex of schools exhibiting the widest possible variety in their methods and curricula, but all endeavouring, according to their several conceptions, to achieve a final product which shall

respect scholarship without neglecting the claims of games and outdoor activities, cultivate adaptability whilst guarding against superficiality, and know how to achieve a balanced personal standpoint whilst recognising that there are two sides to almost every question. The 'gentlemanly amateur' is in fact becoming sublimated into the 'all rounder', conscious of his obligations to a social order in transition.

Is a parent who perceives these qualities in his neighbour's son or daughter (although he is probably very far from clothing them in words), and desires that his own child should possess them too, guilty of nothing more than a mild form of snobbery? Or is he to be held up to moral obloquy as a relic of Victorian subservience to the wearer of a black coat? Those who accept this view of the matter (and they are not uncommon) will call up in their support the undoubted fact that the success of the managing and proprietary classes, in the days when England was a country of small private concerns with few industrial competitors, was often attributed by their workmen to the possession of a 'public school' education. Education, however ill adapted it may in reality have been to the management of a business, seemed to spell power. Their sons, they argued, might become managers too if they could only afford them a better education. They will call up too the many individual cases which have undoubtedly occurred where the social advantage conferred by the right to wear the same old scholar's tie as the son of the foreman or the manager has been known to influence promotion.

A widespread popular desire for those better opportunities in life to which higher education is—often erroneously—supposed to be the gateway has admittedly played a substantial part in the growth of the schools. But to argue that a desire on the part of others to afford their children the best possible start in life is a form of snobbery is to come perilously near convicting oneself of that very fault. The wise student of social change will surely see in it something very different. He will observe the decline of the small

private business, its replacement by huge and correspondingly impersonal amalgamations, the demand for new aptitudes and the reorientation of others, and finally the steady levelling pressure of death duties. He will then recognise this new appetite for secondary education for what it usually is, a perfectly legitimate and praiseworthy attempt on the part of the sensible citizen to endow his child with a good education as the best, perhaps the only, capital asset which he can hope to pass on to him.

Of recent years other influences, too, of a social nature have been exercising a steadily increasing effect upon the growth of the schools.

In the first place, more than 1,000 schools have now been in existence long enough for hundreds of thousands of pupils who have passed through them to have married and become the fathers and mothers of a new generation. A parent who has himself enjoyed the advantages of a secondary education is usually among the first to make whatever sacrifices may be called for to afford it to his own son or daughter. The degree of sacrifice required has, too, probably tended to diminish with the spread of birth control and the consequent diminution in the size of families so clearly shown by Mr. R. C. K. Ensor in his recent volume (1870-1914) in the *Oxford History of England.*

Just as compulsory elementary education appeared to display a new strength when it had entered upon its second generation, the secondary schools are now forming a similar self-perpetuating tradition.

Secondly, the schools are now continually being reinforced by the upthrust of new strata of the population. Arrangements are now made by nearly all the local education authorities for higher education to submit to a general examination, at about the age of 11, all children in the elementary schools who appear likely to be capable of benefiting by a secondary school course. Many local education authorities have of course gone further, and are spending considerable sums annually to bring to the notice of parents by advertise-

ment, open days, education weeks, exhibitions and literature, the chances and choices offered to their children by higher education. The London County Council, for example, issues a simply written pamphlet, 'Now you are 10', to all children in its schools on attaining that age, in the hope that the parents will read it also. This serves to call the attention of parents to their children's promise and, if it results in many disappointed hopes of a 'special place', it ensures a steady stream of fee-paying entrants from homes which might not otherwise have thought of sending their children to a secondary school. Those curt refusals to accept the offer of a free place, often scrawled on the back of a sugar bag or an envelope, which used to be so common in the local education authorities' postbags in earlier days, are now happily much more rare.

Other agencies too have been at work in the same direction. The University Extension movement and the spread of County Libraries has been steadily widening the circle of those who prefer to follow the uphill path of seasoned knowledge to the distractions and rewards of more directly specific or remunerative information. Some interesting evidence as to the determination on the part of those who have attended University Extension courses to secure secondary education for their children has recently become available in *Learn and Live*, compiled by Messrs. Williams & Heath for the Institute of Adult Education. The great variety of newspapers, reviews, magazines and technical periodicals now sustained by a population compulsorily educated for 60 years is continually pointing to new fields of interest. A demand is thus created for the educational equipment necessary for their more thorough exploration and intelligent assimilation. In recent years the broad cultural influence of the films and of broadcasting have added their contribution to the same end. The Women's Institutes and numberless societies such as the British Drama League have enlarged the opportunities for the profitable use of leisure by the young, and in doing so have contributed to the realisation

by their elders that a liberal education nowadays has come to rank among the chief goods of life.

There was a day not long before the twentieth century opened when it was necessary to plead for the higher education of women on the ground that the community, by denying it to them, was depriving itself of the trained contribution which it might expect to receive from more than half its membership. By 1895 this battle had been won, at any rate so far as the educated classes of the day were concerned, although the shortage of secondary schools for girls was still serious when the Bryce Commission reported. A great deal was evidently done to make good this shortage between 1895 and 1910. Since then the disparity between the places available for the sexes has never been serious nationally, whatever may have been the case in individual localities.

If woman was able to unlock the door to the secondary schools before the war, she has of course enjoyed the full freedom of the latchkey to practically every learned profession[1] and even to the older universities ever since. The grandfathers of the present generation of parents were often inclined to spend their substance on the education of their sons and to be content to provide each daughter with a single accomplishment. In reparation they usually expected the sons to fend for themselves and left what savings they had accumulated to those daughters who had failed to find husbands. Their grandsons of to-day, expecting to save less or to have less to leave, after the payment of death duties, can neither afford, nor indeed desire, to make such distinctions in an age of universal woman's suffrage and growing equality of opportunity. To the modern parent, indeed, the prospect of his daughter's marriage appears rather as an argument for affording her a liberal education than as a

[1]The customs preventive service and the consular service are of course still exceptions, but for special reasons. Readers of *Women's Work in Modern England*, 1928, by Miss Vera Brittain, will of course know that the problem of finding suitable and remunerative work for well-educated girls is still, however, a serious one.

reason for withholding it. With the experience of the war behind him and before him a future which often appears dark and always uncertain, he remembers the widows of his friends too often existing on small means because they had neither a business career to which to return nor the training to take one up. Finally, although figures are difficult to obtain,[1] there is no doubt that the last forty years have witnessed a great expansion of the older professions and the creation of a remarkable number of new ones. A democracy progressively raising its standards of education is ever creating a call for new types of professional service to minister to its social and domestic needs, its leisure or its entertainment. The world shrinks daily with the speeding up of transport and communications, and human society, like the biological species, moves from the unspecialised to the specialised. The annual recruitment to professional careers, in which the secondary schools play the most important part, must to-day be many times as great as it was when the century opened, although the increased expectation of life of the population no doubt tends to obscure the full effect of the change.

Of the *economic* factors which have played a part something has already been said in the historical survey. Recent years have seen a healthy reaction, among those whom the larger scale organisation of industry has brought to positions of management, against the 'gentlemanly amateur's' aversion to discuss anything but cricket and golf. It is no longer 'bad

[1]Those interested should consult *The Social Structure of England and Wales*, by Professor Carr Saunders and Mr. Caradog Jones, particularly Chapters V and VI.

The following figures are also illuminating:

| | Census 1891 | Census 1931 |
|---|---|---|
| Professional occupations and their subordinate services .. .. | 507,870 | 746,085 |
| General or Local Government .. | 144,300 | 293,108 |
| Commercial occupations .. .. | 416,365 | 2,071,420 |

The number of persons professionally engaged in entertainment and sport rose from 82,794 to 114,023 between 1921 and 1931

form' to discuss and give thought to the recruitment policy of one's works or business. This in itself is in part no doubt to be placed to the credit of a more broadminded education. The employer who does think about these matters very soon comes to realise that to live by exports (in a world in which economic nationalism, expressing itself in customs barriers and trade restrictions, has become a moving force in every land) this country must utilise every atom of trained ability she can produce. To go on repeating that the British workman is the best in the world will be vain unless the goods he makes can surmount tariff barriers[1] because they are better designed, more skilfully advertised, more durable, more reliable and more up-to-date than those with which they have to compete. England in fact must for ever be seeking to anticipate the market or produce goods requiring a degree of scientific precision unattainable, at similar cost, elsewhere. Just as the officer in the war was constantly placed in a situation where his own life and those of his men depended upon the reliability of his map and compass and his training in their use, so the maker of, for example, aeroplane engines must himself possess the training and employ a personnel which will sell those engines to the world because of their reliability. *The Times* has seldom done a greater service to the nation than it did during the war in calling public attention to the lack of an intelligent respect for science, which had hitherto been too common, and the need for scientific method and a scientific habit of mind as vital to the continued existence of this country as a great power. For it was out of this correspondence that the reports of the Prime Minister's Committee on Science in the Secondary Curriculum arose, and those reports led to a marked development of science in the schools.

Again, although a modern democracy must ultimately move forward on the brains of its men of genius, it continues to exist

[1]Many business men in Bradford, for example, attribute their success in overcoming tariff barriers in the wool trade to their policy of free secondary education.

because countless myriads of trained workers with hand and brain, whose names never appear in the newspapers, are doing the thing near at hand and doing it as well as possible. This economic fact is still too often overlooked by leaders of industry and leaders of national life alike. The undue simplification of the reports of trade and industrial activity placed before them often lead them into the error of believing that the economic processes of national life are simple. In fact no single mind can possibly assimilate the immense number of complicated sources of wealth which go to make up the national income and the balance of trade.

Finally, the growth of secondary education owes much to the development of motor transport and the cheapening of the humble bicycle—two economic assets which are often overlooked in comparing national life to-day with that before the twentieth century began. While, paradoxically enough, the development of the railway network in Victorian times nearly killed the ancient grammar schools, the bicycle and motor-bus have often been a means to their resuscitation. The railways made it possible for the manufacturing classes in the heyday of industrial prosperity to send their sons to the public and private boarding schools, made respectable by the work of Arnold and others, instead of to the local endowed school. It is an interesting reflection that much of the life of Matthew Arnold was devoted to a passionate crusade to restore the schools thus jeopardised by his father's success. A few local endowed schools, e.g. Blundells' and Manchester Grammar School (see p. 51), profited, but the majority were adversely affected.

Some of the *political* movements which have contributed to the advance of secondary education in England have been indicated in the historical survey. We have seen (p. 90) how all shades of political opinion supported the higher education sections of the Act of 1902. Each has made its distinctive contribution since. In matters affecting the homes and life of the people all parties are liberal at heart. The Act which made it possible stands to the credit of a Conservative

Government with Liberal Unionist support. The working-class demand for the restoration to the 'poor scholar' of endowments left for his benefit was interpreted by the free-place requirements of a Liberal Government. It was reinforced by much activity in re-scheming the endowments of old foundations and concurrent measures to import a greater control by popularly elected representatives. The Labour party has consistently supported the efforts of such agencies as the Workers' Educational Association to arouse a greater appreciation of the advantages of higher education. It has also constantly kept before the country the need for a new basis of social equality, an equality of social opportunity, and has never been slow to call attention to potential ability allowed to run to waste for want of additional scholarships and maintenance allowances.[1]

Thus working-class aspirations and the new scientific outlook have both been moving towards the same point, the inadmissibility of class and caste distinctions in a new social order. They have been reinforced by the recognition by conservative opinion, first, that modern industry and commerce require an élite no less than the administration of central and local government, the professions and the ministry of the Church; secondly, that enlarged social opportunity is the safety-valve of class feeling.

In sharp distinction to the practice of many other countries, however, the direct interest of the State in promoting a vigorous and well-balanced system of secondary education as a factor in competitive efficiency at home and national prestige and colonial development abroad has in England taken the form of silent pressure rather than noisy nationalistic stimulation. This pressure has been exerted through official circulars; prefatory memoranda to grant regulations—backed by the potent inducement of ever-increasing grants;

[1]See particularly *Secondary Education for All*, edited by Prof. R. H. Tawney (1922), Mr. Kenneth Lindsay's *Social Progress and Educational Waste* (1926), and the report on 'The Secondary School' by the Bradford I.L.P., 1928–1931.

full inspections of schools by His Majesty's Inspectors, followed by conferences between the Governing Bodies and the reporting Inspectors; conversations between Inspectors and the executive officers of the local authorities; and speeches by the leaders of local or national life at the opening of new or rebuilt schools, prize days and education weeks. By these means pride in the local schools has been substituted for nationalism, a sense of civic responsibility for centrally directed government propaganda. As the late Dr. James Graham remarked in the handbook he provided for the Leeds Education week in 1926, 'An efficient system of secondary schools is an essential for any progressive community'. This local pride and sense of civic responsibility was of course greatly stimulated by the profound stirring in all phases of national thought and activity due to the war.

When the twentieth century opened England seemed in the sphere of secondary education to be 60 years behind her neighbours. Blindly perhaps, or at least without any very conscious directive purpose but impelled rather by a confused medley of interacting social, political and economic tendencies, she has in 34 years covered herself with a reputable network of secondary schools.

As inheritors of ideals handed down by the older educational foundations of the past they pay service to the English respect for tradition. But by virtue of their modern equipment, their broad-based democratic clientèle, the academic distinction of their staffs, they are able without misgiving to make their peculiar contribution to the realisation of the bold words of Comenius: 'I aim at securing for all human beings training in all that is proper for their common humanity.'

# CHAPTER VII

## THE EMANCIPATION OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The change in the public attitude towards the elementary school since 1895.—The objectives of elementary education as seen by educationists of the 1890's.—Sir Robert Morant's manifesto of 1904.—Difficulties which hindered its realisation.—The proper educational treatment of the adolescent an ever-growing problem.—The 'Hadow' report.—Its implications.—The present conception of the function of the elementary school.

WE have seen how the Local Government Act of 1888 and the Education Act of 1902 provided a stock upon which a national system of education could be grafted. In the preceding chapter we have traced the growth of the first branch grafted on to that stock, secondary education, and seen it blossom and begin to bear fruit. Before examining the second branch, technical and further education, it will be well to follow out some of the changes which the Acts initiated in the sphere of elementary education—by enabling the maintenance of all schools whether board or voluntary to be put on a common financial footing and thus preparing the way for the Burnham Salary Scales, Mr. Fisher's Education Act of 1918, and the Hadow report on the Education of the Adolescent. For technical and further education begins after the elementary schools, and in many instances the secondary schools, have done their work. It must in fact be sustained by an educated entry. This chapter will not therefore be concerned to follow the numerical growth of the elementary

school system, which reached its high-water mark in 1904 at 6,070,296 on the registers and would have reached six and a half millions if attendance had then been compulsory till 14. Its purpose is rather to show the gradual emancipation of the elementary school from nineteenth-century ideas and practice after the arctic winter of payment by results, and to study the consequent change—slow as it has been—in the public attitude towards the elementary system. How great this change has been is only perhaps appreciated by the older members of H.M. Inspectorate and by teachers who began their career as pupil teachers in the 1890's and are now retiring from the profession. Perhaps few even of these can recall with any clarity the full extent of the change. How many of us could, for example, recollect in precise detail the aspect of the street in which we were born and the changes which have taken place in its outline and in the manners, customs and bearing of its inhabitants?

One of the great difficulties which confronts anyone who tries to review a period of forty or fifty years in balanced historical perspective is to strike the mean between the attitude of those whose actions or practice are definitely in advance of public opinion and those whose ideas are as definitely in its wake. Progress in education, as in many other departments of national life, is achieved by the illumination of genius, fertilised by the imitative power of the enthusiast in contact with genius and disseminated by the missionary effort of inspectors, administrators and the educational press. But the work of a genius here and there must never be mistaken for the common level. Take the simple, if painful, case of corporal punishment. Even so early as Dr. Johnson's day, it will be remembered, he was proudly informed that schoolboys were being thrashed less and learning more Greek (he is said to have replied, 'That shows, sir, that what they are losing at one end they are gaining at the other'). No doubt there have always been teachers who have been ready to write to their sons 'If you have to cane a boy you must consider that you have

failed'.[1] But to suppose that these represented the average of their day would be to fly in the face of history and the recollection—in this instance often only too vivid—of many whose education took place at a much later date.

It has been remarked (p. 50) that the common denominator in the public attitude towards the elementary school forty to fifty years ago was the general belief that its purpose was to give the vast mass of the children of the nation, who could not aspire to be anything but labourers, artisans, domestic servants and laundry girls, the minimum mental equipment necessary to launch them upon life.

Stalwart social reformers like Mrs. Burgwin might tell the Cross Commissioners that their aim was 'not merely to turn out an educated but a good and happy woman'. Others again might express their conviction that the payment by results system was 'turning out children well principled and conscientious'. But the general attitude was perhaps more nearly expressed by the Rev. D. J. Stewart, M.A., one of the Senior Inspectors of Schools: 'What has always struck me as being the thing to do for boys and girls who have to live by any form of labour, is to give them a thorough knowledge of a very few things—to teach them to read with ease, to write a good legible hand, to spell correctly, and to know the first four rules of arithmetic simple and compound, so as to be able to use them for the ordinary little problems of daily life as they grow older.' 'Does not education consist in the complete formation of a man?' one witness was asked. 'Do you think that it is the function of a day school completely to form the whole life and character of a child?' 'If it is the function,' he replied, 'it certainly will not succeed in doing it.

[1]This was actually written by the grandfather of a present head teacher to her father. By 1902 the Instructions to Inspectors contained the following sentiment: 'If discipline were perfect, punishment would be unknown, for the result of efficient discipline is to engender the good habits which render punishment unnecessary. This happy consummation can hardly be realised but should be the teacher's ideal.' One finds it difficult to read this pious thought without imagining its author translating it into polished Latin verse!

It is certainly not the function of a day school to teach the scholars a trade to earn their living, but it can so direct their energies that they can earn their bread and butter more easily.'

The truth is that, however remarkable the results achieved even 40 years ago by teachers of genius here and there, at least 50% of the work of most of the ordinary elementary schools was, during the whole of the first generation of compulsory education, social and disciplinary. There were plenty of remarkable teachers, but it is more than doubtful if they could have applied modern teaching methods to the great majority of the children of that day.

It could hardly be otherwise when a sufficiency of trained teaching staff did not exist; when the whole pressure of payment by results was in the direction of intellectual rigidity, of cram, and worse still of regarding children as counters in a money-making machine; and finally, when a proportion of the parents had hardly as yet been touched by any civilising influence. 'The children are fairly intelligent,' resignedly remarked one witness, who during the past 16 years had visited nearly every Catholic school in the country, 'but coming from very poor homes with wretched surroundings the present race cannot be immensely raised in intelligence.' 'Country children are quite capable of receiving a higher education,' remarked another, 'but it is not necessary for them.'[1]

So far as *education* was concerned the questions at issue were simpler and more practical. The preoccupation of the Cross Commissioners was not with whether 'the children of the classes that frequent those schools' were receiving something which might start them on the road to a liberal education, but rather whether the schools were keeping a proper balance between fitting them for trade or artisan life and fitting them for clerical jobs. Elementary instruction was a gift from the State to the child. It was not a first stage in an educational process admitting of several stages. Care must

[1] *C.C.R.*, 17,310; 3357; 48,950–4; 20,107–20,113; 26,744–45.

be taken lest in attempting to raise too much the standard of education the country might defeat the object for which education was given, namely, that manual labour in which so many children must be occupied afterwards.

We have seen how with the modification of payment by results in 1895 this static conception of the place of the elementary school began to give way, how the teacher of originality found himself free for cautious experiment. Thus H.M. Inspectors reported in 1896 (*R.E.D.*, p. viii): 'There is ample evidence of greater originality, of more freedom and elasticity and consequently of more effective teaching.' 'Sympathy, gently lifting over difficulties and stimulating to self-help, which is the essence of true teaching, has its full weight now, and not the mere result, however achieved, at whatever cost to future health, to sound thoughtfulness, and to real abiding taste for intellectual pursuits.' We have seen also how as soon as compulsory education had entered its second generation a current of new interest seemed to carry the schools forward. This current was probably assisted by good resolutions made at the opening of a new century and indirectly by the Boer war. For the educational deficiencies of recruits to the army attracted some notice, and the sufferings of the Boer children in the concentration camps stirred the public conscience in regard to the seemingly more favoured children at home.

No Code of Regulations for public elementary schools before 1903 had dared to give expression to the State's conception of the purpose of the elementary school. The 1902 Code was content to define an elementary school as 'a school or department of a school at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given, and does not include any school or department of a school at which the ordinary payments in respect of instruction from each scholar exceed ninepence a week'. But in the year 1903 a new and significant note appeared. 'It should be understood,' wrote Sir Robert Morant, who had now become Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education, 'that the



'The teacher of originality found herself free for cautious experiment.'
A pets' club competition, 1906



A modern 'Young farmer's club'

following Code is provisional in character. It is issued to cover a period which is transitional, a period during which some elementary schools will, as heretofore, be maintained and conducted by School Boards, or by voluntary managers, while others will be passing, at various dates in various localities,[1] under the control of the new statutory Educational Authorities. Early in next year, the Board intend to replace this provisional Code by a Code better adapted to meet the changed conditions which will have been created by the new Act.' The introduction to the new Code, that for 1904, which these words heralded, was in fact a manifesto. The final synthesis is usually attributed to Sir Robert Morant's own pen—and indeed, as has been pointed out, it opens with a paraphrase of the 'Manners makyth man' of his old school —although it was probably based on many contributory drafts by His Majesty's Inspectors. No such complete attempt on the part of the State to set out the purpose of the elementary school has ever been made in any other country:

> The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life.
>
> With this purpose in view it will be the aim of the School to train the children carefully in habits of observation and clear reasoning, so that they may gain an intelligent acquaintance with some of the facts and laws of nature; to arouse in them a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind, and to bring them to some familiarity with the literature and history of their own country; to give them some power over language as an instrument of thought and expression, and, while making them conscious of the limitations of their knowledge, to develop in them such a taste for good reading and thoughtful study as will enable them to increase that knowledge in after years by their own efforts.

[1]The passive resistance movement and nonconformist hostility, particularly in Wales, delayed the absorption of the school boards for some years in various localities.

The School must at the same time encourage to the utmost the children's natural activities of hand and eye by suitable forms of practical work, and manual instruction; and afford them every opportunity for the healthy development of their bodies, not only by training them in appropriate physical exercises and encouraging them in organised games, but also by instructing them in the working of some of the simpler laws of health.

It will be an important though subsidiary object of the School to discover individual children who show promise of exceptional capacity, and to develop their special gifts (so far as this can be done without sacrificing the interests of the majority of the children), so that they may be qualified to pass at the proper age into Secondary Schools, and be able to derive the maximum of benefit from the education there offered them.

And, though their opportunities are but brief, the teachers can yet do much to lay the foundations of conduct. They can endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the School, to implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties; they can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to strive their utmost after purity and truth; they can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners; while the corporate life of the School, especially in the playground, should develop that instinct for fair-play and for loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life.

In all these endeavours the School should enlist, as far as possible, the interest and co-operation of the parents and the home in a united effort to enable the children not merely to reach their full development as individuals, but also to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which they belong.

If this at the time it was penned was a manifesto, stating an ideal rather than describing the average school, it was also a challenge. For a prefatory memorandum added that the Act of 1902 had placed elementary education under improved financial conditions, which had made it possible to look for a higher degree of efficiency than was possible

in some areas in the past. The Board, having instituted a normal grant at a single rate, reserved power to reduce the grant, in case of defects, by a somewhat greater amount than was possible under former Codes. Simultaneously the Instructions to Inspectors were replaced by a 'Handbook of suggestions for Teachers and others concerned in the work of Public Instruction'. How far some schools fell short of the ideal set out in this manifesto may be inferred by readers of *What is and What might be*, written on his retirement, in 1911, by Mr. E. G. A. Holmes, Senior Chief Inspector; or by those who read between the lines of such sentences in the Board's annual reports as the following: 'Not only are we confronted at every step by questions which are still the subject of public controversy, but we are also bound to recognise that in many directions the full effects of the forces which were set in motion by that Act have not yet manifested themselves, that the adjustment of men and methods to new conditions is still incomplete . . . that in fact we are still in a period of transition.'[1]

The important thing to remember, however, is that the manifesto and its influence on those who read it remained unaltered in all subsequent editions of the Code until 1926. In that year in consonance with the new prospect opened up by the Hadow report, and with the desire of the Board to free local education authorities and their teaching staffs from everything but the irreducible minimum of regulations demanded by Statute, the Code itself shrank from the 76-page document of 1902 to a mere paper of 10 pages, which many teachers of to-day have, in all probability, never seen.

While the purpose which should inform the conduct of the elementary schools might be enshrined in these six glowing paragraphs, it was a very different matter to give full effect to that purpose. In the face of the steadily increasing upthrust of the older age groups, as more and more authorities between 1902 and 1914 made bye-laws

[1] *B.E.R.*, 1908–1909.

raising the age for exemption to 14 and restricting the issue of labour certificates, achievement was seen as steadily to be falling short of aspiration.

Already by 1895 Inspectors had begun to note the tendency for children to be kept 'marking time' in their last year at school.[1] In his report upon secondary education in Essex (1906), Mr. Sadler had pleaded for the collection of the older children from the village schools by horse-drawn vans into aggregated schools resembling those which were springing up in the United States and Canada and had added prophetically 'It is impossible at present to say what may be feasible by means of motor communication in a few years' time'. London and the bigger local education authorities were commencing to 'cream off' the abler children from their elementary schools into Central Schools, as some of the ill-fated higher grade schools had done before the Cockerton judgment. *The Times* was pleading for a junior secondary school policy—or heresy as it was described by some. Mr. Duckworth at Carlisle was reorganising the schools of that city.

The Board's reports were advocating the same policy on financial grounds. 'If a school in one parish,' they wrote in their Report for 1908, 'would agree to take the infants or the older scholars from a neighbouring school in another parish, the problem of making the supply of school premises adequate and satisfactory would in many areas be simplified'. In fact the educational arguments in its favour went back to the pupil teacher centres started by the large towns in the 1870's and 1880's,[2] and were, as we have seen (p. 53), well understood by educationists like Sir Philip Magnus. Mr. Fisher's Education Act of 1918, by abolishing all exemp-

[1]The account of the principal currents leading up to the Hadow report which follows is, of course, a very condensed one. The whole subject is brilliantly and exhaustively dealt with in the introductory chapter (by Dr. R. F. Young) to the report itself. I have confined myself to noting some material not hitherto recorded.

[2]Liverpool in 1876, London in 1882; *C.C.R.*, Part III, Chap. V.

tions from school attendance before the end of the term in which the age of 14 was reached and requiring the provision of practical and advanced instructions for the older scholars, still further accentuated the problem. Although the Continuation School provisions of the Act excited greater interest at the time, these two sections are now generally recognised to have been among the greatest benefits which it conferred. To a great extent it was a problem of school organisation and as such might have been solved slowly and not, in all probability, without friction by circulars and pressure from the Board of Education. The Board did in fact urge authorities in a circular (No. 1350) issued in January, 1925, to organise all new schools and wherever possible all existing schools in such a way as to secure separate departments for all the senior children.

But if this problem of the proper educational treatment of the adolescent, which had been slowly accumulating ever since the passage of the Act of 1902, was to be tackled with the resolution and resources which it would clearly demand, something more than an official circular was clearly necessary. Morant's manifesto of 1904 must give way to a new one. Its conception of the purpose of the elementary school must be recast. The steady growth of the facilities for passage from the elementary schools to the secondary and technical schools was seen to demand something more than a pious aspiration that, as a 'subsidiary' object of the elementary school, it should seek to discover individual children who show promise of exceptional capacity and are qualified to pass forward.

Cynics could remark, and in fact were remarking, although not very audibly, that if a child was able, the State would lavish money upon his education in a secondary school; if he was naughty, the State would not scruple to segregate him expensively in a reformatory school; if he was mentally deficient or epileptic he could again be sure of an expensive education; but that if he belonged to that worthy 75% of the school population which was just ordinary, the all-age

elementary school and subsequent evening classes must suffice for him.

It was this paradoxical state of affairs which the framers of the Hadow report on the Education of the Adolescent set out to remedy. Administrative change would be worthless unless behind it there existed a real conviction and a new outlook. Elementary education could no longer be treated as a thing separate in itself. It must be treated henceforward as one only of two or three stages in education. It must be the primary stage to end at eleven and to be followed by a 'post primary' stage where all children—not a few selected children—would be able to follow a variety of types of secondary education suited to their capacities and bent of mind. They must be able to do so by entry to the secondary schools looking to the universities, by promotion to senior schools looking to the continuative education at last available in the commercial, literary and evening institutes, or by further promotion from both secondary and senior schools to the junior technical schools offering an alternative form of secondary training for those hoping to enter skilled careers, a training to be followed up by national certificate courses.

Finally legislation should be passed to compel, and not merely permit, all children to remain at school up to the age of 15 as from 1932.

Like Morant's manifesto of 1904 the Hadow report was, in many parts of the country, in advance of its time. The 'real conviction and the new outlook' had to be painfully built up, against the misgivings of parents and the rigidities of school buildings planned to take children of all ages.

The full implications of Magna Carta are still working themselves out to-day: the full implications of this Piers Plowman's charter staking out the claims of every inhabitant of the 'fayre field full of folke' to a minimum of four years post primary education will be working themselves out fifty years hence. But like Morant's manifesto it was also a challenge. Public education in this country has been for-

tunate since 1904 in having two such manifestos towards which to work after the arterio-sclerosis induced by 'payment by results'. The local education authorities have already (1934) taken up the challenge to such purpose that more than half the pupils over 11 are in reorganised departments. The progress of reorganisation is shown with great clarity on Chart 7 of the recent publication *Educational Administration in England and Wales*. The number of pupils over 11 in reorganised departments in 1934 was 1,089,000 as compared with 959,000 in unreorganised departments. In the Greater London area reorganisation is 80% achieved.

What then is the present conception of the purpose of the elementary school? It will not be found in any code of regulations, or in any official publication, except in so far as it may be inferred from the Board's *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*. Much of Morant's conception of 1904 still stands, and deserves to stand for all time. From time to time too a departmental committee viewing the elementary school from their own angle add a new contribution. The following is a good example: 'A quasi scientific theory has long been accepted that the process of education is the performance of compulsory hard labour . . . a gritting of the teeth upon hard substances with the primary object not of acquiring a particular form of skill or knowledge, but of giving the mind a general training and strengthening. This theory has now been critically examined and declared to be of less wide application than was thought. Its abandonment would make it possible to secure for the child a living interest and a sense of purpose in his work, and it would replace the old wasteful system of compulsion and mere obedience by a community of interest between pupil and teacher. This community of interest would be felt instinctively and immediately by the pupil, and if rightly conceived by the teacher should lead not to the storing of compartments of the mind, but the development and training of faculties already existing. It proceeds not by the presentation of lifeless facts but by teaching the student to follow the different lines on

which life may be explored and proficiency in living may be obtained. It is, in a word, guidance in the acquiring of experience.'[1] In the next chapter an attempt will be made to show how far the elementary schools have proceeded, since the above words were written (1921), in securing for the child a living interest and a sense of purpose in his work, but first an attempt must be made to set out the modern conception of the purpose of the elementary school for comparison with that of 40 or 50 years ago. I do so with great diffidence knowing that what I write will already be out of date in some areas, that it may become out of date in others before the ink is dry, and that there still exist areas where it will be challenged as wholly utopian and idealistic. It is, however, based on the reading during the past 17 years of many thousands of reports on schools of all kinds in every part of the country.

In the nursery school or class, where one exists, the child entering at the age of two learns before he passes into the infant school to act, and to act often with considerable self-possession, as a member of a social community, that membership implying the willing acceptance of those restraints and limitations upon self-centred action with which any community must protect itself.

In the infant school all children should be formed into membership of such social communities, and where some of the entrants have the nursery school behind them they will at once form nuclei of order around which the other infants will tend to gravitate. Not all infants by any means enter the infants' school 'trailing clouds of glory'. Many of them in fact are already rather spoilt or self-centred though none the less charming little individuals. Monsieur Piaget in his *Judgment and Reasoning in the Child* concludes that up to 7 the average child has little or no idea of physical or logical necessity, that he is in fact egocentric and finds it difficult

[1] *The Teaching of English in England*, 1921, Introduction, pp. 7 and 8.

to see things from another's point of view. But few infants enter from a nursery school without trailing something of far greater practical utility, an aura of self-reliant obedience and good social habits.

In the infant and junior schools the children learn at least an elementary, and sometimes even a fairly advanced familiarity with the simple printed word, the simple spoken word and the simpler concepts of number. They come to realise that other persons may see things differently and to feel the desire to prove that they are right on occasion. While they are usually content to argue by analogy, they are beginning to understand the use of words like 'because' and 'although'.

In the senior schools the children become increasingly able to draw conclusions from the facts learnt in the junior school and to carry out mental experiments on the plane of pure hypothesis. In the three or at most four years which remain they have, therefore, to be taught to get the fullest use out of those first tools of education which they have acquired in the junior school; to be encouraged to take the maximum of intelligent interest in the world about them; and finally, if possible, to be passed out into life with a desire to utilize their leisure and enrich their lives by the intelligent reading of good books and the independent exercise of the senses which the school has endeavoured to develop in them. Educational thought is at last generally alive to the importance of the senior school and the difficulties which have to be faced in giving it a 'place in the sun'. It is upon the purpose or want of purpose of these schools that the best educational thought of the nation must be concentrated in the next twenty years, if the ideal set before English education by the Hadow report is to be completely realised. Moreover the difficulties must be resolutely faced. The competition for entry to the secondary schools and to a lesser extent the central schools, where they exist, has become so keen in many towns that it is almost impossible for parents, or even for the junior school teachers, to refrain from spurring the junior child to greater effort by the warning that if he does

not work harder he will not get a place in the secondary or central school. Thus if he fails in the examination he may tend to take the road to the senior school with a sense of discouragement or to draw an unfavourable contrast between the secondary and the senior school, a contrast which, however much it may still be supported by older and more cramped buildings in the senior schools and less generous provision of amenities, would be emphatically repudiated by the framers of the Hadow report. Moreover if the free place examination has done its work properly, the senior schools will be receiving annually batches of children of all grades of ability ranging from perhaps 20% possessing intelligence above the normal to perhaps 40% who would in the former undifferentiated school have remained in a class with children one, two, or more years younger than themselves. To arouse the interest of these children, to restore or strengthen their confidence in themselves, to provide them with a new environment of craft work, organised games and realistic studies where, starting level with their new class mates, they can regain their opinion of themselves, should be the purpose of the senior school. It must never let the children it receives accept the verdict of the free place examination as the modern equivalent of the old dunce's cap or they will very soon fatalistically conform to it. Moreover it would be a disaster if senior schools were ever to set before themselves the object of becoming anæmic reflections of the secondary schools, or if they were to yield to outside pressure for the taking of leaving examinations. Where these objects are being successfully achieved (and the number of schools achieving success is now increasing rapidly every year) 'marking time' becomes a thing of the past, and the most unlikely children are found capable not only of hard work but of successful work. Despite the real renaissance of recent years in rural education there are still, of course, too many children who leave unreorganised 'all-age' schools unable to take the intelligent interest in the conditions of life in their neighbourhood, or to play that part in their own environment which a critical public expects.

But equally there are hundreds of thousands now leaving reorganised senior schools (and even unreorganised rural schools) who have acquired some understanding of their country's past, of its social, economic and industrial life and relationships, of how things work and how they are made, of the lore of the countryside; who can read the newspapers, visit a play or film or listen to the wireless with more than a bare understanding; who may have come near experiencing perfection in the music of their school—for music is probably the only subject in which a child of 14 can attain perfection; who have learnt to read good books intelligently and to find them in the public library; who have a sufficient idea of the geography of human knowledge to prevent them looking on the mountain tops[1] when they ought to be looking in the valleys for the piece of information they want to enable them to tackle in a businesslike way a problem with which they are faced; who will find the farmyard not only an interesting place but one which calls for the exercise of intellectual processes; who expect to find in a museum not 'a last resting place of travellers' mementos and of fossils that have undeservedly survived from ages long ago',[2] still less a repository of two-headed calves and curios to make the people laugh, but something which will feed their curiosity and set them to expand their knowledge; who can even assemble their ideas with sufficient self-reliance to take an intelligent part in a conversation or debate.

If this brief survey of the changing attitude towards the public elementary school in the past fifty years is a fair one it will be seen that before the twentieth century opened the elementary school was regarded (except by those in advance of their time) as a kind of waiting-room for life.

The Victorian railway network had spread itself to the remotest hamlet, carrying with it the division of the population into first-, second- and third-class compartments. The

[1]The phrase is Lord Eustace Percy's. It occurs in that remarkable book *Education at the Cross Roads.*

[2]*E.P.* No. 87.

elementary school inevitably therefore became a third-class waiting-room for life, the private schools and the ancient grammar schools second-class waiting-rooms and only the 'public' schools travelled first-class. 'The premises of this school,' reported one of Her Majesty's Inspectors in the 1890's, 'consist of a third-class waiting-room and a jam cupboard.' One suspects that he might have applied the simile to the social atmosphere, and not merely the premises of this and many other elementary schools of that period.

In the intervening years the second-class has been absorbed both on the railways and in the educational system. Here the analogy ends, for the elementary school has not developed into a 'general waiting-room'. On the contrary, under the impulse of the Hadow report it is changing its nature and becoming an anteroom, a place not so much of preparation for life as a place of rehearsal of life itself, a place in fact where every child should spend not the least happy and memorable ten years of its three-score years and ten. Moreover, from being a place seeking to implant the minimum necessary knowledge to launch a child upon life, it has become rather a place where the desire for further knowledge should be awakened and where the child should be put in the way of acquiring that further knowledge for himself. This is well illustrated by the growth of the reading habit. It was remarked in Chapter II that the rural child of 1895 who ever opened a book at home shone like a good deed in a naughty world. To-day the London County Council finds it necessary to open nightly in the winter 250 warmed and lighted class-rooms in the poorer districts where children can come to read or do their homework. To-day too the County Libraries serve a population of 13,352,000 in England and Wales and are issuing fifty million books a year to 2,164,000 borrowers. More encouraging still in the opinion of those who have investigated the matter: there has been a continuous improvement during recent years in the quantity and quality of the reading matter. The extension of the grid to rural villages has no doubt been a contributory factor. There are

still, of course, thousands of cottages with one small downstairs room and a single lamp sharing the table with father's supper and mother's laundry. And yet some children do now manage to read in such conditions. In the towns the public libraries serve another 7,500,000 borrowers who in 1934 read 190,000,000 books. Before 1920 many rural villages even of considerable size had no second postal delivery and the London newspapers were usually a day late. To-day both daily and weekly newspapers appear in the great majority of homes. Those who are interested in education and realise what it has done for the population are always puzzled by the liability of the local press to attack the schools. It seems like biting the hand that sustains it.

# CHAPTER VIII

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION COMES TO LIFE

A growing public interest in the elementary schools.—Developments which have improved the teachers' lot.—Increased numbers of teachers and improved professional qualifications.—Reduction in the size of classes.—Improved salary scales.—Superannuation rights.—The segregation of the defective.—Improvement of amenities in the schools.—Developments which have improved the lot of the elementary school child.—More realistic studies.—Educational visits.—Growth of specialised teaching, practical work, corporate activities, school journeys, more interesting physical training and games.—Less rigid discipline.—The growth of parental interest in the elementary schools.—Open days. Exhibitions. School magazines.—Parents' associations.—The case for an effective raising of the school leaving age.

IN previous chapters some attempt has been made to trace those social, economic and political currents which have been at work in the field of public education since 1902. These currents have not merely carried forward the secondary schools. They have also played their part in stirring parental interest in the elementary schools. This interest has in its turn begun to find expression through the sensitivity of popularly elected representatives, and signs are not wanting that it is steadily becoming a weightier factor with each local election. In some areas the vivification of elementary education has proceeded much more rapidly than in others, but everywhere it has been brought about by a variety of interwoven factors—one leading out of or supporting another so inextricably that it is impossible to

describe them in any connected or logical order. Each of these factors again has a literature of its own, often so extensive that within the limits of a single chapter it is impossible to do more than give a bare outline of the principal tendencies.

This outline may for convenience be grouped under three general though arbitrary headings:

(i) Those developments which have tended to make more attractive, more fruitful and on the whole less arduous the lot of those whom we saw in Chapter II 'plying the irksome task of public instruction', and to improve the amenities of the schools themselves.

(ii) Those developments which have made the scholar's life fuller, more varied and more interesting.

(iii) Those developments which in addition to changes described in (i) and (ii) have contributed to a deeper parental and public interest in the schools.

1. *Developments which have improved the teachers' lot.*

First in importance of those factors which have tended to yield an increasing educational return for the money expended upon the public system by the rate and taxpayer is, of course, the strengthening of teaching power. (See Graph C opposite.)

Since the abolition after the war of the 'acting teacher's certificate examination' college-trained teachers have been steadily substituted for the untrained and for those who formerly obtained their certificate by evening study. During the first three decades after the passage of the Act of 1902 the day training colleges in connection with the universities and the university training departments, offering third year or fourth year post-graduate courses, in the main catered for the expanding needs of the secondary schools. But since secondary education has begun to reach a state of equilibrium graduate teachers are now finding their way in increasing numbers into the elementary school service. The English genius for the organisation of short 'refresher'

courses, which was displayed so remarkably behind the Flanders front during the war, has also played a notable part in providing opportunities for the ordinary class teacher to revive his interest in his subject and to learn new and more lively methods of presenting it.

The building up of what Robert Lowe described in 1862 as a 'respectable army' of teachers must, as the U.S.S.R. has found, always be the first object of national concern to any country embarking upon the education of its whole people. The progress made during the past 40 years in converting a very small professional army of trained and certificated teachers, backed by a levy of badly equipped (though vaccinated[1]) assistants and juveniles can only be illustrated by a graph. (Graph C.) Taking as a convenient starting-point the fact that 40 years ago there were exactly 100 children on the books for every certificated teacher in service and 47 for every certificated, assistant, vaccinated, and pupil teacher, it is interesting to notice that there are now 43·1 for every certificated teacher, or 32·1 for every teacher in service and that pupil teachers, student teachers and other or occasional teachers no longer count. Again it is interesting to notice that whereas in 1909–1910 the Board of Education calculated that something like 20,000 additional certificated teachers would be required to bring the staffing of all areas of each type (county, county borough, borough and urban district) up to the standard maintained by the most progressive authority of that type, there are now actually 43,232 more in employment.[2]

Educational statistics, it may be argued, are at best lifeless things, and teaching power cannot be assessed by mere numbers without regard to the teaching capacity of the flesh and blood individuals comprised in those numbers. It may therefore be illuminating to look at the teachers'

[1]At one time proof of successful vaccination appears to have been the only qualification demanded!

[2]*B.E.R.*, 1909–1910, p. 25. No. of C.T.s, 1909, 97,422; 1934, 130,654, but for an average attendance about 100,000 higher.

task under the conditions obtaining 40 years ago as viewed by a contemporary Inspector:

'I spent an afternoon in a village school. The number present was 44; 35 of these were spread over the first five standards, and 9 infants were in two groups. Thus the master, a man of 60 years, had seven classes to teach. And he had no help whatever, except for the needlework. I sat in the school and watched him with deep interest. Seven classes were to be kept going. How would it be done? First, the two groups of infants were set to copy some letters that had been put on the blackboard; then Standard I was set to transcription; IV and V worked sums from their arithmetics; and the master gave the object lesson for the day to II and III combined. This lesson was remarkable; it was broken in so many pieces. A boy would stand up in IV or V and say "Please, sir!" The master would turn from his class, ask the interrupter for his difficulty, give him a hint, or step to his side, and quickly returning, pick up the thread of the broken lesson as best he might, or with a side glance he would observe a boy or girl apparently stuck in a sum; and "Are you fast? Tell me if you are fast" was thrown encouragingly again and again to the group at Arithmetic. Two or three excursions to the infants, a hasty inspection, from his place, of the Standard I transcription, an order to clean slates and refill them; such breaks were constantly recurring; yet on through it all went the object lesson. But

(1) What an impossible task.
(2) What a strain upon the teacher.
(3) What a waste of the children's time.

The efforts of the master to meet the demands upon him were pathetic. A school so staffed wastes much of the children's time, and makes a slave of the teacher.'

The lesson to be drawn from such a report as this is that the nation was getting a very inadequate return for its money 40 years ago rather than that there is any substantial ground for complacency to-day. The present condition of affairs may seem just as astonishing to anyone who looks at it in 1975. Teachers and Inspectors hailed the end of 'payment by results' as introducing a new heaven, for as one of them wrote, 'under the new system a change has taken place

inside the schools as if some dark shadow had passed away, and sunshine poured in with cheering rays'. So too we in our generation have been inclined to hail the new prospect opened up by the Hadow report. But it should never be forgotten that the two chief stumbling-blocks in the way of educational advance have always been the over academic and the over parsimonious. The former could turn our new search for realism to dust just as the latter soon found that when inspection of methods was substituted for evaluation of results, the greater security of income enjoyed enabled school managers to employ, without detection, a much higher proportion of untrained staff.[1] The Board of Education have played a big part in securing an improvement of teaching power, but they have preferred to use an elaborate 'yardstick' to the other type of stick placed in their hands by the power to fine backward areas. The Annual Codes up to 1926 laid it down that in no case would the staff of a school be considered sufficient if it was not at least equivalent for the average attendance measured by a scale on which the head teacher counted for so many, each assistant teacher (certificated) for so many, each uncertificated assistant for so many, etc. The values assigned to certificated teachers were increased and those assigned to untrained teachers gradually reduced as the years went by. But now that even this yardstick has disappeared from the Code, to be replaced by a complicated and unpublished staffing formula, vigilance will be required if the progressive improvement of teaching power is to be maintained.

Concurrently with this improvement in teaching power the years since 1902 have witnessed the gradual reduction in the size of classes in the schools, the Burnham salary scales, the Teachers' Superannuation Acts of 1918 and 1925, the segregation of the more seriously abnormal children into special schools and classes, and some improvement in the amenities of the school buildings themselves. The first is

[1] *B.E.R.*, 1909–1910, p. 8

undoubtedly tending to give the country a better return for its money; the second to raise the position of the teacher in the eyes of a public still far too prone to evaluate service on a cash basis; the third to enable him to retire after the age of 60 instead of trying to carry on until he can do so no longer; the fourth to free him from the impossible task of giving a 'full share of conscientious attention' to those for whom that attention should be afforded by different methods or at a slower pace; the fifth to make service in an elementary school more attractive and to improve working conditions. Obviously a small volume could be devoted to each of these points, and within the limits of a single chapter no attempt will be made to indicate more than the salient points of contrast between the position to-day and that 40 years ago, and the more important milestones.

*The reduction of the size of classes.*—As we saw in Chapter II, the increasing popularity of the schools when payment by results came to an end aggravated the overcrowding in many schools, and combined with the shortage of trained teachers to force up the size of classes to 70 or 80 or more. When a teacher fell ill the school was either closed, often for a month on end, or the children were distributed over the remaining staff.

Under such conditions mass instruction must have been the rule rather than the exception and continuity of syllabus was often out of the question. Indeed every photograph of school activities at this period displays enormous classes in which all the children are doing precisely the same thing at the same time. By 1909, however, the increasing supply of teachers available was enabling the more progressive authorities to organise a service of 'supply' teachers to replace temporary casualities. The Board of Education too, turning aside from their preoccupation with the building up of the secondary school system, found it possible to shorten their yardstick. The value of supplementary and student teachers was reduced to 20 children in average attendance, uncertificated teachers to 35, head teachers to 35, while certificated

assistants continued to count for 60. An investigation into the staffing of London schools disclosed 1,982 (out of 15,168) classes with over 60 scholars on the books, and the London County Council was fined £10,000 'pour encourager les autres'.

This action on the part of the Board was followed in 1912 by the initiation by the London County Council of the well-known '40 and 48' scheme, to limit classes of infants to 48 and those containing older scholars to 40. This set a standard for emulation by progressive authorities elsewhere. Unfortunately at this point the war brought reaction. Twenty thousand teachers joined the new armies, schools were often requisitioned for the billeting of troops, and many children were released from school attendance to serve on the land.[1]

Similarly the new era of hope introduced by Mr. Fisher's Education Act of 1918 was rudely shattered in 1921 by the fall of the 'Geddes Axe'. Where H.M. Inspectors had been charged before to call immediate attention to the failure of a school to comply with the staffing yardstick set out in the Code, the formula 'as soon as financial circumstances permit' crept in to supply a ready excuse for inaction.

The return to power in 1924 of the first Labour Government 'reversed the engines', and except for a brief check following the second economy campaign of 1931, the reduction of numbers in classes to a size where mass methods can give way to education has since that date been one of the first objects of every Government. Whereas, for example, there were in 1922 28,000 classes in England and Wales containing between 50 and 60 children and 5,000 with over 60, the numbers have in the intervening 13 years come down to 6,138 with between 50 and 60 and a bare 56[2] with over

[1] C. Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day*, pp. 208–210.

[2] *B.E.R.*, 1934, p. 108. The 56 classes with over 60 were probably cases where, owing to the absence of a teacher on 31st March, 1934, two classes were combined for the day.

60. The centrifugal tendency of the population of the larger towns as a result of the rehousing of their populations in housing estates has enabled many local education authorities to carry this progressive reduction to considerable lengths. In London, for example, which contains about 10% of the children of the country, all council schools are now organised on the '40 and 48' basis. Infants classes have been restricted to a maximum roll of 46 in 85% of the Council's schools and 81% of the non-provided schools, and all classes mainly composed of children under five years have been reduced to 40 except where, owing to special circumstances, pressure on accommodation exists.

Thus the country has made a beginning, although it has still some way to go before it attains the ideal set before the Cross Commission nearly 50 years ago by the Rev. T. W. Sharpe (afterwards Senior Chief Inspector). For Mr. Sharpe was so far in advance of his time as to hold that 'the number of a class should never exceed 40, and for the highest class in the school and the lowest class for infants you ought not to have more than 25 to one teacher'. Matthew Arnold was more complaisant, since in his view, with a sound system of elementary teaching, a competent teacher might have a class of 50 scholars on the roll. This would be equal, he explained, to not quite 45 in average attendance.[1]

Of the *Burnham Salary Agreements* little need be said. The tendency noted in Chapter II for the wealthier areas to make a 'corner' in the best teachers by the payment of higher rates of salary than their poorer neighbours had by 1920 produced several severe crises and inequality between the educational opportunities afforded to children in adjacent areas as glaring as it was unjustifiable. This inequality had made a great impression on Mr. Fisher, and indeed it was accentuated by the rapid rise in the cost of living which followed the war. The country too was in a generous mood and inclined to think in millions after spending eight millions

[1] *C.C.R.*, 4229 and 5297–8.

a day for some years on the prosecution of the war. Accordingly Mr. Fisher's endorsement of the action of the associations of local education authorities and teachers in coming together to seek an orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem met with widespread approval. If Mr. Fisher was not, as is sometimes supposed, the father of the Burnham Scales, he was certainly their godfather, for he had to sponsor them in a cabinet of imported business men.

The observer of fifty years hence who makes an unbiassed comparative evaluation, from the standpoint of service to the community, of the rewards offered by a teaching career and those obtainable in other professions is not likely to regard them as unduly generous. For example, the fact that the maximum salary obtainable by the headmaster of the biggest school in the most highly paid area cannot, apart from special allowances, exceed £606 per annum is sure to strike him as anomalous, assuming of course that purchasing power and the rewards payable to other professional men remain as at present. The average for the country as a whole is of course much lower. It is about £420 for men head teachers and £327 for women head teachers. On the other hand, whatever criticisms may be levelled against them, the Burnham Scales have raised the average salary of all certificated men teachers from the £94 of 1870 or the £122 of forty years ago to £311 to-day (1935), and of all certificated women teachers from £57 in 1870 and £80 in 1895 to £242 in 1935,[1] although the cost of living too has changed considerably in the interval. Salaries in the United States are in certain States nominally higher, but the extent to which insecurity may rob them of this nominal advantage may be gauged by readers of an article in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 31st August, 1935.

Moreover salaries have been reinforced by a *superannuation*

[1]For average salaries at various dates see *H.*, 26th July, 1933, Questions and Answers.

*scheme*[1]—at first non-contributory, now contributory—more generous in some respects than that afforded to the Civil Service. No Government would to-day dare to speak as one did in 1848 of its 'determination as an indispensable means to improve the condition of the poor, to elevate the position of the schoolmaster by qualifying him to occupy a higher station and by rewarding his more efficient services by superior emoluments'; no Government would now tell H.M. Inspectors to remind intending teachers that 'the present low standard of the salaries of schoolmasters and their equivocal if not mean position in Society are the consequences of the humble estimate of attainments and skill which have been adopted with respect to them, and that it is impossible to raise them to a position of dignity or comfort unless the dispositions of the Government in these respects are seconded by their own efforts to qualify themselves to obtain these rewards'.

But the effect of the Burnham Scales has undoubtedly been to raise the status of the profession in the eyes of a predominantly industrial and commercial community, to relieve it of its more pressing embarrassments, and to enable many women teachers and some at least of the men to enlarge their horizon by holidays farther afield.

Perhaps the future historian may see in the work of Lord Burnham and his colleagues something more important still, namely, the first break by any country in the strongly rooted tradition that in education bricks and mortar count for more than men. Mr. Fisher by his endorsement of the original Burnham agreement endorsed more than a series of complicated scales arrived at by a process of give and take. He endorsed the doctrine so sedulously preached by Sir Michael Sadler in his reports of 1903 to 1907 that 'the most gorgeous buildings are useless if the salaries paid to the staff who work in them are such as to unsettle the young, dispirit altogether

[1]For a comprehensive account of the history and provisions of the Teachers' Superannuation Acts see Sir W. R. Barker, *The Superannuation of Teachers in England and Wales*, 1926.

the old, discourage the skilled and make inevitable the unskilled'.

*The segregation into special schools and classes of the mentally and physically defective, the deaf and the ineducable,* to say nothing of the provision of spectacles for the short-sighted, has done much to relieve the difficulties endured by teachers of an earlier day. It has freed them, too, to give their attention to normal children classified according to their normal abilities. This point is in danger of passing into oblivion as the number of teachers who remember the problems presented by such children in the elementary schools of 40 years ago diminishes with the years. Mrs. Burgwin, for example, who had already been teaching for 21 years when she appeared in 1886 as a witness before the Cross Commission, claimed that much more discretion should be given to teachers in withholding children from the annual inspection for 'results'. Her evidence[1] shows that in a single standard during the previous year she had two children paralysed and one an idiot unable to walk but kept at school in order to enable an elder sister to attend, one obviously 'dull' and eight so delicate that they were in constant attendance at a hospital. In Standard I in that year (1887) she had 15 girls unable to see the blackboard from the back row of their class.

There are still of course many people who are silently apprehensive about the amount of money required to provide special education for such children, as compared to the cost of educating the normal child, but this apprehension is seldom shared by those who know best the success which had attended the efforts of the special schools to turn them into self-supporting members of the community. The work of the late Dr. Alfred Eichholz, C.B.E., who was appointed H.M.I. before the close of the century, is already fittingly commemorated in London. Moreover, although it is an argument which never finds its way into official reports,

[1] *C.C.R.*, 17,097; 17,370; 17,257; 17,167; 17,169.

their segregation has contributed very materially to the changing attitude of middle-class parents to the elementary school, and to their greater readiness to send their children to receive an efficient education in the local elementary school instead of a possibly less efficient one at a private school. A comparison of graphs A (p. 21) and D (p. 240) will at once reveal what a remarkable growth has taken place in forty years in the use made by parents of the elementary schools as compared with private schools. Although the decline of numbers in the private schools since 1895 is difficult to estimate, it has clearly been substantial. Whittaker stated that there were 18,000 private schools in 1895, but would not answer letters asking for their authority for the statement. The number in attendance was put at 750,000 by witnesses before the Bryce Commission. The present number is probably about 300,000 in about 10,000 schools.

Finally, *the rehousing of large sections of the school population* in modern school buildings on the new housing estates, the progressive reduction in the rolls of the schools serving the central areas of towns owing to the centrifugal tendency of the population, the decline in numbers in most of the rural schools and the migration of whole populations, for example, to the South Yorkshire coalfield,[1] have all combined to give the schools more elbow room and enabled many minor amenities such as staff rooms to be provided. The work of the School Medical Service, too, in controlling epidemics and eliminating ringworm and pediculosis, and the spread of civilisation among the parents, has made teaching a healthier and more attractive occupation even if it has brought with it more routine clerical work.[2] Although

[1]Much of the South Yorkshire coalfield was practically non-existent 40 years ago. The influx of collier populations with a fertility as high as 33 per 1000 probably necessitated the building or enlargement of 150 new schools by the West Riding County Council after the war.

[2]The amount of clerical work imposed by 'payment by results' was, however, very heavy indeed. In 1886 every teacher in the London schools had 171 forms to fill up annually.

probably at least £50 million of capital has been expended upon school buildings since the war, no one who realises what a large proportion of them still date from the first two decades of compulsory education can face the future without some misgivings. There are in fact many competent judges who believe that nothing short of a national loan will succeed in bringing school plant up to date within a reasonable term of years.

*The improvement in the children's lot.*

We saw in Chapter II how one of the most serious results of the pre-1895 system was its tendency to make children hate their schooldays, and that the inclination noted by the Cross Commission for children to leave school on the day upon which they could pass the necessary standard was only checked by the increasing parental interest when compulsory education entered upon its second generation.

The charge that boys and girls leave school unable to use their brains and unaware of the activities of the intellectual world that bears upon their life, in short with an attitude towards learning which might almost be described as barbarian, is of course still a familiar one. It may safely be assumed that it will continue to be levelled for 25 years after the last children are allowed to 'mark time' in the top classes of unreorganised schools—for the opinion of the vocal public on matters educational as upon most other departments of human life is usually nearly a generation behind the furthest point of advance.

On the other hand, where reorganisation and the more realistic curriculum which it should bring with it has made the greatest progress, there has been a change in the children's attitude towards school so marked that it is already having a beneficial reaction not only upon the length of school life but upon the attitude of the parents. The work of the School Attendance Staff in controlling truancy has been immensely lightened, and in those areas where reorganisation has reached 100% it has almost become a



Elementary education comes to life. A debate in a rural school

prize day platitude to contrast Shakespeare's schoolboy 'creeping like snail Unwillingly to school' with his eager counterpart of to-day. Moreover, although the formal request by the distinguished visitor for a special holiday may still win an immediate cheer, most teachers know that the enjoyment of the actual holiday itself will not seem half so wonderful to the children as a full day's release from school would have seemed to their predecessors of a generation ago. This new attitude is well illustrated by the case of a party of schoolgirls from a school in the home counties who in 1930 were taken to the Zoo for their local Girl Guide outing. The school had specialised in the spinning, dyeing and weaving of wool. They had carried out every process from the collection of their raw material on the hedges, in the orchards and at shearing time, to the production of patterned material coloured with the traditional dyes of the countryside (lichen leaves, heather, onion skins, elderberries, hips, etc., not omitting alder twigs, which, they had noticed, stained the road after being run over by a car). At the Zoo, instead of waiting their turn for an elephant ride, they searched out independently in the insect house the cochineal insect in order to see it in its natural habitat! Yet the formal work of such schools, so far from being cramped by the pursuit of such an absorbing practical interest as this school had evidently found in the spinning, dyeing and weaving of wool, will generally be found to have improved because all the other subjects are made to radiate out from it. In the scripture lesson Joseph's coat of many colours will take on a new significance, the art and geography work will become more real, social history from the Bayeux tapestry to the coal-tar products of to-day will come to life, and the literature of the countryside will probably find a new understanding.

To what is this change in attitude attributable? No one who has studied the slowness of change in other human affairs, the resurgence, for example, of the Old Adam in international relations despite the war weariness of 1919

and the existence of the League of Nations, would be bold enough to attribute it to some subtle psychological change in the children themselves. They have, it is true, become more civilized—home influences in particular have usually changed remarkably for the better—but they could not in a mere 40 years have become more psychologically amenable to school life except in so far as their schools have learnt to enlist their interest, to preserve and build upon that sense of wonder which is childhood's fairest possession. Their reaction to the methods of instruction of 40 years ago would probably be much the same as that of their prototypes. The change is in fact one of outlook. It has been achieved by teachers who have been able to bring in rare instances genius, in many instances aptitude backed by skilled training, but in far the greatest number of cases enthusiasm and a new attitude of mind to bear upon the problems affecting the children attending their schools, having regard to their probable future occupations. Their enthusiasm has infected their immediate circle, but their originality of method has been disseminated by H.M. Inspectors and organising teachers at short courses and has often been made available to a wider circle by articles in the educational press.

The silent revolution in teaching methods which has taken place even in the formal subjects of instruction during the past century is easily traceable by anyone who studies text-books or examination papers of particular dates.

Less than a century ago the idea of extending education to the 'lower orders' was still so novel and experience so limited that men could genuinely believe such maxims as 'open a school and you will close a prison'. Accordingly it was fashionable to believe that the attainment of this desirable consummation could be accelerated by inviting the child to swallow the pill of instruction with a liberal covering of sugared moral precept. The length to which this belief was carried is to-day almost unbelievable. The arithmetic books were full of such problems as the following: 'The children of Israel were sadly given to idolatry, notwithstand-

ing all they knew of God. Moses had to put three thousand men to death for this grievous sin. How would you express this number in digits?' This example comes from an early National Society textbook, but the length of time that textbooks where they existed were made to do service was often remarkable. A comparatively recent entry in a log book of a school which it would be unfair to name reads as follows: 'Found the children learning the prayer for the Restoration of the Monarchy. Stopped this practice as the prayer is now quite out of date.' By the middle of the century it is clear that doubts as to the efficacy of this type of instruction had begun to assail those in authority. In a letter dated 28th July, 1847, to H.M. Inspectors of Schools on the subject of the meagreness of the supply of books of general instruction in elementary schools, we find the Education Department complaining that 'The Holy Scriptures and books of a purely religious character, when used as a means of Instruction in an almost mechanical art, cease to be regarded with due reverence by the scholars. To learn the art of reading from the Bible is not only not to teach religion, but to degrade the Bible to the level of a Horn-book.' Such teaching fails 'to operate as a rule of life'.[1]

Unfortunately the gradual abandonment of the era of moral precept seems to have ushered in an era which can only be described as one of arid verbosity. Probably the general absence of good children's books, and indeed of the resources to buy them had they existed, forced teachers to employ almost automatically the rococo phraseology of their own libraries. Thus a witness before the Cross Commission gave a list of questions set on paper to boys ranging between 11 and 12 in Standard V which contained such gems as the following:

Compressibility is due to the approach of the molecules. It is a proof of porosity. Explain the words underlined.

[1] *R.E.D.*, 1847–1848, Vol I, pp. xvi and xviii to xlvi.

We may compare with this the description in *What is and What might be* (p. 94, footnote) of a lesson in religious instruction to 94 children on 'Prayer', of which there were apparently five varieties: 1, Invocation; 2, Deprecation; 3, Obsecration; 4, Intercession; 5, Supplication. The almost unbelievable aridity of the Training College courses endured by many of the older teachers probably accounts for some of this phraseology. As late as 1880 young men and women were expected to 'paraphrase' Shakespeare's 'Full fathom five' as follows, at one of the best-known Training Colleges:

'Your male parent is deposited at a depth of thirty feet and his bones are converted into coral. All the soluble tissues of his body are altered by the chemical action of the salt water into interesting and valuable objects.'

This epoch, sometimes known as the era of 'chalk and talk' from the predilection which some of the older members of the staffs of schools showed for reinforcing verbosity by the use of the blackboard, gave place gradually to one in which attempts were increasingly made to impart interest to the hard subjects upon which the scholars were expected to 'grit their teeth' by relating them, at first in rather a formal and utilitarian way, to life. The examination papers of 1910–1919 are full of such questions as:

A workman earns 10½*d.* an hour. If he works 51 hours a week and has two weeks' holiday in the year, how much does he earn during the year?

The dairy bill for a family was £2 0*s.* 8*d.* for a month. This included seven pounds of butter at 1*s.* 4*d.* a pound. The rest was for milk at 2*d.* a pint. How many quarts of milk were bought?

But once the idea of 'interest' became firmly established the transition to the modern conception of 'realistic studies' was half achieved. Where a child fifteen years ago wrote a make-believe letter to a child of his own age in France, he now writes an actual one to a living child in that country. Where he learnt in his geography that a ship would take

so many days to carry coal from South Wales to the Argentine and to bring a return cargo of grain, he now learns the details from actual correspondence with the captain and crew of the tramp steamer which his school had adopted. The principle is the same but the interest has become a personal and living one. The search for greater realism is of course in itself producing many changes in school organisation, all of which are tending to make school life less formal and therefore more attractive to the child.

Visits to the local park, the museums, the farmyard, the ancient manor or castle, the factory and the docks have of course for many years been occupying an increasingly important place in the curriculum of most schools. The small girl who might twenty years ago have regarded 'drains' as a topic of doubtful validity now looks forward for weeks to a visit to the local sewage farm as an essential ingredient in her civics course. But whereas the object used to be to bring back from such visits enough nature material, or new ideas for arithmetic work, to keep the children busy at their desks for a week, there is now a growing tendency to make the park or farmyard an extension of the classroom in the true sense, in that much of the work previously done at the desk is now actually done out of doors away from the classroom atmosphere. There is the zest of both novelty and accomplishment in learning one's arithmetic by practical work with a home-made theodolite, U level and Gunter's chain in the local park, or in working out the weight of water passing down a river if a seat on the river bank takes the place of a chair in the classroom. Here the rural school seems to be at a definite advantage over the school in the large town, for it has the resources of the countryside at its gates. To a school in search of realistic material a few square miles of country are better than thousands of pounds worth of potential teaching material locked in the glass cases of a museum. There is, however, a new movement to use the museums more effectively, and the L.C.C. have appointed an Organiser of Museum Activities to act as a liaison officer between the

museums and the schools. What the schools need of course is a children's room in every museum like that at the Science Museum, and a circulatory collection of material which they can actually handle.

If work outside the classroom has increased, the classroom itself has in many instances been transformed by the growth of specialisation in the teaching staffs of the senior schools, often accompanied by the allocation of particular rooms to particular subjects. There will be, for example, a history room surrounded by time charts and ship models or post-cards (and even humble cigarette cards) illustrating the development throughout history of subjects ranging from transport to dress. In such a room there is little place for what have been aptly described as the 'woebegone portraits of royalty and conjectural caterpillars conceived by amateur tacticians' which used to fill the old-type history books.

It is probably owing to this growing belief in the value of learning by active participation rather than by passive reception that this country has not made such extensive use of the cinema and the wireless as the United States and Russia. Probably about 800 schools are at present equipped for the use of the film, and a somewhat larger number, probably about 5,000, make intermittent use of the broadcast lessons. But until there are as many good educational films as there are good children's books, in general it seems likely that they will be employed by wise teachers to illustrate, vivify and supplement lessons previously learnt, to put the coping-stone on courses already fully worked out in schools rather than as substitutes for class teaching or individual work. The great difficulty hitherto has been the inadequacy of the supply of non-inflammable films suitable for 16 mm. projectors, the limited bookings that they can anticipate, and the heavy cost of production. Moreover the projector must admit of being stopped and repeated at will. Tests have been carried out to determine the relative value of a talking film as compared with the same film shown silently and expounded by the teacher who knows the children's background of knowledge

and preparation. The teacher has, I believe, always won. It is not of course intended to imply that the film when used for mass demonstrations may not have wide cultural and emotional influence. It may also come to form a valuable adjunct to the illustration of technical processes and an aid to the art student.

In assessing the relative importance of those developments which have made the children's school days more varied and more interesting, a high place must also be given to the attention increasingly paid to craftwork and handwork in the junior schools leading to the numerous forms of practical instruction now in evidence in the senior schools.

Any attempt to illustrate the growth of the practical subjects by statistical comparison of the position in 1902 and that to-day must to a large extent be vitiated by the corresponding growth which has occurred in the width of the syllabus, the length of time devoted to the courses and the range of tools and equipment provided. It is, however, interesting to note in passing that an attempt to encourage practical subjects has been a feature of elementary education in this country almost since the Act of 1870. Domestic Economy was required in the Code of 1876 as the first specific subject to be taken by girls. This raised the number taking it from 3,307 in 1876 to 59,812 in 1882 when the first grants became payable for it. Laundrywork started about 1890, Manual Instruction in 1890, the number of schools taking it rising from 145 in 1891 to 949 in 1895. At the time of the passage of the Act of 1902 special grants were given to encourage Cookery, Laundrywork, Dairywork, Household Management, Manual Instruction, Cottage Gardening and Cookery for boys in seaport towns. In the intervening years the number of departments taking gardening has increased sixteenfold, the number taking manual instruction sixfold, and the number taking the domestic subjects has increased from 4,700 to 11,062.

1,080 departments are now taking other subjects virtually unknown in 1902, and the number of departments containing

senior children in which no practical subjects are taken has been reduced to 2,551 as compared with 15,045 taking one or more.[1]

Although Cookery, Housewifery and Laundrywork were first in the field, as briefly indicated in Chapter II (p. 32), accommodation and equipment left much to be desired. It must have been far from easy for the most imaginative girl to have assembled into the picture of her future home the type of cookery room then normally in use and the overworked 'specimen' pieces of linoleum, carpet and upholstery materials upon which she was instructed, often in a vacant classroom. The passage of the years has brought revolutionary changes. The first centres, usually expensively divided into three separate compartments each in charge of a different teacher, began to appear in London and the larger towns about 1906. Just before the war these watertight compartments in turn began to be abandoned in favour of combined domestic subjects centres.

Reorganisation introduced the demand for domestic subjects rooms forming an actual part of the senior schools themselves, and about a quarter of the schools taking domestic subjects are already (1934) so equipped. To-day too the most up-to-date housewifery flats are at length able to attain the first objects of all domestic subjects instruction,

[1]The figures which will be found in the statistical volumes of the Board of Education for 1903 and 1934 are as follows:

| *1902* | Depts. | *1934* | Depts. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cookery .. 3,744 | | Domestic Subjects | .. 11,062 |
| Laundry .. 783 | 4,700 | | |
| Household Management .. 173 | | Handicraft (wood and metalwork) .. | .. 10,695 |
| Manual Instruction .. | 1,816 | Gardening .. | .. 5,506 |
| Cottage Gardening .. | 379 | Other practical subjects .. .. | .. 1,080 |
| Other subjects .. | 9 | | |

The 2,551 departments containing senior children but not taking practical subjects are probably in the main small all-age departments in remote places or non-provided schools in poor parishes in the north.

namely, to cause girls who attend them to 'realise the value of the Home as a social and national asset, to provide a model which will stimulate the desire for improved conditions in their own homes; to help them to appreciate the importance of domestic and personal hygiene, well-balanced economical meals and labour-saving methods in home organisation'.[1]

A similar revolution to that which has taken place in the domestic subjects work for girls has also overtaken the boys' handicraft work. Earlier conceptions of manual instruction as a disciplinary exercise designed to train hand and eye to accuracy and due appreciation of form are giving way. The painstaking construction of set models of little or no artistic value in wood and metal is departing. One marvels to-day at the misguided ingenuity expended in thinking out models so utterly incapable of any possible utility as many of them were! The modern method is to encourage the boy to acquire facility in the use of the simpler tools and materials as quickly as possible, in order that he may pass on to expression work in which he will be expected to work more and more alone. The finished standard of work now produced in many departments is an enduring cause of astonishment to the mere uninitiated adult, and even to those who are in daily contact with the life of the schools. Much interesting experimental work is being carried out in the installation of time-saving power machinery and in the establishment of schemes for circulating photographs of well-designed furniture and metalwork, with a view to helping boys to an appreciation of character and good design in everyday things. That realism is pervading this branch of instruction also is evidenced by the recent joint achievement of a school for senior boys and girls who have built a small house and furnished and equipped it throughout—the girls providing the soft furnishings.[2]

Reorganisation is of course bringing a new freedom to

[1]I am indebted to Miss C. A. Bright, Inspector of Domestic Subjects for London, for this admirable statement of modern aims.

[2]See *Teachers' World*, 10th June, 1936.

the junior and infants schools to develop along their appropriate lines, and their handwork, though simpler, is often a surprisingly effective means of developing self-expression. The most tongue-tied little boy readily finds his voice if he has to take the part in a play written for the puppet which he has constructed out of monkey nuts (and his twin sister has dressed). Needless to say, the part will have been written by the children themselves, who will have constructed it out of some well-known nursery rhyme or story as part of their English expression work.

As with the handicraft and domestic subjects so with the science work, the art (including pottery, bookbinding, illumination and even heraldry!) and the rural studies. One school will select the study of books, their construction, binding and illumination, as the focal point from which the whole of its activities are made to radiate; another the making of pottery, often with the goodwill of a local brickworks; a third some dying but traditional craft of the neighbourhood, such as the construction of wattled 'handles'; others the scientific rearing of poultry and the making of all the impedimenta of the experimental poultry farm; another the arts of the seaside village; others again the canning of surplus fruit to save the buying of imported fruit in the winter. The help afforded by the schools in the completion of the recent rural survey of England is well known.

Finally, the whole life of the schools is being enriched by the development of a new corporate life sustained by that tradition of co-operation by the teaching staff in the out-of-school activities which has been handed down from the older educational foundations. The amount of contact outside the classroom between the English teacher and his scholars and the extent of his knowledge of their homes is usually at once the envy and the admiration of foreign and Imperial observers, many thousands of whom now visit our schools every year. Societies and clubs of every kind, ranging from 'young farmers' clubs' to stamp societies, stimulate the

imagination and cultivate the hobbies of the children. Boys from slum schools have been known to walk cheerfully as far as eight miles to find some coveted botanical specimen. School magazines too cultivate both self-expression and artistic gifts. More important perhaps, they circulate in the homes to be read by the parents. One hopes that their arrival is synchronised with that of the rate demand note.

Another development, namely educational visits, which were first authorised in the Code of 1902, has been the means of opening windows in many narrow lives, for it is seldom appreciated how 'local' children are in their movement, especially in the big towns where it is impossible to reach the country. There must be many thousands out of London's half a million children who have never seen the River Thames. Seventeen girls from the top class of a school in a poor district saw the sea for the first time on a school journey in 1928. Five of them saw a live cow for the first time. The educational visit grew out of the school ramble; the school journey in its turn has grown out of the educational visit. The first two school journeys were undertaken in 1896, a party from a London school going for a week to Malvern and another from a Liverpool school for a fortnight to the Isle of Man. In the intervening years the movement has grown to such proportions that probably more than 1,000 schools now conduct journeys annually[1]—in addition to those which utilise camps and youth hostels for short periods in the middle of the week. The English school journey aims at transporting the children with their teachers to a new region where a prepared programme of educational work can be carried out under new conditions and in an atmosphere which cannot be obtained in the classroom. It is probably freer than its German counterpart, which is usually of a more definitely pedagogic character and is often spent in a permanent school camp. It is to be hoped that

[1]In 1928 London schools organised 480 journeys, provincial schools 200, and in addition there were 200 journeys abroad.

the movement will develop to a point where every child from big cities will have undertaken at least one school journey before he leaves school, for other countries, notably Denmark with her Copenhagen Country Holiday Scheme, are in many cases considerably in advance of us in this respect. Country children too might well visit the towns more than at present. There is scope here for the return of the pious founder to present and endow school journey hostels like the Lady St. Helier Hostel in the Isle of Wight.

Those who have followed the growth of physical training, organised games, dancing and swimming, both in and out of school hours, from the wrist and arm exercises of the cramped nineties to the playing-field policy of to-day will know that, while much remains to be done, the Board of Education made no idle boast in a recent circular. 'The scope and quality of physical education,' they remarked, 'have in general been transformed during the last thirty years from a narrow system of school drill into a balanced scheme for the physical development of children throughout their school life.' What is not so generally realised by the public at large is how much voluntary time and effort is expended by the teaching staff in organising swimming galas and sports days or in ensuring, for example, to take a single town, that 22,000 London boys shall get a weekly cricket match in the summer and 900 football, hockey and lacrosse teams shall play regularly throughout the winter on pitches in the parks.[1]

If the formal subjects treated with a new realism are coming to life; if this new vitality is being stimulated by the attention increasingly being paid to the practical subjects; if school societies, visits, journeys and games are enlivening the social and corporate side of the work of the schools, what can be claimed to be the immediate results? It cannot be emphasised too strongly that immediate results are all for which we can at the moment look. It is generally agreed

[1] *Times Educational Supplement*, 16th May, 1936.



'Physical training has been transformed'

that the schools have taken their greatest stride forward in the past ten years—that is, since the Hadow report. The 'time lag' before good work makes itself felt in the community at large is a distressingly long one, probably a generation. If one looks at the educational opportunities which existed when men now aged 45 to 65 were at school, one marvels at the way in which the country has met post-war adversity and seems to be moving towards at least a moderate return of prosperity.

Some reference has already been made (p. 152) to the growth of the reading habit and the apparently greater ability of children who have passed through the reorganised senior schools to take an intelligent interest in the world about them, whether it is the life of the London streets or that of the countryside. For example 80% of school leavers in Halifax take up leavers' tickets, which give access to the public libraries, although in other towns the contact is sometimes broken for a few years after the child leaves school, to be resumed later. Again, if one was brought up in the countryside, it comes as something of a surprise to see an entirely new bird in a lane on a Westmorland hillside and to be charmingly informed by a child under 10 that it is a pied flycatcher! Undoubtedly too the work in practical subjects is having a marked influence on thousands of homes, gardens, orchards and poultry farms. There are cases on record where boys have made as many as seven upholstered ottoman seats out of packing-cases for various relations and friends. It is to be hoped that the demand for quality and good appearance in articles and materials in everyday use will improve when a new generation of purchasers appears who have learnt that design is an essential part of construction and not an extraneous decoration superimposed as a concession to the business man's notion of art.

In the schools themselves, or at large assemblies of children, such as the assembly of 70,000 on Constitution Hill and in the Mall on 11th May, 1935, to greet his late Majesty and Queen Mary on one of their Jubilee drives, and the assembly

of 37,000 on Coronation Day, 1937, the features which strike an observer, comparing past and present, are first, the greater alertness; secondly, the much more self-reliant and less 'drilled' discipline; thirdly, the orderliness and absence of noise. The 70,000 children did not leave a piece of paper the size of a stamp in the two miles of roadway and stands. The park cleaners of the Office of Works found the park cleaner after the children had gone than it had been in the morning. As regards the absence of noise, it is interesting to recall Joseph Lancaster's dictum, in his observations for masters penned 100 years ago: 'The less a master's voice is heard among his scholars, the more he will be obeyed. The noise of a school is generally in proportion to the noise a master makes in it himself. The punishment of the scholars, and the fatigue of the master, is nearly in like proportion.' This self-reliant discipline, which is accompanied by a charming reluctance to 'take advantage' next day, or presume upon the relaxation of restraints which take place, for example, at school Xmas parties, is no doubt due to the extension of the 'house system'. Where a child is working, playing, or just going about his ordinary school jobs for the honour of his house, the bad-conduct mark counts for far more than sharper punishment. What is more important, he is learning one of the first requisites of democracy, the capacity to live and work with one's fellows for a common object.

Whether some of the old mechanical accuracy has gone it is difficult, in the absence of comparative examples of work, to say. It must be admitted that investigations into the attainments of children of given age in arithmetic sometimes yield rather surprising results.

On this matter there have always been, and probably always will be, two schools of thought. The one school affirms that one should no more absolve a child for inaccuracy on the ground that he knew how to tackle the sum than one would absolve one's partner at golf for missing his tee shot—on the ground that his swing was perfect. The other school

of thought is well illustrated by the letter sent to Archbishop Temple by the Duke of Devonshire. 'My advisers admit that you are correct in your belief that (since the withdrawal of payment by results) the children are getting less sums right, but they tell me that they are doing the sums more intelligently.' To this it is said the Duke added a postscript, 'I'm afraid I don't follow what they mean'.

Where comparison is made of composition exercises or manual work with scripts and specimens that have survived from 40 years ago, the improvement is not in doubt.

*The growth of parental interest in the schools.*

The growth of the scholarship system, the segregation of abnormal children, the slow but persistent attrition of class barriers and the liberal education of the war generation by the widening of their horizons, have all combined to create a far keener sense among parents of their obligation to the public educational system. The old hostility is giving way to interest, sometimes to appreciation where that interest is fanned by open days, exhibitions, flower shows and propaganda. Occasions are not unknown when the help of the police has had to be called in to control the crowd seeking entry to an exhibition of school work. Farmers ask the local school to make them an accurate plan of their fields. Mothers proudly display their child's contribution to the school magazine, or the latest present from the handicraft centre. Fathers, who in their service days always returned to their old schools when on leave from the front, now come back for advice about brooding hens and incubators, or to find the price of a sealing machine for canning fruit. Here and there parents' associations are coming into being to establish closer ties and greater confidence between school, staff and parents. The activities of such associations are as diverse as they are beneficent, ranging from the supervision of out-of-school play to the organisation of entertainments for other schools in poorer districts than that in which the parents' association is situated, from lectures on child psychology to the passing on

of outgrown overcoats and mackintoshes at 1*d.* each to the less fortunate.

Statistics are cold things, but perhaps the most encouraging evidence of the increasing regard for the value of child life in the past 40 years is contained in a recent report on Road Safety among school children. Despite the ghastly toll of the roads, which accounted for the death of 1,245 children in 1933, the total number of children killed in accidents of all kinds had come down to 3,076 in 1933 from 5,695 thirty years earlier, when the number killed on the roads was barely a third of the present figure.

No chapter on the 'coming to life' of elementary education since 1902 would be complete which made no mention of the steps which have been taken to implement, or frustrate, the most controversial and, as some think, the most important of the recommendations of the Hadow report, namely, that the school leaving age should be raised compulsorily for all children as from 1932.

It is too early to prophesy with confidence about the Education Act of 1936 which may give partial effect to this recommendation after 1939, since it has surmounted the obstacles which hampered the Bills promoted by Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1930 and 1931. The third of those Bills was finally rejected by the House of Lords after having been impaired in the Commons by the misgivings of the Catholic community over the religious concordat proposed, by a momentary failure in party discipline, and by some irresolution in Government circles.

Provided the Act does not prove administratively unworkable, and neither the financial claims of rearmament nor a sagging of commodity prices creates a fresh attack on the social services, the local authorities should after 1939 find themselves once more in much the same position as that created by Sir John Gorst's acceptance of a private member's Bill in 1899 (p. 76) but with the age of 15 substituted for 14. But they will find themselves supported, or goaded, by a much greater public interest in the schools. The sudden surge

of interest in education which was witnessed by the last years of the nineteenth century will, by the end of the 'realistic thirties', have given way, if the Hadow senior schools are developed as they should be, to a solid backing of public opinion.

This thought prompts some attempt to assess the present attitude towards the raising of the school age as seen through the eyes of what one may call the ordinary intelligent man of goodwill. He might be expected to express himself somewhat as follows:

'I admit that no two children are born with an equal endowment, but no ordering of society is really going to satisfy me which does not, so far as human ingenuity can order it, seek to provide every child born into this world with the greatest possible measure of equality in that equipment for life and livelihood which will make for his or her happiness and usefulness in the sphere of life to which he or she attains. Education in its widest sense, which includes spiritual as well as intellectual equipment for life, is surely with, or possibly after, good health the greatest factor making for happiness. Remembering the opposition to the abolition of child labour in Victorian times and the consistent way in which the gloomy forebodings of the opponents of the extension of educational opportunity have been falsified for the past sixty years, I am not impressed by the purely negative argument that the country cannot afford to go forward. I am not even sure that a competent economist could not prove that every extension of educational opportunity in this country has been followed by an increase in the national wealth.

'Moreover, as I see it, the whole sweep of industry and commerce in modern times is towards larger and therefore more impersonal amalgamations, with the corollary that the worker must become more interested in the world about him and spiritually self-contained in order that he may be able to resist the deadening effects of a machine age and better able to employ his leisure. What I hear, too, of the efforts which our industrial competitors abroad are making in the educational sphere sometimes leads me to wonder, not whether we can afford to improve our education in this country, but whether we can afford not to do so.

'I am not at all convinced that modern industry and commerce, as I know it, is a fit place for the modern child of fourteen, who has

probably led a more sheltered life than his prototype of sixty years ago. Certainly I should not send my own child into an office or workshop at fourteen if I could afford to keep him at school. In fact, if those responsible can really satisfy me that the children will not have to "mark time" for another year but will in truth be able to put, as it were, a coping-stone on to the work they have done in the schools and acquire that attitude towards self-education which will make them want to pursue it after the doors of the school close behind them, I should have no hesitation in voting for the introduction of the extra year at the earliest possible date.'

To this those primarily interested, namely, the educational administrator, the social worker, the parent and the teacher, now find themselves, perhaps for the first time since the war, able to give the following unequivocal reply:

'We are,' they say, 'at last able to give you an emphatic and we believe convincing answer to your questions. We can show you that over large areas of the country we can offer your child not merely an extra twelve months at school but something worth infinitely more than he has received in any previous twelve months of his school career; we can prove to you that whereas to have raised the school leaving age five years ago might have meant the provision of an enormous amount of new classroom accommodation and equipment and the training of a small army of additional teachers, for whom it would have been difficult to find continued employment after 1936, we can now effect the change with the minimum of such extra provision and consequently at the minimum of extra cost; we can do more, we can actually offer you at a critical time, when the number of the younger unemployed is bound in the nature of things to increase to an alarming extent unless the present improvement in employment is sustained for ten years, the withdrawal from an overstocked labour market of a whole age group of children with the certainty that many of the places which they would have taken in industry and commerce will be filled by their elders. It would naturally follow that the need for the provision of juvenile instruction centres and classes as a stop-gap method of salvage for those juveniles who have fallen out of employment will be greatly diminished.

'We do not want to bore you by the recital of volumes of figures. We would only implore you to believe that we are faced with a

wholly new situation which so far only a few far-sighted individuals have really had the vision to grasp. As a speaker in the House of Commons recently put it: "One of the chief difficulties of democracy is the difficulty of inducing people to discuss an old subject from a new angle. We continually seem to be locked in debate on the old lines, entirely ignoring the actual situation with which we have to deal."

'Let us look at our three assertions in this light:—

'In the first place, we claim that the extra year from fourteen to fifteen would be worth far more than twelve months' extra schooling at any other age. Why? The answer requires some understanding of the child's process of mental development. Up to the age of eleven the main concern of education is with the acquirement by the child of quite general powers, such as the arts of speech, reading and writing, and with such fundamental ideas as those of magnitude and number. From the age of eleven, on the other hand, the child progressively emerges from that stage of his education which has been exclusively devoted to general preparation for life and begins to become more and more conscious that he has embarked upon specific preparation for a particular kind of life. To quote the Hadow report on the "Education of the Adolescent", "there is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current, we think that it will 'move on to fortune'." This great report therefore proposed that about the age of eleven every child should be transferred to a post-primary school, secondary, central or senior, catering for his or her particular bent at least for a full four-year course up to the age of fifteen. At that age, but not, be it marked, before, the pupils will have had time to form that real personal interest in their special bent which will lead them, in the great majority of cases, to pursue their interests voluntarily and of their own free will until they attain the status of an independent and self-reliant citizen.

'It is precisely to this end that a scarcely realised but nevertheless fundamental reorganisation of our school system has been proceeding since 1926. In many areas every child over eleven is now receiving a three-year course from eleven to fourteen in a separately organised senior school. In London 88% of the schools

are reorganised, and in the country as a whole, even counting rural districts, more than 50% of the schools have been reorganised. Obviously, therefore, the time has come to complete the reorganisation and to make the Hadow report fully effective.

'In the second place, we claim that the present time is quite exceptionally favourable for the change, far more favourable than five years ago. Why is this? Because, for good or ill, the schools have recently lost the abnormal numbers of children who were born in the years which followed the war. These post-war age groups have been working their way up through the schools and have now worked out at the top, to be succeeded by age groups of normal dimensions, or rather less than normal dimensions, owing to the progressive fall in the birth rate. Had the school leaving age been raised in 1932, new school accommodation would have been needed for these swollen age groups, and new teachers would have had to be trained to deal with them in their senior years, whereas by the time that the raising of the school leaving age could now be put into force there will be something like half a million less pupils in the schools, and the new age groups can be added with a very small increase in accommodation and teaching staff.

'Thirdly, we claim that unless the school leaving age is raised now there may eventually be a calamitous increase in unemployment, owing to the emergence of these same age groups on to an already overstocked labour market, but that if the school leaving age is raised, the withholding of a whole age group must have the effect of reserving for the pupils of fifteen, sixteen, seventeen and eighteen many of the jobs which would have been given to the fourteen-year-olds. The number of additional boys and girls over and above the 1933 figure available for employment during the year which ended on 31st March, 1934, was 55,000. During the year 1934–1935 it was 115,000; during the year 1935–1936 it was 306,000; and during the year 1936–1937 no less than 443,000. How can anyone contemplate these numbers with equanimity when he knows that, with hardly any additional buildings, with hardly any additional teachers, and with hardly any additional cost, the schools can retain the fourteen- to fifteen-year-old age group and virtually solve the problem?'

Lastly, the present trend of population in these islands is such that whereas to-day there are about ten million children

below the age of 15 there may in 1971, when the survivors of to-day's ten million are 45 to 60 years of age, be barely four millions. The alteration of the balance in the age stratification of the population to which these figures point is not, unfortunately, likely to lead, as some might assume, to an improved standard of life for everyone. On the contrary, indications are not wanting that the child of to-day may have to face in his later life and his old age economic difficulties beside which the lot of the present generation may seem to him, in retrospect, a happy one.

Is it not, then, the duty of those who control the national life to look ahead and to seek to afford to the child of to-day every resource, whether spiritual, intellectual or physical, with which his school days can endow him?

'Education,' said Carlyle, 'is a prime necessity of man. Do not all arguments, whether of humanity, reason, or, to put it at its lowest, national self-interest, point to the complete raising of the school leaving age without exemptions as one of the most immediately practicable forms which could be taken by a nation which prides itself on its belief that politics in their truest sense are religion in action?'

# CHAPTER IX

## THE EXPANSION OF TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION SINCE 1902

Wide range of subject.—Some comparisons between 1902 and 1935.—Public opinion ripe for advance in technical education at close of nineteenth century.—Rapid increase in provision of new Polytechnics between 1883 and 1902.—Sixfold increase in evening class enrolments between 1892 and 1899.—Public interest in technical education side-tracked to develop secondary education, 1902–1918.—The reasons.—Revival of interest owing to post-war difficulties of industry and commerce.—A spate of Blue Books followed by a new determination to advance.—The four main types of student who seek technical and further education.—Is technical education true education?—The answer.—The growth of co-operation between the business man and the schools.

It is always an interesting experience to observe the reactions of those whose education has followed the normal liberal and academic lines during their first visit to a great modern Polytechnic. If they do not come away with a deeper respect for the range and complexity of the avocations of their fellow-men, one of two things is certain—they have either failed to take in what they have seen or they have lost their sense of wonder! Correspondingly, anyone who imagines that it is possible to condense into a single chapter any adequate account of the growth during the present century of the demand for those multifarious types of educational service which are covered by the phrase 'Technical and

Further Education' must either have made a very superficial study of his subject or know before he has written the first page that he is foredoomed to failure.

For, as the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education have pointed out, adult education alone covers a range of courses from Greek Dancing to Greek Literature, from Home Carpentry to Astronomy, from Boxing to Metaphysics, and that range is growing every year. A picture which appeared in *Punch* some years ago summed the matter up even more trenchantly. The picture showed a father inquiring whether his son could obtain an evening course in lion-taming and being assured gravely by an official that if he could find the necessary number to form a class the matter would receive consideration! Moreover, when he turns to technical education proper, the inquirer will find in one and the same institution young men who have travelled halfway across Europe to study the mysteries of advanced rubber technology and women who are seeking to qualify themselves to be cooks in roadhouses! True he can take each separate occupation and endeavour to trace industriously the rise and satisfaction (often at present partial or incomplete) of a demand for educational courses to fit the entrant to that occupation to enter it better prepared; to fit the foreman or shop steward to be a more knowledgable non-commissioned officer; to fit those destined for the sales force or the management to perform more adequately the tasks of management or salesmanship. But he will very soon find that the number of separate occupations in a community so highly industrialised as England and Wales is over 2,000, and that his task has, so far as those industries and occupations which employ the largest number of workers are concerned, already been performed by His Majesty's Inspectors in a series of painstaking pamphlets.

The truth is that when he comes to consider in detail either technical education proper or that wide range of courses for the cultivation of interests of every kind, affecting every side of life, which are loosely termed Adult

Education, the modern inquirer will find them an absorbing study for the specialist but a labyrinth full of pitfalls for the layman.

If anyone therefore asks himself 'What has been happening in the sphere of technical and further education in England since the Act of 1902?' there is only one way in which he can set about finding the answer.

First he must project himself into the future and try to see in perspective, as the future historian of English education may be expected to see, the gradual emergence of four or five main streams of students each seeking different types of course to satisfy separate and distinct needs. Next he must try, still from the same distance, to trace the steadily gathering recognition by industry and commerce of the importance of technical and further education as a factor in industrial and commercial efficiency, and the consequent growth of co-operation, local and national, between the business world and the schools.

If he adopts this plan he will probably find three things. In the first place, he will find that when the Act of 1902 was passed the country possessed the nucleus of what are now the modern universities, in those days amounting, with a few brilliant exceptions such as Owen's College, Manchester, to little more than congeries of technical and literary classes; a small number of polytechnics mainly in London; a rather larger number of organised science schools and evening science and art classes; and a large body of night schools mainly attended by those who were seeking to supplement or recapture what they had learnt in the old-style elementary school. He will, in the second place, note how the growth of secondary education, the enlivenment of the elementary school, the increasing interest of employers, and above all the growing appetite for education among all classes of the community particularly since the war, have in the intervening years converted the rather sparse provision of 1902 into a loosely knit complex of full- and part-time day and evening classes containing rather over twice as many students

as they enrolled when the twentieth century opened.[1] But thirdly, he will probably experience a sense of disappointment, a feeling that the close of the nineteenth century was full of promise for technical education but that that promise was belied by performance in the first three decades of the twentieth.

He will, for example, observe the heart-searchings in regard to this country's declining prestige in the world of discovery, invention and design which followed each international exhibition from 1851 onwards.[2] He will trace the rise of the machinery of technological and art examinations, associated first with the Society of Arts and later with the City and Guilds of London Institute.[3] He will follow the propagandist course of the Royal Commission on Technical Education (1883). He will see that propaganda beginning to bear fruit in the foundation—or refoundation and endowment with the aid of the £50,000 a year made available for the advancement of further education in the Metropolis by the City Parochial Charities Act (1883)—of many of the great London Polytechnics, the Regent Street Polytechnic, Birkbeck College, the City of London College, the Goldsmiths Institute, the People's Palace, the Borough and Battersea Polytechnics, the South-Western and Northern

[1]Number of students at evening schools in respect of whom grants were paid by the Government in 1902–1903, 440,718. Number of full-time and part-time students attending courses recognised under the Board of Education's regulations for Further Education (977,000) and the Adult Education Regulations (47,283) in 1934, 1,025,000.

[2]The best description of this is contained in Halévy's *History of the English People, 1895–1905*, pp. 157–163, but echoes of it will be found in almost everything written about technical education, from the Great Exhibition to Sir Philip Magnus' article under the heading 'Technical Education' in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Brittanica.*

[3]The City and Guilds of London Institute was brought into being by the City Livery Companies first as a teaching establishment but later—owing to lack of funds—as an examining body. It took over the Society of Arts technological examinations in 1878.

Polytechnics and the Northampton Polytechnic. He will notice the multiplication without State aid of the institutions which are now the modern universities,[1] and the use between 1889 and 1902 of the 'Whiskey Money' to provide twelve more polytechnics or technical institutions in London, thirteen in the provinces, and more than a hundred organised science schools.

Next he will watch the enrolments at the evening classes conducted by the school boards increasing sixfold between the years 1892–1893 and 1899. He will note the reiterated demand by members of all parties, during the debate upon the Act of 1902, for technical education to bring this country to the level of her industrial competitors; and he will see the first step taken towards the satisfaction of their demands by the conversion at a single stroke of all the elementary evening continuation schools into institutions of higher education. Anyone who has read Lord Haldane's speech in the second reading debate on the Education Act of 1902 will find it interesting to speculate how technical education might have developed before the war if he had not been compelled to accept the War Office at £5000 instead of the Presidency of the Board of Education at £2000.

And yet, despite all this promise, he will find that the number of first-class technical schools built between 1902 and 1918 can almost be counted on the fingers of his two hands.[2] He will lose sight of the organised science schools and find most of them re-emerging (after a decent interval of classification as 'Secondary Schools Group A') as institutions almost indistinguishable from the revived grammar schools. He will discover that, in the light of developments in Germany and Switzerland, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education reported as early as 1909 in favour of the introduction of compulsory day continuation schools

[1]Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, Bristol and Nottingham.

[2]For particulars see *Survey of Technical and Further Education in England and Wales*, p. 25. (H.M.S.O.)

to be brought into being by local option.[1] He will follow the fortunes of this report and find that no Government had the resolution to face the issue before the war, and that when it was finally faced by Mr. Fisher in 1918 irresolution, the Geddes Committee, and the opposition of parents and employers combined to render this portion of the Act abortive.

In his search for reasons for this apparent starvation of technical education the conclusion at which he will probably arrive will be this: The Board of Education could not persuade the Exchequer to allow them the necessary funds to do more than one thing well. They therefore elected to put all the funds they could get into secondary education. They did so primarily to meet the clamant demand for the supersession of the pupil teacher system and the production for the elementary schools of hundreds of thousands of teachers who could have behind them the liberal education afforded by a full secondary school course. Moreover, the Board justified their policy on another ground, that no sound system of technical training could be built up except on the basis of a sound system of secondary education.[2] They were, in short, obsessed by the danger of the 'formula mind'.

Here, it may be remarked, the future historian will have the advantage of the inquirer of to-day. For at least he will

[1]Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance Compulsory or otherwise at Continuation Schools, 1909, p. 224.

[2]The Regulations for Technical Schools

(i) made no provision before 1918 for grants towards the capital cost of new buildings;

(ii) before 1905 refused grant to any classes held in the daytime if they were below the standard appropriate to pupils who had attended a secondary school for at least three years.

Moreover, even as late as 1913 it was stated in a prefatory memorandum to the first regulations for Junior Technical Schools that 'These new Regulations are not intended to promote the establishment of courses planned to furnish a preparation for the professions, the Universities, *or higher full-time technical work*'.

be able to say whether Sir Robert Morant and his successors were after all right.

But if the pre-occupation of the Board of Education before 1926 with the training of teachers and the building of the national system of secondary schools may be selected as the principal cause of this apparent neglect of technical education, it is not necessary to look very far below the surface to find that other causes too were at work. A country so predominantly industrial and commercial as England and Wales, and, be it added, one so comparatively untrammelled by rigid prejudice against promotion from the ranks, must surely have woken up to her deficiencies if there had not been political and social reasons to make inaction seem more prudent than activity. Such reasons unfortunately too often did exist.

In the first place, the great majority of employers were entirely apathetic before the war in their attitude towards technical education. Moreover, those few who were ready to encourage their young employees to attend courses had to walk warily. For there unfortunately existed many older workpeople who were only too ready to suspect that the management might be trying to train up young men who might oust them from skilled employment.

Next, parents, if not apathetic, were often confused. The secondary schools seemed more respectable than attendance at the elementary school till 14, followed by day or evening classes. The need for the expansion of secondary education, by a broadening scholarship system, seemed to be the goal of all who understood education. Ought they not therefore to try to send their boys and girls to a secondary school if they wanted to afford them the best start in life? And might not the technical school in fact be no more than an inferior substitute for secondary education?

Thirdly, the idea of schools to replace apprenticeship for skilled workers was late to appear in England. In Germany and France the transition from home industry and apprenticeship to large-scale factory production and the sub-

division of labour followed or accompanied rather than preceded the creation of a public system of education. Thus the immediate problem of providing elementary school accommodation was solved earlier, and there was money to spare to supply 'écoles d'apprentissages' and 'Fachschulen' *pari passu* with the decline of the old-style apprenticeship. In England industrialisation was nearly complete and apprenticeship in rapid decline before a place in an elementary school had been found for every child. Had Kay Shuttleworth had his way, trade schools would probably have developed much earlier in England, but the institution of 'payment by results' (1862) discouraged practical work, and the day schools of industry started under the Code of 1846 were transferred in 1860 to the Home Office to become, before long, industrial schools associated in the public mind with early disgrace and penal discipline.

In the face of these difficulties and hesitations, and remembering the deeply rooted north country tradition of early wage earning to support the family, perhaps it would have needed more than courage for a pre-war Liberal Government to have faced the issue of compulsory continuation schools. For as one witness remarked to the Consultative Committee in 1909: 'If the hours of labour are not reduced the pupil objects. If the hours of labour are reduced, but not the wages, the employer objects. If the hours of labour and also the wages are reduced the parent objects!'

The lean years (1902–1918) did not at once give way to years of plenty. On the contrary, they were followed by what our future historian is likely to describe as 'the years of inquiry'.

The post-war difficulties of british industry and commerce increasingly directed men's minds to the need for an overhaul of commercial and industrial processes, for a better understanding of the principal factors in industrial and commercial efficiency—education among them.

The word 'rationalisation', borrowed from the United States, was upon everybody's lips, and no prize-giving ceremony at a technical college was complete without its reference to the need for education and industry to get closer together.

Thus in the decade which followed the war the presses of His Majesty's Stationery Office poured forth a spate of reports concerned with technical and commercial education. Reference has already been made to the reports by H.M. Inspectors upon particular aspects of technical and commercial education. Many of these and most of the more general reports appeared between 1926 and 1929, having been initiated during the Presidency of Lord Eustace Percy—probably the first President of the Board who really grasped the full implications of technical education.

It is a common belief that no one in England reads blue books, or that at best they perform the limited function of preaching to the already converted. While it must be admitted that these reports probably did not reach a very wide circle directly, there is some evidence that their message—or some part of it—was much more widely disseminated among business men than the actual sales would suggest. Probably the questionnaires sent out by the various committees served the useful purpose of making many firms, which had not hitherto given much thought to their recruitment policy, commence to do so. For, as we shall see later in this chapter, the growth of local co-operation between the business man and the schools has accelerated to a remarkable degree in the past decade. Moreover, there is some evidence that whereas before 1930 the impulse towards technical education came principally from the ambition of the individual student, it is now increasingly being reinforced by a tendency among employers to put pressure upon their younger workers to improve their qualifications. If this movement develops the country is perhaps on the threshold of an advance in technical and commercial education which may have important consequences for

British trade in the next fifty years. Perhaps our future historian will see in the Board of Education's Circular 1444 (issued 1st Jan., 1936) the starting point of a new era of expansion comparable to that which in the case of secondary education began in 1902.

In the light of this brief sketch of the factors which have tended to promote or hamper the development of technical education since the Act of 1902, let us endeavour to distinguish the general characteristics of these main streams of demand to which reference was made earlier in this chapter. They divide themselves naturally into four principal categories:

(*a*) The demand for vocational or professional training which arises from those who are ambitious to rise to better paid, more secure, or more congenial positions; from parents who are sufficiently ambitious for their children's future to forgo one or two years of the relief which an extra wage earner can afford in the home in order to launch them into a skilled career through a junior technical, domestic, nautical or art school; from employers who appreciate the advantages to their business of encouraging their young employees to improve their educational equipment either by attendance at part-time day courses or evening classes.

(*b*) The demand for further education as something of value in itself without immediate reference to employment or as a tonic to brace the system to stand either the strain or the lack of stimulus in modern life and industrial, professional and commercial employment.

(*c*) The demand for practical courses in the main based on the home which will enable a higher standard of life to be enjoyed on a limited income.

(*d*) The need for continuative education in a 'clublike' atmosphere to attract and awaken wider interests in the unskilled, and to combat deterioration among those sections of the youthful population where no desire for further formal education is normally present.

(*a*) The first type of demand, that of which *ambition* is the primary motive force, probably still sustains a greater

number of courses, both day and evening, than any of the other types. It expresses itself at one end of the scale in a great number of courses devoted to such minor professional occupations as pharmacy, shorthand, bookkeeping and typewriting, at the other in the 3 to 5 years' continuous and intensive study with concurrent workshop experience or office training designed to lead to the National Certificates and Diplomas awarded jointly by the Board of Education and the Institutes of Mechanical Engineers, Electrical Engineers, Chemistry, Builders, and Naval Architects. National certificates in Textiles and Commerce are also now obtainable, although no professional institute as yet exists to endorse the latter. A certificate of a slightly different type is similarly obtainable in Gas Engineering.

When the former night schools conducted by the school boards were converted by the Act of 1902 into institutions of higher education, it soon became apparent that in so far as they were designed to prepare young men and women for their vocation, they were gravely in need of systematisation. In other words, it was impossible for a boy entering an evening class in a technological subject—say cotton spinning—to proceed very far with it unless his knowledge of mathematics, science and drawing proceeded *pari passu*.

Thus systematisation had to be achieved by requiring students to take 'grouped' courses of related subjects on three or more nights a week and putting difficulties in the way of those who endeavoured to take a single subject. Lancashire and Yorkshire led the way,[1] owing no doubt first

[1]In the interests of strict accuracy it should be noted that organised courses were in operation in the Sanitary Engineering Department of the Manchester Technical School in 1890 and spread in 1898 to the Technological Department. Shipley followed suit about the same year. The first town to adopt the course system throughout its evening continuation schools was Halifax in 1902. For an account of the beginning of the system see *The Course System in Evening Schools* (H.M.S.O., 1910).

to their simplified industrial structure based on the predominant industries of cotton, wool and coal, and secondly, to their strong evening school tradition. (What inhabitant of Burnley does not proudly recall that Lord Snowden once attended an evening class in the town?)

The success of the grouped course system in securing greater regularity of attendance, improving the quality of class work and homework and facilitating the organisation of evening schools was both immediate and impressive. How great a need existed for some such reorganisation is shown by the fact that out of a total of 250,000 students in London it was estimated that in one year 43,000 failed to make 14 hours of attendance. By 1906–1907 the percentage of evening scholars to day scholars in Bolton (32·5), Burnley (32), Blackburn (31·7), Halifax (31·6), Manchester (30·2) and Bury (29·5) had outstripped that in London (29·3) despite the 'flying start' afforded by the City Parochial Charities' assistance in creating the network of Polytechnics.

By one of his greatest triumphs of organisation Sir Robert Blair, Education Officer to the L.C.C., thereupon introduced the course system simultaneously into all the London Evening Institutes in the year 1913.

The next step could not be taken until after the war. Systematisation was not enough. Few robust and ambitious young men, who from force of necessity have been compelled to enter industry at 14, can feel at peace with their conscience if they find themselves associated at the bench or in the office with young men of their own age who have acquired that indefinable status conferred by attendance, for example, at a secondary school. Deep-seated psychological cravings of this kind, if widely diffused throughout the community and at the same time repressed for want of a means of expression, are a fruitful source of unrest. Could the evening class system offer any way out? Could some qualification to be obtained by examination be devised, for example, which would give these young men a sense of status, based on achievement, comparable to that enjoyed by the possessor

of a university degree? Obviously the examination must be one of some severity, of a uniform standard from year to year, and only attainable by at least three, or better still five, years' hard work in a progressive evening course. But could concurrent workshop experience and application as evidenced by homework and terminal reports somehow be brought into the final assessment? Could the boys' own teachers in some way be associated with the external assessors? Finally, could the certificate awarded receive the endorsement of the Institute which represented the apex of the profession on the one hand, and of the Board of Education which represented the apex of the public educational system on the other? It must have been with some such thoughts as these in his mind that one of his Majesty's Inspectors approached the Institute of Mechanical Engineers in 1921. The scheme for the National Certificates and Diplomas in Mechanical Engineering, which eventuated in 1922 and was followed in subsequent years by the other National Certificates already mentioned, achieved all these desiderata. Since the scheme commenced the total number of certificates and diplomas awarded has been 25,000[1] and the demand as evidenced by entries rises every year. Moreover evidence is accumulating that those selected students who have had the persistence to win through to these certificates by five years' devoted study in evening classes are now tending to make their way to positions of leadership at least as soon as, if not before, their more happily circumstanced neighbours who were able to proceed by way of the secondary school and university degree courses. I was particularly interested to hear recently in a crowded railway carriage the following remark by one business man

[1]Distributed as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mechanical Engineering examinations | since | 1923 | .. 13,454 |
| Chemistry | ,, | ,, 1923 | .. 1,584 |
| Electrical Engineering | ,, | ,, 1924 | .. 7,688 |
| Naval Architects | ,, | ,, 1927 | .. 106 |
| Building | ,, | ,, 1931 | .. 2,202 |

The Textile and Commerce Examinations have not yet commenced.

to another: 'Well of course the National Certificate is just as good as the B.Sc. though less academic perhaps.'

Thus whether they are looked at from the sociological point of view, or merely as England's most distinctive contribution to the science of examination, the National Certificates are already coming to be recognized by foreign—and particularly Dominion—observers as one of the most interesting developments in English education.

Of the other forms of training for the ambitious little need be said. The first trade (or junior technical) schools normally for boys and girls of 13–16 arose from the ashes of the higher grade and organised science schools, in response to a well-founded anxiety about 'blind alley' employment, in 1905. Their development has so far been limited by the wise determination of principals to make certain that a good opening in a skilled career shall be found for every leaver. In 1934 they numbered 194 with an attendance of 22,158 and an annual output of nearly 10,000. In effect, therefore, they are as yet numerically of no greater importance than the 'public schools'.

The forthcoming report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education is likely however to initiate a new era of expansion since the development of industry—contrary to popular belief—is creating annually an ever-increasing number of posts for skilled workers.

The growth of part-time day classes for employees can be better considered in the later stages of this chapter.

(*b*) *The demand for further education as something of value in itself without immediate reference to employment, or as a tonic to brace the system to stand either the strain of modern life or the lack of stimulus in industrial, professional or commercial employment.*

Before the war the principal impulse to seek further education, after the elementary or secondary stage, was a professional or vocational impulse. The word vocational should of course be understood to include the vocation of wife and mother. The following quotation from the Consultative

Committee's Report of 1909 (pp. 82 and 84) is in point: 'Nearly half a million students over 17 years of age entered Evening Classes in 1906–7. . . . The majority of these classes are technical in character. They are attended by those who desire to increase their skill in the work by which they earn their living or (especially in the case of women) in those practical home arts, dexterity in which increases the comfort of life and enables more advantageous use to be made of personal income. . . . The weaker side of these adult Evening Classes is the non-technical. Instruction in history, literature, and citizenship has hitherto failed to evoke widespread interest among the masses of the people.'

But in the intervening years something very interesting has been happening. 'The main centre of interest of the worker's life,' wrote Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith in the final volume of the *New Social Survey of London*, 'is being shifted more and more from his daily work to his daily leisure, whether that leisure be the time available for rest and recreation after the day's work is done or the compulsory leisure imposed by the total or partial failure of his means of livelihood.'

That profound stirring in every department of national life caused by the war, which we witnessed (p. 114) at work in the sphere of secondary education, has combined with this readjustment of focus as between work and leisure noticed by the compilers of the Survey to set on foot a highly significant expansion in the demand for new forms of further education, sociological, cultural, practical and recreative. The self-perpetuating tendency of all educational systems has also been at work, directly in that the broadening of the avenue to the secondary schools and enlivenment of the elementary schools have stimulated enrolment at evening schools; indirectly in that the successful pursuit of technical education by increasing numbers of workers has usually brought them greater security of employment and with that greater security a desire for cultural self-improvement.

Thus the tutorial class movement, which can be said to

have begun with the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903 and consolidated itself in the work of the joint committee of Oxford University and working-class representatives in 1908, had by 1919-1920 doubled the number of its classes as compared with 1913–1914 and has since trebled the 1919–1920 number, besides expanding in many new directions such as one-year and terminal classes.

To trace the development of this movement would be outside the scope of an inquiry concerned solely with the public system of education. It is sufficient to record that it has 'set before itself the great conception of bringing together the scholar and the working man in the common enterprise of education': that 'its success in widening the circle of those who prefer to follow the uphill path of seasoned knowledge, in search of the discernment which such knowledge brings, to the distractions and rewards of more directly usable education is one of the most remarkable features of recent years':[1] that it is actuated not so much by a scientific or æsthetic interest as by a desire to arrive at some more satisfactory philosophy of life: and that it proceeds by way of the patient study of some well-defined branch of knowledge or thought continued through three years of systematic, continuous and disciplined tutorial teaching, writing and discussion of a university honours standard. It therefore stands at the apex of the post-war movement towards education for leisure.

Below this movement, although of far greater importance so far as numbers are concerned, will be found the wide range of courses concerned with the appreciation or study of literature, music and the drama, and with such subjects as history, economics and sociology. Sometimes these are concentrated in self-contained buildings as in the London

[1]I cannot trace this quotation, but I believe it appeared in a message from Lord Eustace Percy to university tutorial class students.

Literary Institutes.[1] More often they share with vocational work accommodation in the local Technical College. The impulse which brings them into being is in general the same. In every large community a considerable number of men and women will now be found, as a result of the educational advance since 1902, who, having received a good elementary, often followed by secondary, commercial or sometimes a university education, are not content to feel that they may be

> Travelling unprofitably towards the grave
> Like a false steward who hath received much
> And renders nothing back.

Some may have retired from active work, but in the main they will be found to be engaged during the day in professional work, the civil or municipal services, the banks, the insurance offices, financial and shipping houses or the offices of lawyers and publishers. Perhaps they may have cherished literary, artistic or musical aspirations in the past but find themselves becoming less and less ready to continue to keep themselves abreast of modern thought, and more and more prone to slip away from the cultural standards they used to set before themselves into listless scanning of the pages of the society paper and the detective story. Perhaps they used to dream boldly for their future but now find themselves discouraged. Or again, there are those who are seeking escape from the nervous tension of their professional life; escape, that is, into an atmosphere in which, in association for a few hours with a great number of other people whose mental energies are all concentrated in the same direction, they can

[1]The first of the London Literary Institutes came into being experimentally in 1913. Their success has been astonishing. 9 Institutes were re-established in 1919. There are now 12 with an enrolment of 12,300.

For details see 'The Literary Institutes of London: A Phase in Adult Education', L.C.C. publication; 'Pioneer Work in Adult Education', p. 19, H.M.S.O.; 'The Scope and Practice of Adult Education', p. 62, H.M.S.O.; 'Adult Education and the L.E.A', p. 61, H.M.S.O.

forget the petty realities of workaday life as they know it in trying, in a dramatic class, for example, to present the greater realities of life as it ideally should be. It is surprising how many individuals may be helped by dramatic work to overcome personal difficulties; the self-conscious, to whom it will bring confidence; the over-confident, to whom it will bring a better appreciation of their gifts relatively to those of others; the self-centred, whom it will teach to sink their personalities in the team for the sake of the play; the shallow, to whom it may bring the love of plays and play reading for their own sake, and by a natural transition the ability to discern and like what is good.

Others again find in history or psychology the means to restore their sense of perspective, or in debate the polish acquired by the rub of mind on mind.

In short they come to the literary institutes because they find themselves in need of an educational tonic in a social atmosphere, and they discover there the secret that the best relaxation is often a complete change of mental activity.

(*c*) *The demand for practical courses based primarily on the home and resting upon the desire to enable a higher standard of life to be enjoyed on a limited income.*

'There has been an enormous advance in the last ten years,' wrote Mrs. Arnold Glover in her evidence to the Adult Education Committee in 1922.[1] 'The working girl of to-day is full of capacity; indeed it is almost an Elizabethan period. . . . Girls are realising their own talent.'

The girls of 1922 are the women and mothers of to-day, and what the spread of domestic subjects in the elementary schools has done for them the spread of gardening, manual work and metalwork has done for the men they married.

Thus in the afternoons and evenings when the housework is done but the children are at school or in bed, an increasing number of women will be found ready to return not to

[1] 'The Development of Adult Education for Women', 1922, p. 35. (H.M.S.O.)

'school' or even to a 'class' but to an 'institute' or 'club'. They come to learn how to provide their husband with a better meal when he returns from work; how to make the family income and their dress allowance go further by making their own dresses, gloves and millinery, or the children's clothes. Their husbands, with the same object, take courses in household tasks, painting and decorating, papering, home carpentry, gardening and bee-keeping. The volume and range of furniture, radio sets, gramophones, pottery, clothes and metalwork made by such students in a single year is quite astonishing.

The future social historian will probably select as amongst the most distinctive features of post-war England the redistribution of the national wealth[1] and the development of housing estates for the £200–£300 a year family. It is from these families that the demand for practical courses based on the home will increasingly come. They cannot expect to have any domestic assistance, but they are already determined to have a house and garden which shall stand comparison with any in the neighbourhood, and determined too, if possible, to maintain a car. The wife in particular is anxious to dress herself and her children neatly and yet to find time to belong to a lending library and to keep herself abreast of what is going on in the world and on the screen.

Again, the remarkable strides which have been made in the public health services and surgery during the past generation and the falling birth rate are bringing about a situation in which an ever-diminishing number of young married men and women will find that they have to help to support directly or through pension schemes, or at least to share the national income with, an ever-increasing number of their parents who have reached retiring age. In 1911 the expectation of life of a man was about 47 years and of a woman about 55. By 1931 it had risen to about 58 in the case of a

[1]See *The Social Structure of England and Wales*, Carr Saunders and Caradog Jones, p. 115, Table 11.

man and to 65 in the case of a woman. If medical science discovers a cure for cancer, tuberculosis, and rheumatic affections of the heart the expectation of life may well increase to 75. Unless this happens the total population may be expected to fall in the next 40 years from 45 to 33 millions, and the number of children under 15 to fall in the same period from 10 to 4 millions. Thus the country is reaching a position in which the national income will have to be shared among a greater number of family units, their tastes increased by a more practical education and their willingness to accept a lower standard of life proportionately diminished. It is therefore to the technical colleges and the day and evening institutes that they must increasingly turn to discover the best way to make a reduced family income go further.

(*d*) Lastly, further education must in time seek to attract the broadest stream of all—and by no means the least worthy—the stream composed of those who leave the elementary school for unskilled or semi-skilled work with little ambition or desire for further education in any formal sense.[1] Hitherto the problems of attracting this stream have hardly been faced except in London, in a few northern and midland towns, and in the countryside through the Women's Institutes. Those who compose it, the dock and general labourers, the taxi and van drivers, the porters, packers, lightermen and fish curers, the errand and van boys, the girls in cardboard box factories, are not to be attracted by an atmosphere which appeals to the studious or in which they feel constrained or 'out of their depth'. It is interesting to recall that the failure of many of the earliest of the Mechanics' Institutes was due to their tendency to attract

[1]Various inquiries into the first appointments received by children leaving elementary schools suggest that the proportion entering skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations may be put at roughly a third to each (see *Social Structure of England and Wales*, p. 140). It is from the first two classes that technological education draws the bulk of its recruits. Nearly 75% of boys leaving secondary schools in some areas enter upon technological courses.

the types who in these days would enter the technological courses proper. The earliest attempt to deal with this special problem through the Recreative Evening Schools Association came to an end in 1895 when the work of the Association was taken over by the school boards, and its special aims were lost in the reorganisation of evening continuative education which followed the Act of 1902. Thus the work of the Association falls outside the period covered by this book, but the Cross Commission were impressed by its value (the Rev. J. B. Paton, D.D., of Nottingham, who gave evidence, was its spokesman) and the following passage in their report is nearly as true to-day as when it was written: 'There will be for many years the great mass of the ordinary boys and girls who leave school without having obtained the full benefit of a good elementary education, and for them a humble evening school is needed, which will aim, not so much at building up a higher edifice of knowledge, as at preserving the perishable and scanty accumulation from being swept away by the inroads of continuous and especially of unskilled labour.' Those aims re-emerged in 1920 with the opening of the first five 'Men's Institutes' in Battersea, Bethnal Green, Deptford, Southwark and Stepney. The methods followed in these institutes, though varying in detail, have in essence been the same: to enlist the interest and win the confidence of those living in some of the least favourable surroundings of modern urban life by an appeal to them to cultivate their 'hobbies' in a club atmosphere; to lead them through their hobby to pride of achievement and so to a greater self-respect; to build upon these foundations a realisation of new powers and a desire to use leisure to better advantage; and, after wider interests have been awakened and unobtrusive training in self-government has done its work, to establish the institute on these sure foundations as the centre of social life for the whole neighbourhood.

What the men's and women's institutes are doing for the adult members of this section of the community, the

'Junior Men's Evening Institutes' and the corresponding institutes for girls are doing for the youthful sections. Here the methods have been similar, but there has existed the further object of giving a training and discipline which will combat the deterioration which too often sets in after the doors of the elementary school close behind the youngster of 14. The elementary school may have failed to awaken a vocational outlook in these boys, but it has given them strong practical interests; it may have failed to awaken in the girls a desire to read good books, but the needlework and domestic subjects rooms have opened windows on a life which they may not find in their cramped homes. It is the purpose of the institutes, by offering them such pursuits as physical training, games, boxing, home carpentry, inexpensive hobbies, boot and clothes repairing, music and popular science, to preserve the benefits of the elementary school by substituting enlarging interests for the circumscribed life of tenement and street.

No account of the lines upon which technical and further education has been developing since 1902 and no attempt to classify the separate sources of demand can be complete without some estimate of the economic and social importance of what is happening. Few economists would now deny that 'an increasing stock of practical ability in a nation enlarges the range of its economic activities and rapidly adds, through all gradations of directive responsibility, to the number of well-remunerated posts which could never have existed if men had not been forthcoming to fill them'; or that 'a rising level of education among the mass of the workers increases the real level of their wages by conducing to wise expenditure of income and to the avoidance of thoughtless or hurtful waste'.[1]

The social worker inevitably finds more attractions in the non-vocational work, in particular perhaps that of the men's and women's institutes and the literary institutes. Slowly

[1] *R.C.C.*, 1909, pp. 47 and 48.

but inevitably as each successive generation of students leaves its mark upon them he sees them developing, as older places of learning have before them, a tradition and an atmosphere; an atmosphere of fellowship united by common devotion to worthy activities; a tradition as the local centres of the peculiar cultural influences for which each institute in time comes to stand in the neighbourhood in which it is placed.

Moreover 'by establishing contact between men and women of the most widely varying callings and promoting a free interchange of the experience which each can contribute to the common pool, the institutes are doing a unifying work of the highest social value. It is a work which must have been the means of bringing better understanding, a keener appreciation of the good qualities to be found in every walk of life, and greater neighbourliness to thousands of homes.'[1]

Lastly, how far can our present provision for technical and further education in reality claim to be *education* in the commonly accepted sense of the term at all? The answer must of course depend upon the individual questioner's view as to what precisely constitutes education. The uncompromising point of view of those educated in the older academic tradition was well exemplified by Cardinal Newman in *The Scope and Nature of University Education* (1859): 'Call things by their right names and do not confuse together things which are essentially different. A thorough knowledge of one science, and a superficial acquaintance with many, are not the same thing; a smattering of a hundred things, or a memory for detail, is not a philosophical or comprehensive view. Recreations are not education; accomplishments are not education. Do not say the people must be educated when after all you only mean amused,

[1]From a message contributed by Mrs. Lowe, Chairman of the L.C.C. Education Committee, to the souvenir handbook issued in connection with the 21st anniversary celebration of the reorganised institutes.

refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humour, or kept from vicious excesses. I do not say that such amusements are not a great gain, but they are not education. Education is a high word; it is the preparation for knowledge, and it is the imparting of knowledge in proportion to that preparation.'

Cardinal Newman, writing in 1859, could not of course foresee the strides which would be made during the next eighty years in the preparation for knowledge of a democracy more than twice as populous; nor could he possibly have foreseen the success achieved by grouped courses in imparting knowledge in proportion to the preparation of the students to receive it. But there still exists, particularly among those educated in a similar tradition, a widespread misunderstanding both as to the purpose and content of technical and further education and as to its influence upon the recipient. Such critics are now usually ready to admit the high cultural value of the tutorial classes. Some might go further and be ready to agree that much of the work done by the evening institutes, whether of the literary type or the more social and practical type, falls within the definition of a liberal education put forward in the Report on the Teaching of English in England (see p. 147). For it is obvious that the work 'proceeds, not by presentation of lifeless facts, but by teaching the student to follow the different lines upon which life may be explored and proficiency in living may be obtained'. On the other hand, far too many people still exist who have failed to appreciate the cultural significance of technical and vocational education proper. The most enthusiastic exponent of the success achieved by 'realistic studies' in the elementary school in illuminating and interpreting to the children the life of the world around them, will sometimes fail altogether to appreciate that this is precisely what the evening class in technology will do for the boy or girl whose working life is spent at the bench or in the workshop. Yet it is impossible to explain in any other way the success of those who have followed national certificate

courses. By six or seven hours' work each week for the five years of the course they are able, despite the fatigue of their daily workshop round, to keep pace with, and often later surpass, students in the same subject who have remained at secondary schools and are taking a full-time university course. The explanation has never been better expressed than in a speech on 'The cultural possibilities of Vocational Education' delivered in February, 1932, at the annual meeting of the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions by Mr. J. W. Bispham, then Principal of the Borough Polytechnic: 'In more academic forms of education we take considerable pains to present to students artificial problems akin to those of real life, in order that the principles we teach may appear to mean something. We adopt all kinds of devices to "motivate" our teaching. The university student gets an over-rich diet of general principles—that is to say, of abstract facts as we have thought of them. They come to him as a burden to be borne by his memory, for they simplify nothing that was complex; whereas to the evening student who is at work during the day they come as simple links holding the complex facts together and relieving the memory. To the academic student they come arbitrarily; to the evening student they are sweet reasonableness itself.'

Anyone who reads the literature concerned with the development of technical education during the present century will make one interesting discovery. Employers who have given a fair trial to the release of their young workers for part-time continuative education are at last beginning to find out for themselves exactly what the Consultative Committee, so long ago as 1909, predicted that they would discover.[1] They are, in fact, becoming increasingly ready to admit that they secure a fuller loyalty and a greater contentment among their employees, and that the firm has gained financially in that accidents are fewer in number, scrapped work less in quantity, and misunderstandings between departments of less frequent occurrence.

[1] *C.C.R.*, 1909, pp. 121–124 and 128–130.

Such a revolution in outlook could never have come about had the schools remained content to go their own way and had they not deliberately set out to discover the needs of the business world. For when the Act of 1902 was passed the great mass of employers were very far from appreciating that what was nightly going on in thousands of classrooms might be of direct consequence to the whole future of their works or office. On the contrary, all but a few of the more far-sighted were inclined to regard the local technical and evening school provision as affording at best an opportunity for ambitious young men in their works to follow stereotyped academic courses confined to the scientific principles underlying their vocation and completely divorced from local requirements.

By 1909 the Consultative Committee, although admitting that 'the great majority of employers are still indifferent', noticed signs of an awakening interest among those concerns employing the largest number of skilled workers. Fourteen out of the sixteen railway companies were granting facilities for their employees to attend technical classes, seven out of the fourteen encouraging day classes.

The example of Messrs. Mather and Platt, who had maintained their own technical school from 1873–1905, and of Messrs. Brunner Mond, who had encouraged the technical education of their employees since 1884, was being followed by other large firms.

On the other hand, such forms of local co-operation as did exist—and the Committee mentioned eight as being in actual operation—all proceeded from the assumption that the contribution of the management began and ended with the encouragement of selected employees to improve their educational qualifications by the payment of their fees or the offer of such inducements as 'time off', prizes, scholarships, extra wages or promotion. All these forms of assistance still of course continue. Indeed for every firm employing one or other method in 1909 there must now be hundreds doing so, for where any considerable proportion of the larger firms in

a given area find that it pays them to use the educational facilities provided for them by the rate and taxpayer, the smaller employers soon find that they cannot afford to stand out indefinitely. It is unfortunately still the case, however, that the lead almost invariably comes from the big firms. There are those who regret that when industry was relieved of a substantial proportion of its rates by the Local Government Act of 1929, the opportunity was not taken to institute some contribution in aid of technical education as has been done in France by the *Loi Astier*.

The most important development in the intervening years must, however, be sought elsewhere. It lies in the success which has attended the efforts of the schools themselves to enlist the active co-operation as 'honorary consultants' or as members of 'advisory committees' of the leaders of local industry[1] in person. It must be looked for in the much greater readiness of the business man to visit the technical institute to discover its potentialities for himself, and sometimes even to return bringing some technical problem of his own for solution. It has found expression in the growth of happier relations and a clearer understanding of the scope and aims of technical education among the all-important foremen, upon whose goodwill the release of the young worker so often depends, and in the increasing friendliness of organised labour.

The growth of advisory committees was first noticed officially in an educational pamphlet of 1928.[2] Since that year it has accelerated to a remarkable degree. It has not only brought industry and commerce into a more direct partnership with the technical school system; it has provided the teaching staffs with the liaison and intelligence service which they need if they are to adjust their organisation to meet the continually changing types of demand created by

[1]In the term 'leaders of local industry' I include of course representatives of organised labour as well as of the management.

[2]*E.P.*, 64.

the kaleidoscope of post-war industry. In many parts of the country modern conditions of transport have tended since the war to convert the more localised technical institutes of pre-war days into the recognised centres of higher education for widely diversified industrial regions. I can recall a case where 18 students travelled an average distance per student of 650 miles during a single session to attend a particular class. Some of them lived 40 miles away and used to come by car to the class. It follows that the principal and his heads of department must be constantly on the alert to detect not only changes in established local industries but the rise of new forms or subdivisions of industry in the 'catchment area' of the college, and that any one of these may occasion a demand for the establishment of wholly new types of class. In this effort to watch and provide for a changing demand, advisory committees connected with each department serve both as eyes and ears. To attempt to enumerate, however briefly, a comprehensive list of the methods of co-operation now existing between industry and the schools would require a separate chapter. On the other hand, some of the more general methods may suitably be illustrated by an attempt to answer the question which might well be asked by an interested foreign observer: 'In what ways might one now expect to find a progressive and favourably situated business on a large scale making the maximum use of the local provision for technical and further education?'

In the first place, it must be assumed that such a firm would have decided upon its policy of recruitment and promotion as a whole.

It might, for example, have come to the conclusion that it would take a certain number of young workers from the senior elementary schools annually, a smaller stream from the junior technical schools and secondary schools at about the age of 16 or 17, to fill vacancies for skilled workers on the production and the office side of the business respectively, and a still smaller number from the universities to be trained for the higher posts. The first group would be engaged direct

from the senior elementary schools on the recommendation of their head teachers. If their employment was to be, initially at least, of a routine nature, the firm would be concerned to counteract the monotony of the day's work by encouraging them to continue those activities which had made the greatest appeal to them at school. It might achieve this object by causing them to attend a day continuation school either provided out of its own funds or by the local education authority.[1] Alternatively, it might encourage them to attend evening institutes of cultural or recreative and social type according to the advice of the former head teacher in consultation with the welfare staff of the firm. To encourage attendance the firm would probably pay the initial registration fee, if any, or return it to the young employee on evidence of satisfactory attendance and conduct.

Every facility would be granted for the advertisement of evening school facilities in the works and for talks to new entrants by the heads of the evening institutes concerned. The firm would also make it known that permission would be granted to all those attending evening classes to leave work in good time to enable them to get either a cheap meal at the works canteen or to return home for a meal and change of clothing before the classes commenced. Occasional half-holidays would be granted at slack periods to employees upon whose work and attendance the firm had received good reports. It might also be made known that such good reports would lead to increments of wages and, other things being equal, would confer some measure of preferential treatment where promotion was in question. For those young workers who had shown exceptional capacity at the elementary school

[1]Of 53 day continuation schools now in existence in England and Wales, 46 are controlled by local education authorities and 7 have been provided by private firms. An interesting account of the activities of some of these schools is contained in *The Entrance to Industry*, 1935, published by P.E.P., 16, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.1. It is to be hoped that the 'beneficial employment' clauses of the Education Bill now before Parliament will lead to a growth of these schools.

release might be granted on two half days a week to attend part-time day classes in technological subjects.[1]

The next group of entrants, those coming from the junior technical[2] and secondary schools at 16 or 17, would be encouraged to enter at once upon the senior courses, lasting for three years and often leading to a further two or three years in advanced courses, at the local technical institute. Similar inducements as regards return of fees, 'time off' and preference in promotion would be offered to this group also. The sessional examinations marking the termination of each year of the course would qualify those obtaining the best results for prizes. These would be awarded out of a common prize fund administered by the institute but paid for out of the pooled contributions of all the firms in the area whose employees were making use of the college.[3] They might take any one of a variety of forms, for example, book allowances, the payment of the next session's fees, tools (an arrangement commoner in Belgium than in this country), or perhaps, where the student had passed out of the third year senior course into the advanced course, a scholarship, carrying a subsistence allowance to compensate for loss of wages, admitting to a full-time course of study or a period of residence in another town to visit works and study industrial organisation.

During their progress through the senior courses the students would be afforded opportunities by the firm, and by others similarly well disposed, to visit not only the works

[1]The number of boys and girls so released in 1934 was probably between 20,000 and 30,000. They would be found among the 28,000 pupils attending technical day classes and the 15,000 attending day continuation schools.

[2]Certain firms, particularly those in the rubber industries around Manchester, engage their employees from the elementary schools but require them to take a full junior technical school course before commencing work.

[3]The pooling of money given for prizes is a comparatively recent innovation. The first case I can recollect was at Stockport about 1933.

and offices in which they themselves were employed but those of other concerns. At these visits machinery would be kept working after hours for their benefit, and members of the staff of the firm would be available to explain methods of production and such matters as accounting machinery and filing systems. Occasionally actual class sessions are held in works and they have even taken place at the bottom of a coal mine! The third group of entrants to the works, those recruited at a later age from the university, would similarly be encouraged to take courses in business administration, accountancy, commercial law and works management.

The management of any firm which had developed co-operation to such a degree as this would no doubt be represented on the various advisory committees of the technical college or institute. Alternatively, selected members of the directing staff would have accepted appointment as 'Honorary Consultants'. Thus in addition to encouraging the attendance of their younger workers at the various courses, they would simultaneously be in a position to advise as to special equipment, the appointment of teaching staff, the circularisation of trade organisations, the securing of supplies of consumable material and equipment for use by the students, and the placing of students in employment.

It is generally through the good offices of members of advisory committees and the contacts that they are able to establish that the schools now receive a steady stream of gifts ranging from the heaviest machinery to books for the library, from consumable material such as the supply of lead and copper tubing to offers to undertake the repair of apparatus or to finish students' work up to sale standard in the local factory. The total value of the gifts received annually is now very great. The total value of those made to 92 schools in the three years ending March, 1925, was placed at £120,000.

In return the schools organise open days and exhibitions to demonstrate their potentialities to employers and foremen, the staff contribute articles to works publications and in some cases carry out tests on behalf of co-operating firms

in their laboratories, and local scientific and professional societies are encouraged (particularly in Lancashire) to hold their meetings at the college.

This new interest of local industry and commerce in technical and further education which has found expression in the invention of so many novel means of co-operation with the local technical institutes has its counterpart on the national plane. Here it has in general taken the form of an increasing concern on the part of the professional associations, old and new, the federations of manufacturers, the joint industrial councils and the research associations to formulate the educational requirements of different grades of workers in the various industries; to translate these requirements into schemes of training for the guidance of their members in local industries; and to devise, in co-operation with examining bodies, such as the City and Guilds of London Institute, examination passports which shall have a national currency.

The development of technical and further education is the main task which lies before this country in the sphere of higher education, just as the development of the senior elementary school will be the main task in the sphere of elementary education.

The technical colleges are already attracting half their students from the secondary schools, and in some areas three out of four boys who leave secondary schools enter upon evening courses almost immediately. In many towns, however, the man in the street can only recall with difficulty where the technical college is situated. To rebuild these colleges in a manner worthy of the place they should fill as the centres of vocational and cultural education for the region which they serve; to develop their corporate life; and to remove all restrictions upon their availability to students living outside the boundaries of the local authorities actually providing them will be tasks sufficient to tax the best administrative ability of the nation for the next two decades.

# CHAPTER X

## THE SPECIAL SERVICES OF EDUCATION

School Medical Inspection.—What the doctors found in 1908.—What they find to-day.—Why was not medical inspection instituted earlier?—How has the service developed so rapidly?—The school doctor's contribution to the education of the people.—The 'special schools'.—Provision of meals.

WHILE the growth of a system of higher education and the enlivenment of the elementary school have changed the face of English education, the School Medical Service has been changing in a literal sense the faces of the school population. This may seem a bold assertion, but if anyone doubts it let him study side by side photographs of school classes thirty years ago and the corresponding classes in the same schools to-day.[1] Even making a liberal discount for externals such as the changes in dress and the tendency of the modern schoolgirl to wear her hair short, he cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the school child of to-day looks younger, fresher, better tempered and less ethereal than his or her prototype of thirty years ago.

The explanation is simple enough to anyone to whom comparative statistics are not a dull compilation of figures but a living record of progress, or to anyone who has followed the educational work which the school medical service has carried out among parents and teachers.

Perhaps the easiest way by which the layman can com-

[1]For such photographs see *The Special Services of Education in London*, pp. 14–15 and 18–19.

prehend the achievement of the last 26 years[1] is to ask himself the question, 'What would a doctor examining a school of 1,000 children in a poor quarter, hitherto untouched by the school doctor or nurse, have expected to find before 1908, and what changes would he find to-day?'

The most obvious external sign of improvement would be that which has taken place in cleanliness of body and head. In the early days of the school medical service from 700 to 970 of the 1,000 children would have been dirty in varying degrees ranging from 100 who were described as 'very dirty', 600 as dirty, 260 as somewhat dirty to 30 describable as 'clean'. If the winter was approaching a few of the children might have been found to have been actually sewn into their clothing and sometimes padded in addition with cotton wool. The presence of vermin in the clothing and hair, besides lowering the self respect of the children, led to constant fidgeting and worse still to disturbed or sleepless nights. Among 1,000 girls in a county area as many as 600 might be found with 'nits' or pediculi present in the hair,[2] while in a town school the number would be about 500. Most doctors who were engaged in medical inspection at the commencement of the school medical service will recall cases where the whole head appeared to be slowly moving with vermin. The boys, having shorter hair, were less affected, but the parents of perhaps 50 or more out of a sample 1,000 would have had to be approached.

The next obvious outward sign that medical inspection was overdue would be afforded by the number of little faces puckered by the continuous attempt to see the blackboard or to do fine needlework in spite of defective eyesight. In a number of cases (about 20 per thousand) obvious signs such as squint and inflamed eyelids would point to something amiss, but further examination would disclose from

[1]Medical inspection was imposed upon local education authorities as a duty in 1907, but it took some years for the system to become comprehensive. In general, I shall compare the position in 1908 with that in 1934. [2]*C.M.O.*, 1909, p. 29.

100 to 200 out of the 1,000 children with vision so seriously defective as to require the immediate provision of spectacles, and a further 100 with lesser degrees of defect.[1] Anyone who calculates what this must have meant in headaches, lassitude, overstrain or, worse still, early blindness will understand the remark of a noble lord who, speaking on the clause in Mr. Birrell's bill which sought to establish a system of medical inspection in 1906, expressed the view that the results of defective vision alone must be responsible for more suffering every year than a war.

When the doctor had picked out ten to twenty children out of the 1,000 suffering from ringworm,[2] and perhaps 40 with a record of discharging ears, due to middle ear disease, he would proceed to a more thorough clinical examination. This would reveal in our school of 1,000 children from 700 to 800 cases of dental decay, probably more than half of them with four or more decayed teeth,[3] from 150 to 180 suffering from diseases of the nose and throat, from 100 to 130 showing definite signs of malnutrition, 26 to 80 suffering from diseases of the heart and circulation, and from 10 to 30 having diseases of the lungs. Since these children were born in the first decade of the twentieth century and since the expectation of life of a man born in 1901 was only $45\frac{1}{2}$ and that of a woman only $48\frac{1}{2}$, one wonders how many of those exhibiting the worse forms of illness are still alive. One wonders still more how many more of them would have been alive to-day had the school medical service been in existence before the century opened, and had not parliamentary and local fears of 'pauperising' the parents and encroaching upon the preserves of the private practitioner delayed any universal provision of schemes of treatment for an appreciable number of years after medical inspection had become general.

[1] *C.M.O.*, 1908, p. 60; 1909, pp. 51–60.
[2] *C.M.O.*, 1909, pp. 34–42.
[3] *C.M.O.*, 1908, pp. 54–57 and *C.M.O.*, 1917, p. 171.



'He would then proceed to a more thorough clinical examination.' A medical inspection in 1908



'The most obvious external sign of improvement would be that which has taken place in cleanliness of body and head.' An early cleanliness inspection

What, in contrast, would the doctor find in inspecting the same school to-day?

The improvement in cleanliness, which was always the most immediate gain experienced when the first school doctors and nurses were appointed, has been remarkable. Out of a total of over sixteen million examinations of individual children carried out in 1934 less than 27 per 1000 were found to be unclean and only about a third of this number had to be cleansed under arrangements made by the local education authority.[1]

Although the treatment of all children's eyes at birth to eliminate ophthalmia neonatorum has produced a welcome decline in preventable visual defect, about 78 children in every 1,000 inspected will still be found to be suffering from visual defects. Only 5 new cases of blindness were ascertained in London in 1934 as compared with some hundreds in earlier days, but other factors have no doubt operated in London, e.g. the centrifugal tendency of the population and the decline of immigration and with it of trachoma, a disease of Central Europe. Ophthalmia neonatorum accounted for about 36·8% of the children in London schools for the blind in 1904. Congenital venereal disease probably accounted for another 30%. Before the days of the school medical service the teacher who found a child could not see clearly had usually only one remedy—to bring him nearer the blackboard. Dr. Macnamara was honest enough to confess to the House of Commons that by adopting this expedient he had once ruined the eyesight of a boy who ought to have been sent farther away,[2] and such cases must have been only too common. To-day there can be few children who do not secure glasses either immediately or within a short period after they have been seen by one of the ophthalmic surgeons now employed by every authority but one. Where our doctor of 1908 might find from ten to twenty cases of ringworm among his 1,000 children, the doctor of to-day would probably be

[1] *C.M.O.*, 1934, p. 138. [2] *H.*, Vol. 160, Col. 1384.

surprised if he found more than one. Thus, what was once a bane of the child population has become a rarity. With its virtual disappearance has gone one of the last valid objections of the middle class parent to sending his child to the public elementary school.

Otorrhœa (middle ear disease) has declined steadily[1] to 4·7 cases per thousand inspections, although of course it tends to vary with the incidence of epidemic diseases. These can now be predicted with some accuracy and preparations made to meet them. Moreover, now that the slate has vanished from the schools (p. 29) they are usually kept under remarkably efficient control by the school nursing staff. In 1891–1895 some 8,000 children under 15 died annually of measles alone. In 1933 the figure was 1,918 and in 1934 (a bad year) 3,719. What the abolition of the slate and improvements in the sanitary conditions of the schools and homes[2] have done to reduce epidemics, the sixpenny toothbrush, the school dental clinic and the demonstrators employed by the Dental Board of the United Kingdom have done for dental hygiene. 314 out of the 316 local education authorities were providing dental treatment in 1934. When the amount of ill-health which even a single seriously septic tooth can cause is remembered, this alone is sufficient to account for the fact that the children of to-day in our photograph look so much less ethereal and delicate than their prototypes. Lethargy, 'dullness', and actual facial malformation are now steadily being reduced by the treatment of nose and throat defects, notably enlarged tonsils and adenoids, operations being performed at the rate of 125,000 a year.

Progress has on the whole been steady and notable extensions of the service since the War have almost eliminated the severe forms of crippling by the development of ortho-

[1] *C.M.O.*, 1934, p. 79.

[2] There have of course been other causes at work too, e.g. increased knowledge of epidemiology and bacteriology, increased provision for hospital treatment and supervision of contacts by doctors and nurses.

pædic treatment, enabled a serious attack to be made upon the treatment of rheumatism which leads to so many heart affections in later life, and brought the aid of electrical science to the early detection of conditions likely if neglected to lead to deafness.

Finally some indication of the total result, and in particular of the success which has attended the preventive work of the school medical service in dealing with the more serious defects may be gathered from the fact that whereas 555 children aged between 5 and 15 in every 100,000 died in 1907 from all causes (125 from tuberculosis), the number had by 1934 been reduced to 385 (43 from tuberculosis). In other words, at least 30,500 children died between these ages in 1907 (nearly 7,000 from tuberculosis) as compared with 21,175 in 1934 (2,365 from tuberculosis).[1]

Contemplating these figures one wonders if any nation has ever spent £2,000,000 a year to better advantage.

The history of the school medical service belongs rather to a study of the awakening of the national conscience in regard to the public health than to a study of the growth of the public service of education. Moreover no feature of our educational system is more fully documented and anyone who wishes to study it can do so at first hand in the various accounts of its development which have been written from time to time by Sir George Newman, its author and chief architect.

Nevertheless the undoubted success of medical inspection and treatment when once established must raise in the mind of any inquiring historian who is untrammelled by official discretion a number of questions. Why, for example, was

[1] I have assumed a population of five and a half millions aged 5–15 in each year. Actually the population in these age groups was rather larger in both years. The number in the elementary schools was 5,161,850 in 1907, and 5,460,904 in 1934. The expenditure quoted is that upon the school medical services. Other contributory factors have been general health education, drainage, better housing, hospitalisation, immunisation, etc.

not the need for such a service recognised by Parliament before 1907? How has it been developed with such rapidity that it is now more complete and universal than in any other country? Has its contribution to the *education* of the people —for the cost is still borne from educational funds—been as marked as its contribution to the early detection and prevention of disease?

The answer to the first question will be clear to anyone who realises how few have been the occasions in English social history when the Exchequer has permitted itself to look beyond the immediate cost of a new service to its ultimate potentialities as a means of national insurance.

Popular education began as a charity extended first to those who had no parents or whose parents were indigent, later to those other classes of the population least able to look after themselves. But at every stage resistance was offered to any wider extension. Lord John Russell might charge the Committee of Council in 1839 to look to 'the general education of the people', but nearly thirty years later (1863–1864) we find them still splitting hairs as to the classes to whose children the elementary school might open its doors. 'Does the parent rank and associate with the working men or with the tradesmen of the place?' was the test they employed. 'Simple policemen, coastguards, and dock and railway porters may commonly be regarded as labouring men. But petty officers in those services, excisemen, pilots and clerks of various kinds present more difficulty,' they reported.

It was not, therefore, until this resistance was finally broken down, after the passage of the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876, and until the whole mass of the nation's children were assembled for the first time in surroundings more hygienic than the homes from which they came that the extent of their ills could be gauged. Even then those ills were at first apparent only to the teachers, who were hardly as yet effectively organised as a social force,[1] to Her Majesty's

[1]The National Union of Teachers had a membership of 35,000 in 1895.

Inspectors[1] and to a few doctors and enlightened members of school boards. 'Day after day in East Bristol,' Dr. Macnamara told the House of Commons, 'I used literally to shudder in contemplation of the fact that it was upon these ricketty shoulders that the burden of the Empire in time to come would have to rest.' Moreover the major ills had to be dealt with first. Power to segregate the blind and the deaf had to be conferred upon school boards by the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act of 1893. Power to 'ascertain' the children who were mentally defective and those who were suffering from severe epilepsy had to be granted by the permissive Defective and Epileptic Children Act of 1898. Gradually, however, experience accumulated. London had appointed a school medical officer in 1890, Bradford in 1893; one of Her Majesty's Inspectors[2] translated, from the extremely technical German in which they were written, the researches of Cohn upon the eyesight of German children, thus making his findings available to English medical men and a wider public; social workers raised the cry that the national physique was being impaired by the urbanisation of the population.

The Boer war was probably the turning point. Members of Parliament might be ready to accept with a certain resignation the inevitability of a great mass of physical impairment in other people's children just as many people to-day accept the toll of the roads. But when they found that 4,400 potential recruits had to be rejected every year on the ground of defective teeth alone, they bestirred themselves and in 1903 and the following year a Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) and an Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration both pointed to the need for some

[1]The general reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors are of course full of references to the poor eyesight of many of the scholars and a departmental committee seems to have been appointed about 1895 to consider the question.

[2]Mr. Turnbull. I remember hearing him described, I believe by Dr. Eichholz, as 'the father of the school medical service'.

systematic medical examination of the school population. This need was even more clearly emphasized by a third Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1905, and Mr. Birrell (who had himself been condemned from the moment he was born to wear spectacles), inserted a clause in his ill-fated Education Bill of 1906 to allow the local education authorities to institute medical inspection if they wished and at their own cost.

The historian will follow the fate of this clause with interest. The House was more than friendly. Only one member of either party raised his voice against Mr. Tennant's amendment designed to convert Mr. Birrell's permissive clause into one imposing a duty upon all local education authorities 'to make arrangements for attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in public elementary schools'. The Bill as a whole was lost and the medical inspection clause went with it. But it was revived in a private member's Bill of the following year and eventually passed in the Administrative Provisions Act of 1907.

At the same time it would be a mistake to read into these parliamentary proceedings evidence of any real determination on the part of the legislature to establish a complete school medical service. It would probably be nearer the truth to say that Parliament welcomed the establishment of medical inspection for three principal reasons. In the first place they believed that the moment the school doctor had called the attention of a parent to her child's ailments she would at once visit the family doctor. Secondly medical inspection would at least detect those children who might otherwise suffer irreparable damage through injudicious eye-strain or physical training. Thirdly, by providing an anthropometric survey it might answer what Mr. A. J. Balfour described as a 'burning question of the day', namely whether the drift from the country and the urbanisation of the population was adversely affecting the public health. Mr. Tennant in moving his amendment to Mr. Birrell's Bill was at pains to explain that he had certainly no intention of compelling the authori-

ties to institute schemes of *treatment* in addition to medical inspection. The fear of 'pauperising' the parents—a legacy from the Victorian theory of 'self help'—was fairly general. The fear of antagonising the private practitioner was stronger still, and perhaps better founded—as the experience of the National Health Insurance Commissioners was to prove a few years later.

At this point the historian will be brought up against his second question: How has a service which began in such an uncertain atmosphere been developed with such rapidity that it is now universally recognised to be one of the most valuable and least costly agents of modern educational progress and a principal foundation of the national health?

The answer can only be found in the early reports of school medical officers, dentists and nurses, and in the files of the Medical Branch of the Board of Education. The first inspections disclosed, as we have seen, a truly shocking amount of preventible defect and all subsequent inspections tended to confirm the inability of the parents, whether through poverty or the absence of a health conscience, to obtain treatment for their children. The files of the Medical Branch of the Board show that in the face of these disclosures and relying upon the general friendliness of all classes of parliamentary and official thought, the Board deliberately bestirred themselves to encourage the local education authorities to provide school clinics[1] and to enter into arrangements with local hospitals and voluntary associations to provide the major forms of treatment such as tonsil and adenoid operations and the treatment of ringworm by X-rays. In some departments of educational development the Board of Education has been accused of resembling a motor-car with excellent brakes, a good steering mechanism but no engine! In the particular

[1]I can recall as symptomatic of the nervousness engendered at this time by the religious controversies of the day that it was actually doubted whether Catholic children could be expected to use the clinics if they were provided by the local education authorities.

sphere of the school medical service it can at least claim a great deal of the credit for the astonishing developments which have been witnessed since 1908. The annual reports of Sir George Newman on the health of the school child, the missionary work performed by the Board's medical officers during their day to day inspections of the work of each area, and the letters of advice sent by the administrative staff of the Board on the result of these reports have together constituted a shining example of the 'fertilising' power of Government inspection when properly employed. Service in the Medical Department of the Board proved such a severe test of administrative capacity that it came to be known as 'the grave of reputations'. In it, however, many who have since risen to high posts of responsibility in the Civil Service acquired a 'bedside manner' which subsequently proved invaluable to them.

Nearly every area in England and Wales was visited annually. The school medical officer was made conversant at this visit with the best work being done in other areas. Subsequently the members of the education committee were told in an official letter exactly how their service stood in relation to those of other authorities and what were the next developments which they ought to undertake. These letters, dealing as they did with a whole range of medical phraseology new to official correspondence, produced many delightful examples of official language such as 'conditions of uncleanliness associated with pediculosis'.

The State might have taken the view that its sole concern was to make a physical or anthropometric survey of the child population and a record of the defects disclosed by medical inspection and to exercise some control over infectious disease, leaving treatment to the parents and the family doctor. Had it done so the country would still have been losing many thousands of child lives now saved annually, while the direct educational gains in improved attendance and the industrial gains in the prevention of future loss of working time would have been wantonly jettisoned. As a

people we have hitherto been taught to pay honour almost exclusively to our politicians, our pro-consuls, our diplomats, our generals and our admirals. Perhaps the future historian will recognise in Sir George Newman—who retired on 31st March, 1935—a public servant who by his work saved more lives than were ever lost in our national wars.

Thirdly, there is no doubt that the school medical service has made its own distinctive contribution to the *education* of the people. It has taught the country to look upon the child, not as a unit for statistical record or clinical data, but as an individual to be trained in a hygienic way of life, preserved in health where he possesses it or restored to health where he does not. It taught the parents of the first generation of children to be subjected to school medical inspection that ailments could not with impunity be treated as trifling in an urbanised population.[1] It has created in that generation, now that they are parents in their turn, a health conscience which has abolished the 'Mother Gamp' of the slums and endowed the young mother of to-day with a fund of common sense and a readiness to seek advice which her prototype of forty years ago rarely possessed.

The growth of the remaining special services of education constitute a story which, if fully told, would upset the balance of a book designed to give a picture of educational advance on a much wider front. Moreover, like that of the school medical service, it has been so fully told and documented by Sir George Newman's annual reports that there is practically nothing to add to what he has written.

About half the blind and deaf children for whom educa-

[1]It is interesting to notice how very old people even to-day regard such matters as tuberculous glands, scarlet fever and whooping cough as inevitable childish ailments not to be taken too seriously. The theory that the human body is normally in a state of health and normally tends to return to it after illness may have been satisfactory when it was evolved by the ancient Greeks (see article on Greek medicine in *The Legacy of Greece*), but it is surely of more doubtful application to the urbanised population of to-day.

tion in a special school would now be regarded as essential had been sent to such schools by 1895. By 1910 nearly all were probably in school, and the numbers have remained fairly constant ever since. Partially blind and partially deaf have taken the places rendered vacant by the reduction of the number of those suffering from preventible blindness and deafness. The teaching has of course improved to a remarkable degree. The first school for the mentally defective was started in Leicester in 1892, anticipating a school in London by a few months. In this case also the number of schools and scholars has remained fairly constant since 1910, although less warrantably so, for it is probably still true to say that a considerable number of borderline cases, who could more profitably be educated in these schools, remain in the elementary schools. No school for cripples was recognised before that established at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in 1899. A residential school for convalescent children was recognised in 1902, and the first open-air schools were started in 1908.

While a proportion—although no great proportion—of the school population will always require special treatment in such schools, whatever progress is made in the public health services, two major developments deserve mention.

In 1895 a child born a cripple was condemned to remain a cripple for life. Similarly in 1895 a child born deaf was condemned to remain not only deaf but probably mute as well for life. Oral instruction, by lip reading, was beginning to be taught to the older children, but silent instruction, 'talking on the fingers', was still widespread. The child born a cripple to-day can in a great number of cases be subjected to orthopædic treatment and partially if not wholly cured, thanks to the development of schemes of orthopædic treatment in which the Local Education Authority for Shropshire took the lead. To-day the child born deaf but having any residual power of hearing (and it has been discovered that most deaf children have some residual power of hearing at some pitch or frequency) can be taught

orally like an ordinary child and learn to speak with a natural intonation. This is effected by the use of an instrument resembling an inverted wireless set into which the class teacher can speak. Each child wears headphones and has an independent volume control and frequency control which enable him to adjust his 'phones until he hears the teacher's actual voice. The improvement in intonation by this method as compared to lip reading is of course remarkable.

Perhaps the time is not far distant when the deaf person who reveals his affliction by his speech, or the girl or youth whose limbs are twisted by a congenital crippling complaint, will be regarded as a reproach to the local education authority in whose area they were brought up.

The determination of social reformers of the first decade of the twentieth century to put all children so far as possible on equal terms in respect of their capacity to benefit from the education provided by the State led to another special service—the provision-of-meals service. The provision of penny dinners for the hungry with the assistance of voluntary funds had been a feature in many of the poorest schools for years. It was actively in operation in London, at Liverpool and elsewhere in 1886. In 1906 by one of the first successful private member's bills sponsored by the earliest Labour members to be elected to Parliament, the local education authorities were empowered to put premises and facilities at the disposal of voluntary associations to provide meals for children 'unable by reason of lack of food to take full advantage of the education provided for them'. If the funds of the voluntary association were insufficient, the authority might, with the approval of the Board of Education, expend up to the produce of a halfpenny rate on providing such meals themselves.

In 1914 a further successful private member's Bill removed the halfpenny rate limitation, abolished the necessity of obtaining the sanction of the Board of Education, and legalised the provision of meals during school holidays.

The Acts have undoubtedly done much to diminish the misery, wretchedness and poverty due to the empty cupboard. They have acted as a safety valve in the prevention of disorder arising from the desperation of those who see their children hungry in periods of unemployment or industrial stoppage. They have avoided the traditional association of the Poor Law, and they have often been the means of valuable training in good social habits. Their contribution towards the reduction of malnutrition has been less obvious. A single meal a day could hardly have been expected to effect a revolution in nutrition, although other agencies of social amelioration have gone some way to achieve it. The rapidity of the development of school milk clubs since the reduction of price effected by years of continuous effort, associated with the National Milk Publicity Council and the Milk Marketing Board, will, it is to be hoped, sustain and enlarge the improvement effected.

# CHAPTER XI

## THE SILENT SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The case for public education, as established by its achievements viewed in historical perspective, far too little appreciated.—The social case; the contribution public education has made to the sobriety, orderliness and stability of the population.—The economic case; the inculcation of thrift and its effect on the savings of the people.—Public education becoming a principal foundation of every new activity in the community.—Comparative indices of the sum of mental activity in the community, 1895 and 1935.—No cause for complacency but the building of the public system worthily begun.

IN this book an attempt has been made to show how a people with a very practical genius has built up—in a matter of 40 years—a public educational system which, if progress continues at the same pace in the years to come, should soon be able to challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world.

In the years between 1876 and 1895 a public system of higher education hardly as yet existed, and the elementary school was generally looked upon as no more than a place to which the small children of the locality should be sent for a very limited purpose—to learn reading, writing and arithmetic.

Nevertheless, those years, when seen in historical perspective, may come to be counted among the most important in English social history. For they witnessed, in the first place, that great feat of national organisation which provided a school place for every child entitled to one, in

the second place, the 'formation of manners'[1] in a child population sadly uncivilised by modern standards.

A visitor to one of our elementary schools to-day will observe the economy and efficiency of its discipline, will note its atmosphere of orderliness and precision, and will carry away an indelible impression of the good manners and politeness with which all schools now seek to welcome their guests. Lest he should take these things for granted, it is as well that he should be reminded before he leaves that it is barely 50 years ago that the attendance officer who wished to penetrate one of those slums from which some of the children may still come had to take a police officer with him. It is well, too, that he should be reminded that 'the streets of London were swarming with waifs and strays who had never attended school, and who slept together in gangs in such places as the Adelphi Arches, on barges, on the steps of London Bridge, in empty boxes or boilers—covered with tarpaulins and old sacks.'[2]

If he comments upon the healthy appearance of the children, perhaps by way of contrast he ought to be invited to recall the words used by Professor F. G. Parsons in his presidential speech to the anthropological section of the British Association in 1927: 'Poor little half-starved bodies, so common 30 years ago, shivering coatless and hatless in the depths of winter, their miserable limbs maimed by rickets, their ears streaming with matter from middle ear disease, and their eyelids red with ophthalmia.'

Nothing is more exasperating to those to whom social reform is religion in action than the readiness with which the English neglect, forget or minimise their achievements. The visitor from Central Europe will tell with enthusiasm of the decline of illiteracy in his country since the war.

[1]'Formation of manners in youth'—Dr. Johnson's definition of education.

[2]Evidence of a school visitor quoted in *The Special Services of Education in London*, p. 5. See also Dr. J. W. Bready's *Life of Dr. Barnardo*, 1930, pp. 80–84 and 107.

The Englishman scarcely knows the meaning of the word, still less does he trouble to inquire whether illiteracy still exists in England.

It is in fact probably true to say that surprisingly few Englishmen, even among those who are engaged in the service of education, would feel equipped to give at short notice a reasoned and convincing statement of the case for public education. Again, although most people will readily assent to the dictum that educational expenditure is long-range expenditure, few are qualified to prove its truth by showing what the long-range expenditure incurred by past generations has achieved.

Ideally no doubt the provision of education for the whole population as a right should require no justification, or at least no justification relying upon the social and economic return likely to be experienced by the community. Unfortunately, however, the average Englishman is more ready to open his heart to such an ideal than his purse. He will open his purse with unexampled resignation when the Central Government raises the income tax to provide, for example, for rearmament. But it is a very different matter when the Local Government proposes to raise the education rate to provide for some further measure of intellectual or social rearmament.

The explanation lies of course in the length of time which must elapse before educational expenditure can bear fruit. The taxpayer can watch the fleet, the air force or the army grow, but the changes achieved by the expansion of educational opportunity come about so gradually that the public take them for granted, or even fail to recognise that they are primarily due to education at all.

Yet anyone who will turn aside for a year from the minutiæ of day-to-day educational administration or teaching, and will study at first hand the evidence of witnesses before the Royal Commissions of 40 or 50 years ago, will recognise in those teachers and school attendance officers who went down into the slums of our great cities, the

pioneers of a new age. Their names go unremembered and their work forgotten, but the ultimate effects of their work on the social history of these islands will some day have to be taught in every classroom. Moreover, when this comes about it may be predicted that the struggle for education and the battle for health will yield examples of endurance and heroism not a whit less interesting or important than the 'War of Jenkins' Ear'.

This, for example, is what one of these pioneers of compulsory education, who is still living, told the Cross Commission nearly 50 years ago of her experiences:

Q. I want to ask you in the first place whether you consider that the existence of your school in that neighbourhood and the work which you have described so well has left any mark on the condition of the people around.

A. Yes, very much so indeed. You could hardly, in years gone by, bring a person down that street without a blush of shame; the people did not think of putting window blinds up; they pitched everything out of the windows into the street, regardless of passers-by, and made, in fact, the street the dustbin of the place, and certainly their language was shocking. Now I can confidently say that whatever quarrel there may be going on, and they will be using bad language, if they see a teacher coming up the street, it is instantly stopped and they would not give me a vile word as I pass them.

Some Christmases ago I sent a new short curtain to every house to give it a bright appearance for Christmas Day, and now the people feel a sense of shame in various ways. If they attempt to come near me dirty they would even apologise. I know that, in many instances, a woman will borrow a neighbour's apron to come up and speak to me so that she may come up looking clean. I felt it my duty, if one came up to me dirty, to tell her that she should have enough self-respect to wash her face before she came to see me.

I think that no voluntary agency could ever have grappled with such a large amount of poverty. Neither church nor chapel, until we opened that school, had touched that particular part, and I do not think that any voluntary agency alone could have done the work, because so much money is required to work a district of that kind.

I always used to say that my children paid the heaviest school fee of any children in London, because the little things of seven years old would begin to earn money for their parents, and we had to face the opposition which resulted from that state of things. I feel most strongly that the girls that I turn out of that school will never be content to live the same kind of life as that which their mothers have led.[1]

It is precisely such passages as this which illumine for the modern investigator the wise words used by an earlier Commission: 'The religious and moral influence of the public elementary school appears to be very great, greater even than their intellectual influence. A set of good schools civilises a whole neighbourhood. The most important function of the schools is that which they best perform.'

To anyone who has read himself back into the atmosphere and environment of those early days, so that he can construct in his mind's eye a cavalcade of public education, the contribution which the public system has made to the health, cleanliness, orderliness, sobriety and self-respect of the population must always, perhaps, seem to outweigh all other gains.

It is true that the growth of civilisation in England owes much to the innate character of the English, for they have probably for centuries been as decent, as commonsensical and as slow to anger as any people. They managed their civil war with an absence of passion which is still the admiration of foreign historians. But if anyone doubts the refinement of these qualities which the schools have achieved, let him ask himself what would happen to-day in the event of a sudden cessation of civil authority in some town he knows—and then ask himself what would have happened 40 years ago. Perhaps he can actually recall such occasions. If not, let him read contemporary descriptions of the scenes in London during the 'Sack of the West End' (1884) or on 'Bloody Sunday' (13th November, 1887). Then let him

[1] *C.C.R.*, 17,310, 17,312, 17,401, 17,298.

pass forward to the Black Sunday riots in Liverpool during 1911, when the German war lords, perhaps miscalculating the resources of civilisation which we had already accumulated and thinking that revolution on the continental model was imminent, are said to have sent the German fleet into the North Sea prepared for action.[1]

Let him follow this up by the reading of the far less serious, because far less bitter, scenes which accompanied the withdrawal of the services of the local police 10 years later in the same town, and finally, let him reflect upon the almost complete absence of any serious disorder, either in Liverpool or elsewhere, during the general stoppage of 1926.

The contribution which a sound and universal system of public education can make to the sobriety, orderliness and stability of a population is perhaps the most patent of its benefits. What other gains can be placed to its credit? A great deal is written about its heavy cost. Can it be claimed that the widening of educational opportunity in the long run repays that cost to the community by a commensurate increase in the national wealth and prosperity? Or can it be claimed that it is making the population happier, better able to utilise its leisure, more adaptable?

Anyone who knows how the schools have come to life in the past decade, anyone who is in a position to take a wide view of the social condition of the people and compare conditions to-day with those forty years ago, will have no hesitation in answering these questions in the affirmative. His real difficulty is to put his answer into such a form that it will satisfy the lady who cannot secure such a regular and unfailing supply of domestic servants as she used to be able to command; or that type of critic who affirms that the only difference he can see is that the same remarks are scribbled

[1]The best account of the Liverpool riots which I have been able to find is that given by Sir Philip Gibbs in his *Adventures in Journalism* (1923). He also tells the story of the German fleet, of the accuracy of which I have little doubt.

on the walls as forty years ago, but that they are scribbled a foot lower!

Perhaps, in an ideal society, such critics ought to be disregarded, but they are a hardy breed, and no educational administrator who is wise will attempt to ignore them. Probably the most effective answer is to ask them to apply the Euclidian method and suppose that the public provision for education in England and Wales had remained stationary at the point it had reached in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Care should be taken in the first place to explain to them what provision then, in fact, existed for any form of higher or technical education, and to compare that provision with the position 40 years later. A suggestion may then be made that they should pass in review the national effort of the years 1914–1918; that they should try to calculate the reserves of trained intelligence, administrative and executive ability and scientific knowledge which were required to officer the new armies, to create and sustain the supply of munitions and dye-stuffs, to build up an air force and a navy many times its pre-war size, to establish hospitals for the wounded, and all the time to keep the nation supplied with food for 10 months in the year.

Every pass-degree student of history knows that the Duke of Wellington exclaimed that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton; every honours student knows that he never said anything of the kind. He did, however, admit that it was 'a damn near thing'. Similarly, the Great War may not have been won in the little asphalt yards of our public elementary schools, or even in the more spacious playgrounds of our local grammar and secondary schools, but it would have been a far nearer thing than Waterloo had not those schools been sending out year by year after 1902 hundreds of thousands of scholars a little better trained, a little more accustomed to leadership, than their prototypes of twenty years before. Mr. Fisher, it will be remembered, in introducing his Education Act of 1918, mentioned a

general who had remarked to him: 'There must be something in your damned elementary schools after all.'

It is not a comfortable reflection that but for the work of men like Sir John Gorst, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Robert Morant and Mr. A. J. Balfour, children, whether in our own schools or in those of some parts of the Empire, might to-day be singing, as the Danish children of Schlesvig Holstein had to sing after 1886: 'Ich bin ein Preusse, Ich will ein Preusse sein.'

Passing from speculative contemplation of what might have been, the widespread inability to understand that every extension of educational opportunity in these Islands has led to an increase in the national capital is usually found to be due to one of two causes. The first and most difficult to remove is the widespread indifference to education still to be found in many sections of the population, usually based upon ignorance of what the schools are actually doing, and attempting. The second arises from a failure to appreciate that capital, reduced to its simplest terms, is nothing more than the ability to take thought in laying out one's income, however narrow it may be, and to exercise the capacity to wait.

As the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education expressed the matter in 1909: 'A rising level of education among the mass of the workers increases the real level of their wages, though this may not be accompanied by a rise in their nominal amount. It conduces to wise expenditure of income and to the avoidance of thoughtless or hurtful waste.' Moreover, 'improvements in educational opportunity strengthen that power of organisation and combination which enables the workers to secure a just share of the produce of those operations in which their labour is an indispensable factor'.

The part the schools have played during the past 40 years in the inculcation of thrift is indeed often overlooked or under-estimated.

We have seen (p. 37) how, immediately after the school

fees in board schools were stabilised or abolished and those in church schools reduced by the Act of 1891, school savings banks began to spring up like mushrooms everywhere. The school savings schemes have multiplied to such an extent in the intervening years that there are now 22,000 groups, based on schools, known to the National Savings Association—twice as many, that is, as there are in connection with industrial undertakings. Some indication of the cumulative result may be judged from the following figures:

Amount of national savings at various dates—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 .. .. .. .. | £285,000,000 |
| 1919 .. .. .. .. | £710,000,000 |
| 1936 .. .. .. .. | £1,336,000,000 |

Adding the amount standing to the credit of small investors in other forms of thrift, such as the building societies, the small savings of the people have recently been calculated by Professor Henry Clay, economic adviser to the Bank of England, at the astonishing figure of £3,000,000,000—a figure which is increasing at the rate of £100,000,000 a year.

Great as has been the direct work and influence of the school savings schemes it could never, however, have achieved such results without the indirect work of the schools in teaching children to avoid unnecessary expenditure. The boy in the handicraft centre learns to make, for example, cheap but lasting furniture and objects for his home, or to face up in a business-like way to household tasks. The girl in her domestic subjects course learns to plan her weekly budget. Both in their hygiene lessons, and through example, learn the folly of unwise expenditure on drink. The cumulative result is that the margin between weekly wages and weekly outgoings continually tends to grow a little bit wider with each generation that passes through the schools. In each generation too a slightly higher proportion of the children leave school with that slightly

better training which will enable them to lay out the narrow family income of the working-class household to better advantage and to avoid a little more successfully the frittering away of the balance on perishable extravagances.

Once these fundamental facts are grasped, much that is otherwise difficult to explain in recent social changes becomes plain: how, for example, between a quarter and a third of the whole population has been able to avail itself of the new housing provided since 1918; because it has learnt in school to appreciate thrift, to lay out a family income wisely and to regard settled ownership as a worthy aim: or again, how the capital of the building societies, the sales of National savings certificates and the deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks have continued to rise despite years of unparalleled industrial depression.

Again, anyone who attempts to assess the contribution which a sound and universal system of education can make to the national life will inevitably sooner or later meet with a curious misconception as to the tendencies of modern industry and commerce. A greater output of potential recruits possessing higher educational qualifications, it is contended, will merely result in industry and commerce becoming saturated with men and women qualified, by the education they have received, for positions of leadership. Such positions, it is argued, do not exist for them, and they can only, therefore, become progressively more discontented.

The answer to this thesis, in so far as it has any foundation—and it is, in general, only partially true, and that essentially in the stabilised occupations, such as the Civil Service—has already been indicated (p. 209). In the first place, the wage fund of industry is not fixed by some immutable law. A public system of education, which has been built up from the bottom, creates, so long as it teaches each generation to be progressively more adaptable but progressively less superficial, a continuously expanding series of skilled occupations and posts of responsibility throughout



'Feet little prepared at 11 for the roughness of life's highway.'
A school group of 1894

the whole range of industry and commerce. Such a society, in fact, is continuously moving from the unspecialised to the specialised, and creating fresh demands for new types of service (witness the expansion of the activities of local government during the past forty years and the rise of the 'radio' industry).

This is most clearly seen in any survey of those unprotected occupations upon which this country ultimately depends for its continued existence. Here the capacity to be adaptable without being superficial is the quality required above all others.

This country may in the next forty years become largely self-supporting for a limited period of emergency by the conversion of its coal supplies into petrol, the restoration of its agriculture and the development of the artificial 'cupboard' feeding of cows and pigs.

But until that day arrives Britain will continue to exist as a first-class power for just so long and no longer than her industries can recruit from her schools those who can produce and market at competitive prices goods of better quality, craftsmanship and design, greater durability and precision than those of her industrial rivals overseas.

Finally, no one who tries to live again in the atmosphere of the cramped nineties can fail to realize that, just as the school medical service has in the intervening years become a principal foundation of national health, so the public system of education has become a principal foundation of practically every new activity in the community.

Indeed, it is difficult to think of any new movement in national life which does not owe its inception, or at least the rapidity of its subsequent development, to the fact that we are becoming an educated democracy.

Comparative indices of the sum total of intellectual activity in a community are not easy to obtain, but it is surely no accident that the first $\frac{1}{2}d.$ newspaper came into being forty years ago, and that a better educated people now sustains more than 100 principal newspapers published daily, and 500

other principal papers appearing weekly, or as trade and professional publications.[1]

Similarly, it is no accident that, despite the advent of the telephone, the volume of postal business, including advertisement matter, passing through the Post Office has increased in forty years from 2,850,000,000 to 6,935,000,000, representing 148 postal packets per head of the population to-day as compared with 73 per head in 1895.[2]

Passing from indices of intellectual activity to indices of physical activity, it is surely no accident that the local authorities are being compelled to buy back at a cost of nearly a million pounds a year for playing fields and open spaces land which, but for the Inclosure Acts, ought never to have been lost;[3] that the week-end exodus from the big towns by

[1] *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1935, pp. 495–498.

[2] I am indebted to the G.P.O. for these figures. The full figures are as follows:

*Number per head of Population*

Year to 31st March, 1895, given in Postmaster-General's Annual Report for that year: later figures based on estimated population near middle of year as given in 'Board of Trade Statistical Abstract of United Kingdom'.

| Year to 31st March | Letters | Postcards | News-paper packets | Total | Printed papers | Total (including printed papers) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1895 | 46 | 8 | 4 | 58 | 15 | 73 |
| 1914 | 76 | 20 | 5 | 101 | 26 | 127 |
| (*g*) 1921 | 75 | 12 | 4 | 91 | 29 | 120 |
| 1935 | 84 | 9 | 3 | 96 | 52 | 148 |

(*g*) Up to and including this year, numbers of items and population include the territory which is now the Irish Free State.

Advertising material is included, but presumably it would not be sent out unless it was considered that the recipients were in a position to be influenced.

[3] Loan expenditure sanctioned for this purpose stood at £2,305,000 in 1934–1935, in which year 4,440 acres were bought at a cost of £961,000. These figures do not, I think, include the L.C.C.'s effort to form a green belt around London, which had saved 45 square miles by the end of 1936.

young folk on foot and on cycles, the growth of camping and swimming, the rise in a few years of a Youth Hostels Association with 40,000 members, have made the Victorian Sunday a thing of the past.

One hears to-day much talk of the need for a changing education in a changing world. Is not this, perhaps, putting the cart before the horse? Or which is the cart and which the horse? Is not at least a substantial part of the change due to the fact that national education has been changing first?

One thing at least seems clear—that the public system of education and the new health conscience created by its ancillary school medical service are together making the homes of England, always too small for the average family to live recreatively, seem smaller still.

The *laudator temporis acti* may regret the more obvious manifestations of this tendency. A more lively school curriculum may encourage 18½ million people to visit the cinema every week, and, in the process, to see (whether they like it or not) much that is meretricious as well as much that is broadly cultural. The development of school music may at times lead to an undiscriminating use of the wireless or the cheap gramophone. Excessive encouragement of swimming, handicraft and physical education may endanger or suppress the concurrent intellectual life which it should be the purpose of the schools to foster.

But the teacher and educational administrator will balance against these imponderable tendencies others: they will see a quarter of the population now borrowing 240,000,000 books from the public and county libraries every year and 2,000,000 children's newspapers being sold every week. They will see character and powers of leadership being formed in preparation for citizenship and public service; they will observe new societies and clubs springing up to foster every type of cultural activity; they will see older societies, such as the British Drama League, the Women's Institutes, the Co-operative Guilds, the Arts League of Service, the English Folk Dance and Song Society, annually increasing their

membership and the scope of their activities; they will observe that whereas 40 years ago leadership for club and social activities had to be supplied from above, it is now springing from the people themselves; that the university settlement movement is being reinforced by those Piers Plowman's settlements, the local community centres; they will reflect that all this has been achieved through a capital expenditure by the local authorities certainly no greater than that incurred upon the water supply and gas undertakings, probably not much greater than that incurred upon the municipal trams and bus services; and they will recall that the amount expended annually upon drink, tobacco or advertisement still far outweighs the annual expenditure upon education, while the money spent on cosmetics or football pools is not far short of that expenditure.

In the creation of an educated democracy complacent satisfaction with the degree of progress so far achieved can find no place. The millennium is still a long way off. So long as there is one child who has failed to obtain the precise educational treatment his individuality requires; so long as a single child goes hungry, has nowhere to play, fails to receive the medical attention he needs; so long as the nation fails to train and provide scope for every atom of outstanding ability it can find; so long as there are administrators or teachers who feel no sense of mission, who cannot administer or who cannot teach, the system will remain incomplete.

But when the social historian of the future comes to write of the development of public education in England in the first 60 years of its existence as a compulsory force, he may feel that, considering how much had to be accomplished, the task was worthily begun.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of this book I was fortunate in having at my disposal the libraries of the Board of Education, the Ministry of Health and the London County Council as well as the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Although the lists given below do not by any means represent the full amount of reading involved, all the books in them should be obtainable by students of the history of education. I have arranged them under Chapter headings for convenience of reference.

## Books for General Reading


Adamson (J. W.): *An Outline of English Education, 1760–1902. English Education, 1789–1902.*

Balfour (Sir G.): *Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (1903).

Davies (E. Salter): *The Re-organisation of Education in England* (1933).

Findlay (J. J.): *The Children of England.* A contribution to social history and to education (1923).

McHugh (G. P.): *Local Administration in English Elementary Education, 1883–1930.*

N.U.T.: *The Hadow Report and After* (1928).

Selby Bigge (Sir L. A.): *The Board of Education* (1927).

Ward (H.): *The Educational System of England and Wales and its Recent Development* (1931).

Wilson (J. Dover): *The Schools of England: A Study in Renaissance* (1930).

## CHAPTER I

For further reading the inquirer cannot do better than study the evidence of witnesses, particularly teachers and school attendance officers, before the Cross Inquiry Commission, 1886–1889 (5 Volumes). The Digest of Evidence renders it a comparatively simple matter to follow up particular topics.

He should also read:

1. *What is and What might be* (1911), by Mr. Edmond Holmes.
2. The General Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, published annually in the Reports of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.
3. Report of the Board of Education, 1910–1911—The curriculum of the Public Elementary School, pp. 2–40.
4. Report of the Board of Education, 1922–1923—Some account of the Origin and Growth of the Board's Inspectorate, pp. 9–45.
5. *Schools and Scholars*, by James Runciman (Chatto & Windus, 1887). This book, written by a teacher, gives a brilliant sketch of conditions in the earliest schools and training colleges.
6. Annual Report of the Education Officer to the London County Council for the year 1908–1909. This contains a series of reports by teachers and inspectors whose services went back to the Act of 1870 on the changes in the intervening years in the conditions under which teachers served, the type of pupil, their educational attainments, their fitness for their future lives, their general behaviour, and the condition and good order of the streets especially as regards youths and girls under 20.
7. The Final Report of the School Board for London also contains much interesting material.

## CHAPTER II

Broadly speaking the only people who really knew the life of the schools at this time were the teachers and Her Majesty's Inspectors. Probably the only book by a contemporary teacher

which survives is *Schools and Scholars*, by James Runciman, 1887. The General Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, running to several hundred pages annually, were published in the Education Department's annual Report to Parliament. They were written with great freedom and do not appear to have been subjected to 'editing'. They are therefore valuable social documents.

A good picture of what has been described as 'the great age of inspection' is given in *H.M.I. Passages in the Life of an Inspector of Schools*, by Sneyd Kinnersley.

The evidence of witnesses to the Cross Commission throws much light upon conditions in the schools at the time that the 'Payment by Results' system was at its worst.

For a picture of the social, economic, and political currents of the time I have found *England, 1870–1913*, by R. C. K. Ensor in the 'Oxford History of England' series and also Halévy's *History of the English People*, invaluable.

## CHAPTER III

The evidence of witnesses before the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1894–1895 (the Bryce Commission) throws a flood of light on the meagre provision for education above the elementary stage in 1895.

Students of the subject should also read:

1. The Introductory Chapter to the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on the Education of the Adolescent (1926).
2. The appropriate chapters in Halévy's *History of the English People, 1895–1905*.
3. The chapters on Secondary Education in the early Annual Reports of the Board of Education, e.g. that for 1904 and 1911.
4. The report made in 1893 by Mr. (now Sir) H. Llewellyn Smith to the Technical Education Board for London on the facilities for higher education in London at that date.
5. The annual reports of the Science and Art Department and the Charity Commission prior to the Board of Education Act of 1899.

## CHAPTER IV

Everything said in the notes on Chapters II and III in regard to the value of the evidence before the Cross Commission and the Bryce Commission and the picture of the times to be derived from Her Majesty's Inspectors' annual reports and Halévy's *History of the English People* is of equal application in the case of this chapter.

In the interests of brevity and clarity I have omitted any detailed account of the various abortive Government Bills. An abortive Bill makes a stir among a narrow circle for a time but it is easy for the historian who draws his material too exclusively from *Hansard* to attribute an undue importance to it. This will readily be appreciated by anyone who takes the trouble to study the number of private members' bills, dealing with education, which have been introduced since 1902.

Dr. B. M. Allen's *Life of Sir Robert Morant* and *Memoir of Dr. Garnet* are important for the study of this period since he had access to much information hitherto unpublished.

The Fabian Pamphlet, No. 106, 'The Education Muddle and the way out', is invaluable to anyone who wishes to understand the chaos in educational affairs before the Act of 1902.

*The Contemporary Review*, 1897, Vol. LXXI, pp. 276 *seq* and Vol. LXXII, pp. 417 *seq* may be consulted for an analysis of the state of the religious denominations.

## CHAPTER V

For the Debate on the Act of 1902 I have relied chiefly upon *Hansard*, for the hundreds of columns that were written in the Press do not add many points of substance which did not eventually find expression in Parliament. In the amount of Parliamentary time it consumed, the Bill ran a close second to Gladstone's Home Rule Bill for it took five days on first and second reading, forty-eight days in Committee, seven days on Report and third reading and eight days in the Lords.

An Index will be found in *Hansard*, Vol. 118.

## CHAPTER VI

Some account of the growth and aims of Secondary Education in England and Wales will be found in:

1. 'Recent Development of Secondary Schools in England and Wales,' Educational Pamphlet, No. 50, H.M.S.O. (also published as a chapter in the Board of Education's Annual Report for 1923–1924).
2. *The History of Secondary Education* (1931), by I. L. Kandel.
3. 'A Survey of Secondary Education in the United States and in Europe'—Bulletin 20 of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1927).
4. *The Rising Tide*, by J. G. Legge.
5. *The New Education in Europe* (1930), by F. W. Roman.

The scholarship system and the questions connected with it may be studied in the following:

6. Essay on 'The Scholarship in English Education', by Sir Michael Sadler, contained in Essays on Examinations, published by the International Institute Examinations Inquiry (1936).
7. Chapter on 'The Passage from the Elementary to the Secondary School'—Board of Education Annual Report, 1911–1912.
8. Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, (1920) H.M.S.O.
9. *Social Progress and Educational Waste* (1926), by Kenneth Lindsay.
10. *The Nation at School* (1935), by F. S. Marvin.
11. *Secondary Education for All* (1922), edited by Professor R. H. Tawney.

No full attempt to trace the social, economic and political forces at work has been made except briefly by Sir Michael Sadler in:

12. 'The Outlook in Secondary Education,' a course of lectures delivered at Teachers' College, Columbia University.

In my attempt to follow up these questions I found the following valuable:

13. *Social Structure of England and Wales*, Carr Saunders and Caradog Jones.

14. 'The Secondary School.' Report of a Commission appointed by Bradford Independent Labour Party, 1928–1931.
15. *Social Factors in Secondary Education*—University of Liverpool, 1932.
16. *Education in Leeds. A Backward Glance and a Present View.* Published by the Leeds L. E. A., 1926.
17. *The Education Problem in Leeds.* Published by the Leeds L. E. A., 1926.
18. Report of the City of Birmingham Education Committee, 1914–1924.
19. *Education in Lancashire.* Handbook of Lancashire Education Authority.
20. *Education* (In my time series) (1935), by J. Howard Whitehouse.
21. *The Faith of a Schoolmaster* (1935), by E. Sharwood Smith.
22. The Reports made by Mr. (now Sir Michael) Sadler upon the provision for Secondary Education in a number of areas, e.g. Essex, Hants, Liverpool, etc. These are still obtainable in some Libraries and are well worth careful study.
23. *Learn and Live*, compiled for the Institute of Adult Education by Messrs. Williams and Heath, 1936.

## CHAPTERS VII and VIII

The following chapters in the annual reports of the Board of Education are valuable for the study of the history of elementary education:

1. 1909–1910—Staffing of Public Elementary Schools. The best discussion of the evil of over-large classes is, however, contained in the Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance compulsory or otherwise at Continuation Schools, 1909, pp. 51–59.
2. 1910–1911—The Curriculum of the Public Elementary School, pp. 2–40.
3. 1912–1913—History of the Training of Teachers for elementary schools.

4. 1922–1923—Some account of the Origin and Growth of the Board's Inspectorate.

For the general history of elementary education the following should be studied:

5. C. Birchenough *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day* (1925).
6. Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on, 'The Education of the Adolescent (1926), Chapter I—Sketch of the development of full-time post-primary education in England and Wales from 1800–1918 (H.M.S.O.).
7. Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on, 'The Primary School (1936), Chapter I—The History of the development of the conception of primary education above the infant stage, 1800–1931 (H.M.S.O.).
8. Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on 'Infant and Nursery Schools', Chapter I—Sketch of the history of the development of infant education as a distinct part of primary education in England and Wales from the beginning of the nineteenth century down to the present time (1933), (H.M.S.O.).
9. 'The New Prospect in Education' (Educational Pamphlet, No. 60), 1928 (H.M.S.O.).

The various issues of the Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools and the Board's Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers are essential in making any attempt to follow the changes in the curriculum.

No full account of the changes in the elementary schools during the past 10 years, i.e. since the advent of Hadow re-organisation, has yet appeared, although the Board's pamphlet on 'Education and the Countryside' (H.M.S.O., 1936), is a move in this direction. The Educational Press is, however, full of accounts of pioneer work in individual schools, and the inquirer who has access to reports upon the schools of an area can construct a good mental picture of what is going on. *Our Public Elementary Schools* by Sir Michael Sadler, 1926, although prior to the Hadow report, still contains one of the best available discussions of the place of the elementary school in the community.

'The Hadow Report and After,' National Union of Teachers, 1928, and 'The Schools at Work', National Union of Teachers,

1935, should be consulted for a picture of the possibilities opened up by Reorganisation.

For rural education the following should also be studied:

'Rural Education'. Adaptation of Instruction to the needs of Rural Areas' (Educational Pamphlet, No. 46), 1926.

'An Experiment in Rural Reorganisation' (Educational Pamphlet, No. 93), 1933.

The report of the Education Officer to the London County Council for 1935 contains a series of articles by inspectors and teachers showing the changes which have taken place in various types of schools since 1904.

## CHAPTER IX

## MAIN SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION SINCE 1902

1. Books and articles by individuals or groups:

*Education at the Cross Roads* (1930), by Lord Eustace Percy.

*Education for Industry and Commerce in England* (1933), by A. Abbott.

Report of an inquiry into the relationships of technical education to other forms of education and to industry and commerce (Emmott Committee, 1927).

*The Entrance to Industry* (1934), published by P.E.P., 16 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.1.

Articles in the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, 9th Edition—'Technical Education', by Sir Philip Magnus; 'Polytechnics', by Sir Joshua Fitch.

Address delivered to the British Association, 1930, by Mr. A. Abbott on 'The Development of Technical and Commercial Education in England'.

Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions on 25th February, 1932, by Mr. J. W. Bispham on 'The Cultural possibilities of Vocational Education'.

*Technical Education, its Development and Aims* (1925), by C. T. Millis.

*Education for Trades and Industries.* A Historical Survey (1932), by T. C. Millis.

Humanism and Technology. Lectures to a vocation school for engineering students in the University of Birmingham and Oriel College, 1924.

*The Schools of England: A Study in Renaissance* (1930): Chapter on Technical Education, by E. Salter Davies.

*Learn and Live* (1936), published by the Institute of Adult Education.

*London Men and Women* (1937), published by the Institute of Adult Education.

2. Publications by His Majesty's Stationery Office:

(*a*) *For Technical education as affecting individual industries:*

Memorandum on the Teaching of Coal Mining in Part-time Schools, 1916.

Memorandum on the Teaching of Building in Evening Schools, 1916.

Memorandum on the Teaching of Cotton Spinning and Manufacture, 1917.

Engineering Training. Some Notes on Existing Facilities, 1917.

Memorandum on Commercial Instruction in Evening Schools, 1919.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Technical Education for the Automobile Engineering Industry, 1923.

Memorandum on the Teaching of Engineering in Evening Technical Schools, 1923.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Technical Training for the Gas Industry, 1924.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Technical Training for the Manufacture and Application of Coal Tar products, 1924.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Education in relation to Foundry work, 1924.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Technical Education in England for the Paper Making Industry, 1924.

Report on the provision of instruction for persons employed in the Coal Mining Industry in the Coalfields of South Wales, 1924.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Technical Instruction in Structural Engineering, 1935.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Instruction in England for the Manufacture of Leather, 1925.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Instruction in Surveying, 1926.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Instruction in Pure Chemistry, 1927.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Instruction in Commodities for persons employed in Commerce, 1927.

Report of H.M. Inspectors on Instruction for the Rail Carriage and Wagon Building Industry, 1928.

Building Science, 1928.

Electrical Machine Design, 1928.

Day Classes for Building Apprentices, 1928.

The Plumbers Trade and Training, 1928.

Day Classes for Engineering Apprentices, 1928.

(*b*) *General:*

Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance, Compulsory or otherwise, at Continuation Schools (Two Volumes), 1909.

Survey of Technical and Further Education in England and Wales (Educational Pamphlet, No. 49), 1926.

Education for Industry and Commerce (Educational Pamphlet, No. 64), 1928.

The Course System in Evening Schools, 1910.

The Junior Technical Schools (Educational Pamphlet, No. 83), 1930.

Trade and Domestic Schools for Girls (Educational Pamphlet, No. 72), 1929.

London Men's (Junior) Evening Institutes (Educational Pamphlet, No. 84), 1930.

Work of Men's Institutes in London (Educational Pamphlet, No. 48), 1926.

The Reports of the Science and Art Department (annual) and the annual general reports by H.M. Inspectors before 1899 also contain much interesting material.

(*c*) *Adult Education:*

The following Papers of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education:

No. 3. The Development of Adult Education in Rural Areas.
No. 4. The Development of Adult Education for Women.
No. 7. Full-time Studies.
No. 9. Pioneer work and other Developments in Adult Education.
No. 10. The Scope and Practice of Adult Education.
No. 11. Adult Education and the Local Education Authority.

(*d*) *For the period of post-War Inquiry:*

Factors in Industrial and Commercial Efficiency (Part I, 1927, and Final Report, 1929, pp. 201–226 of the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade).

Reports (two parts) of the Committee on Education and Industry (Malcolm Committee), 1927 and 1928.

Education for Salesmanship.

Education for the Engineering Industry.

## CHAPTER X

## SOURCES FOR FURTHER READING

1. Official publications by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

The Annual Reports of the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, 1908–1934.

For the *School Medical Service* see in particular:

| Year of Report | | Pages |
|---|---|---|
| 1908 | History of Medical Inspection of School Children .. .. .. .. .. | 2–11 |
| 1909 | The Physical Condition of School Children as revealed by Medical Inspection .. | 26–69 |
| | Action taken by the Local Education Authorities in respect of Medical Treatment .. | 92–118 |

| Year of Report | | Pages |
|---|---|---|
| 1917 | A review of the work of ten years, 1908–1917. Some results of the School Medical Service | |
| 1929 | The story of the School Medical Service .. | |
| 1931 | What is the School Medical Service achieving? | 119 |
| | Historical Note .. .. .. .. | 5 |
| 1934 | Infection and Mortality in School Children .. | 119–125 |

For the *Special Schools*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1908 | The Special Schools for Defective Children .. | 107–119 |
| 1909 | Education of Feeble-minded Children .. | 151–169 |
| 1910 | Open-air Education .. .. .. .. | 221–231 |
| 1919 | The Cripple Child .. .. .. .. | 100–124 |
| 1922 | Orthopædics and the Child .. .. .. | 89–101 |
| 1926 | The Education of the Cripple Child (Shropshire Orthopædic Hospital) .. .. | 140 |
| 1930 | Progress in the Prevention and Treatment of Crippling Defects .. .. .. .. | 51 |

For the *Provision of Meals*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1910 | Historical Note .. .. .. .. | 245–254 |
| 1913 | Retrospect of the Period 1906–1914 .. .. | 241–263 |
| 1920 | Provision of School Meals .. .. .. | 146–152 |

Also the Charts in 'Educational Administration in England and Wales' (H.M.S.O., 1936).


2. Other publications.

The annual reports of many school medical officers are available to those who can visit the Board of Education Library, but in general they are all summarised in the reports of Sir George Newman.

The most interesting publication for the layman is *The Special Services of Education in London*, 1931.

The following volumes of *Hansard* repay study: Vol. 160, 16th July, 1906; and Cols., 1384–1394; Vol. 170, 1st March, 1907.

# APPENDIX A

## Calculation of the possible numbers attending the Endowed Schools in 1895

1. The Roby Return (Bryce Commission Report, Vol. IX, pp. 7–175) gives 621 Endowments applied in the maintenance of schools of secondary type, as distinct from schools mainly elementary in character.
2. No figures are given to show the attendance.
3. The Commissioners carried out an investigation of the endowed, proprietary and higher grade schools in seven counties:

ENDOWED SCHOOLS

| | Schools | | | Pupils | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Mixed | Boys | Girls |
| Bedfordshire .. .. | 3 | 2 | | 1,498 | 688 |
| Devon .. .. .. | 19 | 3 | | 1,204 | 527 |
| Norfolk .. .. .. | 13 | 1 | | 885 | 51 |
| Lancs. .. .. .. | 31 | 5 | | 3,351 | 820 |
| Surrey .. .. .. | 13 | 1 | | 2,750 | 255 |
| Warwick .. .. .. | 17 | 6 | | 3,023 | 1,261 |
| Yorks., W. Riding .. .. | 40 | 11 | 3 | 3,873 | 1,263 |
| | 136 | 29 | 3 | 16,584 | 4,865 |

4. The average number in the boys' schools in these 7 counties was therefore 120·61.
   The average number in the girls' schools in these 7 counties was therefore 159·5.
   (The 3 mixed schools have been added as 1½ schools to boys and girls respectively.)
5. On the other hand, these averages are probably too high since the five schools in Bedfordshire were abnormally large owing

to the value of the endowments owned by the Harpur Trust. Moreover, certain public schools (without endowment) were counted in the 7 counties total, e.g. Rossal.

A better average is probably obtained by excluding Bedfordshire, which gives:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boys' schools .. .. | 112·163 |
| Girls' schools .. .. | 146·561. |

6. Applying these averages to the 373 boys' schools and 40 girls' schools shown in the Roby Return for the remaining counties, from which London (40 schools) has been deducted since the numbers are known or can be calculated with some degree of accuracy, we get:

| | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Numbers attending schools in 7 counties .. .. .. | 16,584 | 4,865 | 21,449 |
| Numbers attending schools in remaining counties (conjectural) .. .. .. .. | 41,836 | 5,862 | 47,698 |
| Numbers attending schools in London .. .. .. | 7,049 | 3,430 | 10,479 |
| Grand Total | 65,469 | 14,157 | 79,626 |

## APPENDIX B

Calculation of possible numbers attending the Endowed Schools (based on proportion per 1000 of population represented by the highest figures during ten years 1883–1893 in seven selected counties.)

| County | Comparable County | Population, 1891 | Number in Endowed Schools, assuming even distribution |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beds.: 2,163 | Owing to Harpur Trust Beds. is unreliable for comparison. | | |
| Devon: 1,829 scholars, 631,808 population = 2·83 per1000 | Berks. | 160,704 | 454 |
| | Bucks. | 185,284 | 524 |
| | Dorset | 194,517 | 550 |
| | Gloucester | 599,947 | 1,698 |
| | Salop | 236,339 | 668 |
| | Somerset | 484,337 | 1,370 |
| | Sussex | 550,446 | 1,557 |
| | Cornwall | 322,571 | 901 |
| | | | 7,722 |
| Norfolk: 1,019 scholars, 454,516 population = 2·244 per1000 | Cambs. | 188,961 | 423 |
| | Essex | 785,445 | 1,762 |
| | Hereford | 115,949 | 260 |
| | Hunts. | 57,761 | 129 |
| | Lincs. | 472,878 | 1,061 |
| | Rutland | 20,659 | 45 |
| | Suffolk | 371,235 | 832 |
| | Wilts. | 264,997 | 594 |
| | | | 5,106 |

| County | Comparable County | Population, 1891 | Number in Endowed Schools, assuming even distribution |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lancs.: | Cheshire | 730,058 | 789 |
| 4,248 scholars, | Cumberland | 266,549 | 287 |
| 3,926,760 population | Derbyshire | 528,033 | 570 |
| =1·081 per 1000 | Durham | 1,016,559 | 1,098 |
| | Northumberland | 506,030 | 547 |
| | Westmorland | 66,098 | 71 |
| | Yorks., E. & N. Riding | 762,000 | 823 |
| | | | 4,185 |
| Surrey: | Hants. | 690,097 | 4,187 |
| 3,168 scholars, | Herts. | 220,162 | 1,335 |
| 521,551 population | Kent | 807,269 | 4,898 |
| = 6·07 per 1000 | Middlesex | 564,400 | 3,423 |
| | | | 13,843 |
| Warwick: | Leicester | 373,584 | 1,958 |
| 4,216 scholars, | Northampton | 302,183 | 1,581 |
| 805,072 population | Oxfordshire | 185,669 | 968 |
| = 5·237 per 1000 | Staffs. | 1,083,408 | 5,671 |
| | Worcestershire | 413,760 | 2,162 |
| | | | 12,340 |
| Yorks., West Riding: 5,235 scholars, 3,926,760 population = 1·333 per 1000 | Nottinghamshire | 445,823 | 594 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FINAL TOTAL—7 selected counties | .. | 21,878[1] |
| Remaining counties | .. | 43,790 |
| London .. | .. | 10,479[2] |
| | | 76,147 |

[1]Bryce Commission, Vol. IX, p. 374.
[2]Compiled from Vol. I, p. 352, of Bryce Report and p. 567 of Vol. II.

## APPENDIX C

Calculation of possible numbers attending the Proprietary Schools (based on proportion per 1000 of population represented by the number on the registers on 31st May, 1894, in seven selected counties.)

| County | Comparable County | Population, 1891 | Number in Proprietary Schools, assuming even distribution |
|---|---|---|---|
| Surrey: | Hants. | 690,097 | 1,876 |
| 521,551 population | Herts. | 220,162 | 598 |
| =2·72 per 1000 | Kent | 807,269 | 2,195 |
| | Middlesex | 564,400 | 1,534 |
| | | Total | 6,203 |
| Warwick: | Leicester | 373,584 | 289 |
| 805,072 population | Northampton | 302,183 | 233 |
| =·773 per 1000 | Oxfordshire | 185,669 | 143 |
| | Staffs. | 1,083,408 | 837 |
| | Worcestershire | 413,760 | 319 |
| | | Total | 1,821 |
| Yorks., W. Riding: 3,926,760 population =1·54 per 1000 | Nottinghamshire | 445,823 | 687 |
| Devonshire: | Berks. | 160,704 | 161 |
| 631,808 population | Bucks. | 185,284 | 186 |
| =1 per 1000 | Dorset | 194,517 | 195 |
| | Gloucester | 599,947 | 600 |
| | Salop | 236,337 | 237 |
| | Somerset | 484,337 | 485 |
| | Sussex | 550,446 | 551 |
| | Cornwall | 322,571 | 323 |
| | | Total | 2,738 |

| County | Comparable County | Population, 1891 | Number in Proprietary Schools, assuming even distribution |
|---|---|---|---|
| Norfolk: | Cambs. | 188,961 | 85 |
| 454,651 population | Essex | 785,445 | 353 |
| = ·45 per 1000 | Hereford | 115,949 | 52 |
| | Hunts. | 57,761 | 25 |
| | Lincs. | 472,878 | 213 |
| | Rutland | 20,659 | 10 |
| | Suffolk | 371,235 | 167 |
| | Wilts. | 264,997 | 119 |
| | | Total | 1,024 |
| Lancs.: | Cheshire | 730,058 | 825 |
| 3,926,760 population | Cumberland | 266,549 | 301 |
| = 1·13 per 1000 | Derbyshire | 528,033 | 596 |
| | Durham | 1,016,559 | 1,148 |
| | Northumberland | 506,030 | 571 |
| | Westmorland | 66,098 | 73 |
| | Yorks., E. & N. Ridings | 762,000 | 861 |
| | | Total | 4,375 |
| GRAND TOTAL—7 selected counties | | .. | 8,710[1] |
| Remaining counties | | .. | 16,848 |
| London .. | | .. | 8,593[2] |
| | | | 34,151 |

[1]Vol. IX, Bryce Report, p. 374.
[2]Vol. IX, Bryce Report, p. 437, and Vols. I and II, pp. 352 and 567.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW