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THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION 1936

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, January to June 1935

LORD EUSTACE PERCY, M P.

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PREFACE

ON the appearance of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1936, I feel that I owe to its readers a word of explanation and to its Editors more than a word of apology

This volume was planned mainly by me, and I arranged for most of the contributions The plan was different from that of previous volumes and was rather an ambitious one In order to carry out my central idea, I had intended myself to write a number of "linking" chapters Other duties compelled me to resign from the Editorial Board in June and to abandon my projected contributions, and I am acutely conscious that my desertion left a very difficult task to my colleagues and to Mr H V Usill, the General Editor That task they have, however, carried out far better than I could have done Readers of this volume will, I think, find clearly presented in it the central question which all students of education are now asking themselves, and will find also at least much material for an answer to that question

This central question, which in my original plan I had wished to pose and round which I had asked contributors to write, presented itself to me in some such terms as these The end of the war marked the beginning of a more or less hectic activity in education throughout the world In no period of modern history, perhaps, has so much been thought, written and done in education as during these fifteen years Broadly speaking, the first ten years were years of confidence and sanguine expectation, the last five have been years of struggle and self-examination, sometimes of disillusionment And this self-examination has led reformers in all countries increasingly to ask what they had actually been doing or aiming at Have we, in fact, since 1919 been merely trying to expand our national systems of public education on traditional lines laid down in the nineteenth century, or have we made any conscious effort to invent, to experiment and to adapt our ideas and methods to the changed and changing conditions of the world? Have our policies—the policies, not of this or that Government, but of "educationists" throughout the world—been based on the tacit assumption that the social ideals of the later nineteenth century represented a body of revealed truth to which men's minds must swing back after any temporary oscillations caused by war or revolution; or have those policies been influenced in any degree by a realisation that the immediate future of "western civilisation" may be profoundly different from its immediate past?

And, further, if we have in any degree realised that we live in a changing world, in what respects have we sought to change our school organisation or our methods of teaching? Clearly, education depends, or should depend, only partly on the sort of life which the

scholar may expect to live after he has left school, most of us would agree that its core is independent of such considerations But it is fatally easy to confuse eternal laws with social conventions and social conventions with eternal laws, and, in so far as we have realised the need for change, have we, perhaps, tended to treat the conventions of the nineteenth century as eternal truths, while demonstrating our "progressiveness" by attempts to change the unchangeable? "Ceremonies," said the little girl, when asked to distinguish between the moral and the ceremonial injunctions of the Mosaic law—"ceremonies we keeps, morals we makes no use on" None of us makes that mistake in statement, but most of us make it only too often in our thinking

I have, no doubt, stated the issue badly, but that, at any rate, was my original idea for this volume of the YEAR BOOK I do not desire to suggest an answer to these questions, and I am certainly not responsible for any answers suggested in these pages I am, however, responsible for originally giving this bent to the YEAR BOOK, and, though I have been able to take no part in reviewing or arranging the material, the blame for any defects in its general plan must fall on me

EUSTACE PERCY

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[1] *See footnote on page 6.*

INTRODUCTION

WHEN in the early summer of 1935 Lord Eustace Percy joined the Cabinet, and the result of the General Election in the autumn led to the continuance of the new claims upon his time and attention, the severing of his relations with the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, though most deeply to be regretted, became inevitable. The Editor-in-Chief had honoured the Institute of Education by associating some of its personnel with the last as well as the present issue of the YEAR BOOK, but it would be idle as well as ungenerous to pretend that it did not remain, from the first page to the last, controlled in its general architecture, and inspired in its details by his immensely wide interest in education, particularly where it affects and is affected by the social changes which press upon the attention of all observers and students of modern life. But although the YEAR BOOK for 1936 bears Lord Eustace Percy's imprint as clearly as its predecessors, it necessarily suffers in comparison with them through the absence of the " linking " chapters to which he refers in his preface, chapters which would have been for most of our readers, as Lord Eustace's articles have been since the first issue of the YEAR BOOK, those to be welcomed most gladly and studied most closely For these no adequate substitute could be offered, but Mr H V Usill, who has worked under and with the Editor-in-Chief since the initiation of the YEAR BOOK, fortunately remains to protect the tradition which Lord Eustace Percy established, and to help the Committee to develop it

The special bent which Lord Eustace Percy intended the YEAR BOOK for 1936 to show is expressed clearly in the four chapters by Dr Hans, which constitute the first section of Part I These supply first a background of historical analysis governed partly by the conception of racial differences which has been pressed so far in Germany to-day Dr Hans surveys rapidly the educational situation in the countries of Europe, including the newer ones which have emerged since the war, as well as the older ones which have departed so violently from their former traditions A comparative study of administration and finance in these countries naturally follows The fourth chapter develops a comparison between the types of educational institution which are now established in the different parts of Europe. There will be many who, while not close students of comparative education, will nevertheless be interested in this attempt to exhibit in summary form both the extent of the common ground and the points of divergence.

From the groundwork of essential facts thus laid down by Dr. Hans we pass in the next two sections (II and III) to some illuminating studies of two kindred problems which are even more pressing in continental Europe than they are in Britain. On the one hand, the

urge towards social consolidation along lines which, in some countries, depart widely from those laid down by tradition is compelling attention to the principles and criteria of that social *selection* which becomes so important in such a situation If expansion, territorial and economic, such as was normal in the nineteenth century, is now to slow down or even to cease, this problem must become acute

To the discussion of it in the form it has now assumed in Germany, Dr. Schairer brings his unrivalled knowledge of social and educational movements in Central Europe His three chapters should prove of great value, particularly to those—an increasing number—who are concerned with the bearing of educational policy upon social and political structure

On the other hand, and allied to this problem of selection, is that of satisfactory distribution of the output of the schools as a whole among the various fields of employment

Dr Schairer, in an introductory chapter, analyses the problem, emphasising the novelty and peculiarities of its form in modern conditions He offers some estimates of its magnitude, and gives a lengthy critical description of the new expedients which have been devised to meet it Here again far-reaching changes in prevailing conceptions of education itself seem to be foreshadowed

Mr Owen's chapter, which follows, gives, with supporting figures, a valuable account of the present situation in Great Britain.

Mr Gilbert offers a note on the familiar phenomenon of " blind-alley " employment, which should be read, perhaps, in some relation to the section (No 1 of Part III) on the handling of the " C " child.

A chapter by Mr Scarborough fittingly concludes the section with an account of psychological techniques of guidance and selection capable of being applied at this level

The following section turns to fundamentals with a consideration of the respective philosophies in terms of which current movements and prevailing attitudes in the field of education are to be justified. The section is not, perhaps, wholly homogeneous, but the inclusion of two chapters on the training of teachers might be defended on the ground that in this sphere of work issues of aim and direction in education as a whole become sharply relevant Similarly, a final chapter on the unity of art and technique in education may be justified as raising the fundamental question of aim and direction in relation to the training of taste and æsthetic perception.

Mr. Clarke opens with a chapter dealing with the conflict of philosophies that is now rending earth and air, particularly as between the various types of totalitarian on the one hand, and those who hold to the liberal tradition on the other hand.

Prof Cavenagh's comprehensive chapter on the development of educational thought in the United Kingdom in the last fifteen years leaves one with a strong impression that the British contribution to recent literature on education has been much more considerable than we are sometimes led to suppose Nor can there be any

doubt, in general, of its thorough and penetrating character. Even allowing for the characteristic British bias, of which those who study the literature of other peoples soon become aware, one finds clear statements of central issues and competent discussions of them. Prof. Cavenagh surveys the whole field ably and impartially, and there are many who will receive his contribution with peculiar gratitude The lengthy and rich chapter which follows deepens one's impression of the range and solidity of recent educational thinking in Britain. Prof Valentine offers a very thorough survey of thought and research on the psychological foundations of educational practice.

The educational philosophy of the United States has more than a pedagogic importance , for the ideas which inspire the education of a people so numerous, so wealthy, so vigorous, and so influential in the world, must be a matter of concern for mankind at large. Dr Kandel, of New York, has evidently written a somewhat critical chapter with a due sense of responsibility He gives not only a long list of references at the end, but numerous illustrative quotations in the text The reader is thus helped to form his own judgment, and some may be induced by Dr Kandel's exposition to re-examine for themselves the tendencies of current American thinking

The discussion of French educational philosophy by M Gérard Milhaud is in somewhat marked contrast with the chapter just referred to The treatment is more like that followed by Prof. Cavenagh in his chapter Indeed, the difference of standpoint as between the chapters by the English and the French writer on the one hand, and that of the American writer on the other hand, is interesting and possibly significant M Milhaud proceeds, after an historical introduction, to survey recent French educational thought, and keeps close to practical issues as he does so

Two good descriptive chapters follow on the training of teachers, one by Mr Fraser Mitchell on the wide field of Europe, U S A. and the British Dominions, the other by M Beaulavon on the training of secondary teachers in France

The final chapter of the section by Dr Gropius might perhaps be read in conjunction with the important pamphlet (No 103) recently issued by the Board of Education, on *Industry and Art Education on the Continent*

Part I closes quite appropriately with a short section consisting of two chapters in which some specific problems of training for citizenship are taken up. The name of Mrs Hubback is sufficient recommendation for that on training for citizenship in the United Kingdom. The chapter by Mr S. H. Bailey merits particularly close study, for not only does it give a valuable account of measures taken to further the education of peoples in the handling of international relations, but it includes some searching study of the bearing of international strains and necessities on public education as a whole.

The remaining Parts (II, III and IV) of the volume merit a much

fuller review than space here available will permit, but as they are largely descriptive they will tell their own story. We would, however, commend for particular study Section II of Part II, and Section I of Part III.

In regard to the first of these, a section dealing with education in the Dominions and oversea lands, we are glad to take note of an increasing sense of the significance and value of these new developments as they move towards maturity For the original ideas from which these fresh growths start are derived very largely from the traditions and experience of Britain Since the ideas undergo considerable metamorphosis in the process of adaptation to novel conditions, and take to themselves some elements from non-British sources, the resulting products may differ rather widely from the home growth But in a very real sense they, with the British original, may be regarded as species of one genus From this point of view the inclusion of a chapter on the United States is both justifiable and helpful

We would commend particularly the chapters on India and Africa, for it is here that the problem of " translation " becomes both formidable and highly instructive We mean by translation the difficulty of interpreting those elements of the British tradition which have a universal validity in terms of another cultural idiom

The other section referred to, that on the problem of the " C " child, is a valuable treatise in itself Prof Hamley's introductory chapter offers an admirable statement of the essence of the problem, and the names of Dr Lucy Fildes and Dr Schonell afford sufficient evidence of its competent handling Here, if anywhere, is an educational problem which is also a social problem, and such thoroughgoing studies of it as the writers present constitute a very great service Much the same reflection applies to Section III of Part III, dealing with juvenile delinquency

Varied as are the contents of this stout volume, we feel that the discerning reader may yet detect certain unifying themes running through it. There appears, however, to be a very general feeling that the YEAR BOOK has now reached a stage of achievement where it may be both possible and desirable, in subsequent issues, to concentrate more specifically on certain selected fields of current interest. One original purpose of the YEAR BOOK, that of affording a systematic survey of educational progress and activity, has been so far fulfilled that an increase of concentration—with a consequent decrease of bulk—might be affected, not only without loss, but with material gain in certain directions The Editorial Board is, therefore, contemplating some modification of the form of the next issue along these lines, which, while reducing somewhat the bulk of the volume, may, it is thought, compensate for any loss by enhanced concentration and unity of theme and interest.

PERCY NUNN.

PART I

A Review of Post-war Education

SECTION I

Comparative Study of European Education

CHAPTER ONE

Historical Background

Racial Basis of European Population

EUROPEAN civilisation is a unit clearly distinguished from the civilisations of the Near and Far East or that of India Educational systems and ideas are reflections of historical development and are closely connected with the form of civilisation Thus, European educational systems, in spite of all variation, present features distinctively Western which could not have developed in communities of different origin and with a different historical background Within this unity of European civilisation we have varieties which were produced by an accumulation of many factors

It is customary, to-day, to seek the sources of variation of culture in racial origin, and to reduce all differences to the difference of blood But, apart from some extravagant and unscientific theories promulgated for political reasons, the influence of race must be accepted as one of the many factors in the history of civilisation. No one will deny the difference in temperament, in disposition and in the whole mental attitude between a full-blooded African black and a European The difference between East and West has become proverbial It is only when we limit ourselves to Europe that the racial question becomes entangled, and many people refuse to accept it as one of the factors It is true that the European population is very mixed—indeed, there is not a single nation which can boast a pure racial origin. But even now, after all historical migrations and conquests, we can distinguish three main racial groups in Europe In the South of Europe along the whole Mediterranean coast, and in the south of the British Isles, we have the predominance of an Euro-African race of long-headed brunettes, short in stature, usually called the Mediterranean race Along the coast-line of the North and Baltic seas we have the predominance of another race of long-headed and tall blondes, usually called the Nordic race. In between, from Central France up to the Urals in Russia, we have the third race, of round-headed, short brunettes, usually known as the Alpine race There are few regions where

these races have retained their purity, constant migrations and changes of political frontiers having made it impossible Even in Scandinavia, especially in Norway, there is an admixture of brunette races In Spain and Italy one often meets pure Nordic types. In Central and Eastern Europe there is a strong admixture of mongoloid races, and in Southern Italy and Portugal there are noticeable traces of negro blood But with all these qualifications, the different European regions are predominantly peopled by one or other of the original European stocks This racial difference undoubtedly has influenced the formation of character and the mental attitude of different European nations. It is impossible to measure exactly the relative importance of heredity and environment, but no educationist at present will discard heredity as being of no consequence Perhaps some historical events would acquire new significance if the racial factor were considered As an example, let us take the territorial distribution of Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe It is evident, at first sight, that Protestant countries are predominantly Nordic, whereas Catholic countries are Mediterranean or Alpine There certainly are exceptions, and this coincidence is not a simple result of racial difference, but of many concomitant causes, the most important of which is the Roman Imperial tradition But there is hardly a doubt that the Protestant varieties of Christianity, with their individualism and emphasis on the inner belief, are more congenial to the introvert Nordic type, whereas the organisation and the external splendour of Catholicism are more congenial to the extravert Mediterranean type It would be an interesting task to trace the influence of racial types on different traditions in Europe, but here we can only suggest that race was one of the contributing factors, and in our classification of varieties of European civilisation we have to take it into account

Religious Traditions

If race is a biological factor which worked subconsciously and seldom rose above the surface, religion represents the conscious factor, a concentrated effort of individual reformers and religious communities to mould posterity in accordance with a certain pattern of behaviour In the field of Education the influence of Religion up to the last century was paramount Not only the aims of education, but even such practical matters as administration and finance, were profoundly influenced by religious traditions The present difference of European educational systems cannot be understood without the study of various Christian Churches and their historical traditions The division of Christianity into the three large groups of Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Protestantism, is a sure guide for a classification of educational systems.

Roman Catholicism in Latin Countries

The Roman Church was the natural successor of the Roman Empire, and its influence was strongest in those parts of Europe

where Latin culture was predominant. In the German countries, as Austria and Bavaria, Roman Catholicism was tempered by German national and literary traditions arising out of the Protestant Reformation The outlook of Roman Catholics in Ireland was affected by the influence of Protestant England and Scotland. In Poland, hemmed in between Protestant Prussia and Orthodox Russia, Roman Catholicism became the symbol of national independence and thereby lost some of its typical features. In the countries of old Latin culture, on the other hand, Roman Catholicism represented not only the historical religious dogma, but the glorious traditions of imperial Rome As in the Roman Empire the status of a Roman citizen obliterated the diversity of racial origin, so in mediæval Western Europe membership of the Roman Church overshadowed the national differences of Romance nationalities. The same structure of society, the same system of clerical education and the same universal language were common to all The Renaissance and the Reformation endangered this unity, especially in France, but the activity of the Society of Jesus successfully averted the disruption of the Latin world Having accepted the formal ideas of the Renaissance, the Jesuits rejuvenated the Church tradition and thus saved Latin countries from the Reformation In Central Europe, the Society met powerful rivals in the previously established Protestant Gymnasia and had accordingly to borrow some features from them in order to counter this competition In Latin countries they had no Protestant rivals and enjoyed an undisputed monopoly for two centuries In France their system was challenged, for a short time only in the seventeenth century, by Oratorians and Jansenists Both the Church and the Catholic kings entrusted them with the education of the upper classes Old universities were handed over and hundreds of new colleges were founded by municipalities and princes for the Society. A well-organised and uniformly directed system of education was built up, the administration of which was highly centralised The Society was a spearhead of the militant Roman Church and its educational aims and policy were entirely subordinated to the spiritual ends of the Church The Jesuits were not concerned with the elevation of the masses, partly because they were not trained for elementary education, and partly because the ignorant and superstitious peasants were easily controlled by the clergy and kept under the authority of the Church The danger came from the middle and upper classes, which, in view of their superior education and greater independence, could be led astray by reforming preachers and anti-clerical propaganda. The aim of the Jesuit system was to educate the *élite*, to win all the leading minds irrespective of origin, and thus to secure the dominion for the Roman Church. That is why the Jesuits did not establish elementary schools for the masses (with the exception of schools for Indians in Paraguay), but concentrated their efforts on secondary and higher education. This tradition was accepted later even by secular governments and became a peculiar feature of

Latin countries. For two centuries the influence of the Society of Jesus was predominant, and it imparted to all Latin systems that indelible stamp which can be discerned even now, in spite of anti-clerical and radical revolutions.

After the suppression of the Society at the end of the eighteenth century, its colleges were transferred to other Catholic orders, but the main features of the system were retained. Following the Restoration in 1814, the Society was never able to regain that monopoly in education which it had previously enjoyed The history of the Society in the nineteenth century was very chequered. It was reinstated and expelled several times in all Latin countries. But many other orders and societies came into the field and thus preserved the Church traditions

The Jesuits were the most typical representatives of the Roman Church, but Catholicism harboured within its fold other tendencies which found their expression in the activities of the three French fraternities The sodality of Oratoire or the Oratorians was founded by Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle in 1611 It was a voluntary association without monastic vows, devoting itself to education From the start the Oratorians opposed the Jesuit system and tradition. They accepted French as the medium of instruction and, for the first time, introduced History and Science as separate subjects They were rigorously denounced by the Jesuits, who accused them of disseminating a spirit of "independence and liberty" and of republicanism It was the only Catholic community which accepted the French Revolution and was not dissolved by the revolutionary Government Very soon the Oratorians were affected by the teachings of Port Royal and many representatives accepted the five propositions of Jansen The Society of Port Royal founded its first schools in 1643 and introduced new methods of teaching, which it shared with the Oratorians Because of its Jansenist doctrine of grace it was opposed by Jesuits and the Church and its schools were closed Both these societies were French institutions in contradistinction to the international Society of Jesus They defended the independence of the Gallican Church and the Jansenists even refuted the infallibility of the Pope In the bitter struggle between the Jansenists and Jesuits both sides did not spare their opponents The *Lettres provinciales* of Pascal did immense injury to the Society of Jesus and opened the way for a secular attack The Jesuits succeeded, however, in suppressing the Port Royal fraternity, which was compelled in the end to leave the Roman Church altogether and join the Protestant enemy The school system of Oratorians, on the other hand, survived the struggle and later influenced the reform of Catholic education in France.

Both societies, following the Jesuits, concentrated their efforts on secondary education The only Catholic fraternity which devoted its energy to the education of peasants was the congregation of Christian Brothers (*Frères des écoles chretiennes*), founded by F. B de la Salle at the end of the seventeenth century. This was a lay

community which was looked upon by the Church as innovator imbued by a secular spirit Although dissolved by the revolutionary Government, the Brothers continued in practice to teach in some towns even during the period of Terror They were reconstituted in Reims in *an VIII* and many communes reinvited them back The law of 1802 of Fourcroy recognised the Christian Brothers and left them practically in possession of the elementary school system They were dissolved in 1905 by the secular laws of Combes

The Irish Christian Brothers followed the example of the French society and were the pioneers of elementary education in Ireland.

In the nineteenth century, the Roman Church, under the increasing onslaught of secular forces, found itself on the defensive and had to change its policy Deprived of its monopoly in education and of financial support of the State, the Church became the champion of free initiative and local self-government The rigid centralisation of the Jesuit system gave way to the voluntary zeal of Oratorians, Christian Brothers and other semi-clerical organisations The growing competition of well-organised State systems compelled the Catholics to pay more attention to elementary education of the masses and to the education of girls, which had heretofore been neglected Even in its curriculum and methods the Catholic system was forced to adopt more modern ideas In this way the Church managed to preserve its position in the Latin world.

Protestantism

There are features common to all Protestant Churches in contradistinction to the Roman Church Schleiermacher said · " Whilst in Roman Catholicism the relation of individual to Christ is dependent on his relation to the Church, in Protestantism the relation of individual to the Church is dependent on his relation to Christ " In Catholic countries the Church is the visible community of all its members, whereas in Protestantism the Church is the invisible community of the elect, having its seat in the hearts of all the faithful. The Catholic Church is an abstract complete unity, whilst Protestantism in its visible form is divided into many national and local Churches Based on this fundamental difference the attitude towards education was also different The Catholic Church needs an enlightened *élite*—the clergy transmitting the true religion to the masses. The individual either accepts it uncritically or becomes a heretic. The Protestant Churches, on the contrary, require enlightened members, everyone of whom has to find the true faith for himself. The Catholic Church, therefore, as we have seen, did not promote universal school attendance, but directed its attention to secondary and higher education. The Protestant Churches, on the contrary, emphasised universal elementary education as the necessary basis for higher stages Every Protestant must be able to read the Bible as the source of truth. But the Protestant Churches also

need an *élite*, who would be able to read the original sources, for which the study of Hebrew, Latin and Greek is necessary That was the Protestant reason for university education On the other hand, as national Churches closely connected with the civic government, Protestant Churches could not ignore the training of citizens, and for that utilitarian reason promoted vocational education

Lutheran Church in Germany and Scandinavia

Some opponents of the German Reformation assert that its results were destructive and that the attitude of Luther and other reformers towards education was negative That is hardly a true representation The reformers denounced the mediæval educational system and methods, they deplored the admiration of heathen philosophers, but not the enlightenment of the masses through education If during the civil wars and revolts of the period of Reformation many schools were destroyed, that was the result of social tribulations and not of a negative attitude of reformers Luther and Melanchthon indeed promoted education and were the pioneers of compulsory and free elementary instruction Luther enforced the duty of visitations on the clergy Melanchthon says, in Article 8 of his Apology "With us the Clergymen and sacristans are compelled to educate and examine the youth publicly" The principle of compulsory education was clearly stated by Luther in his letter to the Elector John of Saxony in 1526 "Your Highness has the right to compel the communities to maintain schools" In his sermon in 1530 Luther said "If the Government has the right to compel its subjects to carry guns and scale the walls during the war, it has still more right and even the duty to compel its subjects to send their children to school" The Schmalkalden Union of Protestant princes in 1537 made it a duty of every evangelical ruler to found schools The Saxon *Generalartikel* of 1557, the Wurttemberg Church Ordinance of 1539 and the Brandenburg Visitation Ordinance of 1573 quite clearly express the principle of compulsory attendance In the field of academic education Philip Melanchthon and Johann Sturm were pioneers of new reformed Gymnasia and caused the foundation of many new institutions During the period 1518–1600 about 200 new Gymnasia were founded and about 100 old Grammar Schools were reformed in Protestant Germany At the same time, seven old Universities were reformed and three new ones founded The education of girls was also promoted In all Protestant towns special schools for girls were established and the Church Ordinances of Hesse, 1526, Lippe, 1571, Lower Saxony, 1585, and Strasbourg, 1598, even required the establishing of schools for girls in rural communities. The attitude of reformers towards natural science and practical studies was positive and led to the foundation of new *Burgerschulen*, later known as *Realschulen* For Luther the opposition of spiritual and worldly was united in the idea of Nature. Asceticism as an ideal was supplanted by natural increase of humanity through family "It is deeply rooted in nature to give birth to

children," said Luther For him the State and the Church, the family and the community are natural and divine forms of life Some of his utterances might lead to an identification of God and Nature To the question, for instance, " Why are the ten commandments taught and accepted ? " he replied, " Because the natural laws are nowhere so well and so systematically expounded as in Moses " Or, " Sabbath is a holiday not because it is a law of Moses, but because Nature teaches us that we have to rest in order to revive our strength " Such an attitude could only promote the development of natural sciences in Lutheran countries The further expansion of education in Protestant Germany is entirely in conformity with the early tradition and is well known

In Scandinavia, after a short and decisive struggle, the Lutheran Reformation was accepted in all three kingdoms and became one of the most important factors in national life As in Germany, it led to universal elementary education The Danish Church Ordinance enacted for Denmark in 1537 and for Norway in 1539 says " The children must everywhere be so instructed, that the children of the peasants, as well as others, must obtain knowledge of that which not alone the peasants, but even the nobles and kings, have hitherto not known " " The Clerk of the parish shall instruct the young peasant folk one period per week in such place and at such time as the pastor may decide All county clerks shall themselves learn what is included in such learning for the children, and if they cannot do so, they are unfit for the office " According to the Danish and Norwegian law of 1739 (Frederick VI), every parish had to erect a school house and name a teacher For scattered parishes ambulatory schools had to be organised The local pastor and his dean were to examine and appoint the presented candidates The attendance was compulsory for the ages 7–10 Both the Church and the secular authority could be invoked to enforce attendance at these schools Owing to the opposition of the peasantry this " Proviso " of 1739 was not enforced, and in 1740 (1741 for Norway) an " Announcement " was issued containing a new interpretation of the law of 1739 The responsibility of organising and erecting schools was relegated to local communities It was a form of " local option " or a permissive law A local board was established representing the clergy, secular authorities and four men from each parish. The board marked out the plan of school organisation, but the peasants had the right of veto, of which they often took advantage. New laws on elementary education were enacted in Denmark in 1814 and in Norway in 1827, and became the basis of the modern system of universal compulsory education.

In Sweden the Lutheran Church became the champion of national independence, whilst the Catholic party advocated the union with Poland. The early school laws were enacted as parts of Church laws (1571 and 1686), or were edicts made and approved by the clergy (1595, 1611 and 1649). The clergy insisted on literacy as a condition for marriage and participation in Holy Communion.

Gustavus Adolphus issued the first secular laws in 1619, by which the towns had to establish *Barnarkolor* (children's schools), and especially Arithmetic schools In his Resolutions of 1620 Gustavus Adolphus outlined a system of education which included Gymnasia in larger towns, " trivial " schools in smaller and " little trivial " schools in rural communities By his law of 1625 on the " Discipline of the Youth " he imposed fines on negligent parents whose boys over 7 years old did not learn to read, write and cipher The fine was ten *daler* per month, and if money was not forthcoming the guilty parent had to " smart with his body " The school-ladder of Gustavus Adolphus was realised in 1649 by his daughter Christina under the direct influence of Comenius

Thus we see that in all Lutheran countries the principle of compulsory universal education was closely connected with the Reformation

Calvinism on the Continent and in Great Britain

In those countries where Calvinism was accepted as the form of religious revival it played a cultural rôle similar to Lutheranism in Germany and Scandinavia In Switzerland, Holland and Scotland, Calvinism led to the reform of methods and to universal elementary education Indirectly, Calvinism led to a development of democratic ideas and of local self-government The most powerful and valuable contribution of Calvin to democracy was not in his theory, but in the organisation of his Church For there the consistories, provincial assemblies and national synods were excellent training for self-government Although the Orthodox Calvinism was extremely intolerant and, whenever in power, vied with Roman Catholics in the persecution of heretics, it included the germ of a more liberal outlook It is not a coincidence that Calvinistic communities gave birth to many pioneers of modern Liberalism and tolerance. Thus we have to distinguish two currents in Calvinistic thought · one orthodox, intolerant and domineering, and another liberal and conciliating

In Geneva itself there was a party opposed to Calvin's rigidity. Sebastian Castellio (Chateillon), the first translator of the Bible into French and director and reformer of Genevan schools, advocated a policy of tolerance and vigorously opposed the burning of Servet He quarrelled with Calvin and had to leave Geneva He was appointed a professor in Basle University and had many adherents among Calvinists His influence, and especially Zwingli's humanism, moderated the original orthodoxy of Calvinism in Switzerland, and in this milder form it became the basis of the Swiss democratic educational system

In France after the period of Huguenot wars the relative freedom under the Edict of Nantes changed the original rigidity of Calvinist faith. The Huguenots established their own academies, the chief being at Nîmes, Montauban and Saumur The professors of these schools were much more liberal than Calvin himself. The rigid

antagonism between Calvinism and Lutheranism was no longer maintained. At the Academy of Nîmes there was a tendency to look for points of agreement with other bodies who had broken away from Rome The teachers of Saumur Academy quite definitely were inclined to the Arminian interpretation of Calvinism, which was gaining ground in Holland Within the Huguenot communities there was a measure of equality to be found nowhere else in the social life of contemporary France Some of the Huguenot writers might be considered as precursors of Locke. François Hotman, the author of *Franco-Gallia*, La Boetie, the author of *A Discourse on Voluntary Slavery*, and the unknown author of the *Defence against Tyrants* (1579), expounded liberal ideas which undoubtedly influenced the constitutional theory of England in the seventeenth century Although the Huguenots were finally suppressed and dispersed, their influence left visible traces of cultural development, not only in France, but in all countries to which they emigrated

Calvinistic tradition, however, had more lasting results in the Netherlands and Scotland where it was combined with secular power In the Northern Netherlands from the early times Calvinism was divided into two schools The strict Calvinists, known as "Precisians," were intolerant and persecuted both the Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters The liberal Calvinists, or the "Evangelicals," however, advocated tolerance In 1602 Maurice of Orange appointed Jacob Harmensz, known as Arminius, to the chair of Theology at Leyden, and he became the leader of the liberal party and gave his name to it His colleague at the University, Franciscus Gomarus, was the leader of strict Calvinists. The struggle between the two parties took a political turn The Arminians were republicans and adherents of provincial autonomy, the Gomarists advocated centralisation and more powers to the Stadtholders The States-General took the part of the Gomarists and forced Prince Maurice to arrest Oldenbarenveldt, De-Groot and Hoogerbeerts, the leaders of the Arminians Oldenbarenveldt was condemned and executed, but De-Groot (Hugo Grotius) managed to escape to France Here he lived for the rest of his life and became the pioneer of international law and ideas of tolerance. It is an irony of fate that at the time when the Netherlands were an asylum for all pioneers of science and religious freedom, their greatest son had to live in Catholic France William the Silent and most of his descendants followed the liberal tradition of Arminians and promoted education The first Dutch University was founded at Leyden in 1579 Other universities were founded in Franeker 1584, Groningen 1614, Amsterdam 1632, Utrecht 1636, Harderwijk 1646 For a time the Netherlands became the seat of learned men who came there from all Protestant countries. Descartes, a Catholic, and Spinoza, a Jew, expounded their philosophic systems and founded their schools in the Netherlands. The Roman Catholics, however, who formed about half of the population, did

not enjoy full religious freedom until the nineteenth century The liberal revolt of Calvinists, in 1834, known as " Separatists " led to the recognition by the Government of dissenting communities and the subsequent educational policy made no distinction between different persuasions

In Scotland, Calvinism became the national faith owing to the leadership of John Knox In the *Book of Discipline* Knox elaborated an educational system which might be taken as the best representation of the Protestant tradition In Chapter VII Knox proposed to introduce a democratic ladder system, based on the principle of universal and compulsory education " All parents must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue " " The children of the poor must be supported and sustained at the charge of the Church until trial be taken whether the spirit of docility be found in them or not " " If they be found apt to letters and learning, then they may not be permitted to reject learning " " They must be charged to continue their study so that the Commonwealth may have some comfort by them " Although the scheme was not accepted by the Scottish Parliament in 1560, it became the basis of further development of education in Scotland The General Assembly of the Scottish Church was recognised by the Act of 1646 as the supreme educational authority and under its regulations every parish had to erect and to maintain a school The next Act of 1696 laid the foundation of the present democratic school system In Scotland, as in the Netherlands, there was a liberal party of " Evangelicals " which seceded from the orthodox Calvinists in 1843 and began to found its own schools The moderating influence of new ideas led to the recent unification of both churches and full recognition of dissenting minorities

In England the Calvinists never attained national recognition, and only for a time had power as a minority government during the Commonwealth period Here, as in other countries, two parties were formed The Presbyterians represented the orthodox Calvinism and the Independents the more liberal outlook The latter denied a national organisation of the Church, and in consequence a national system of education The Independents relied entirely upon a spiritual idea of a Church and affirmed the private nature of communion with God Beyond the organisation of a voluntary congregation they would not go and therefore vehemently opposed any interference of the State This difference influenced the attitude of Dissenters towards education The Presbyterians had always the example of Scotland before their minds and strove to establish a national system of education under the control of Presbyteries. But the internal strife of the two parties and the Civil War prevented the success of the Long Parliament Of the three Acts concerning education only one, on Welsh parish schools, had some practical results The restoration and subsequent persecution changed the situation Deprived of the supervision of the General Assembly the individual congregations departed from

orthodox Calvinism and approached the Independents From force of circumstances the English Calvinists became the champions of tolerance and free initiative in education. Their academies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became the centres of undenominational teaching and scientific research That was the most important contribution of English Calvinists towards education.

The Church of England

Both Lutheranism and Calvinism were originally expressions of popular revolt, which only later were organised as national churches under the supervision of secular governments The Church of England, on the contrary, was organised by the Government from the start, and only later acquired a measure of popular support This difference explains the more aristocratic outlook of the Anglican Churches The middle classes joined the Nonconformist bodies and the State Church became the Church of the aristocracy and of the poorest classes Thus an unbridged gulf grew up between the upper and lower groups within the Church The leaders of the Church were unable, therefore, to conceive a national system of education common to all For them the education of the two classes had to be separate and of different content for the ruling classes grammar schools and universities and for the " deserving " poor charity schools of very elementary standard. The charity schools had the double aim of training children of the poor in the habits of labour and industry and proper humility towards the ruling class The movement of enlightenment and subsequent revolution added a new motive to this policy The fear of the dissemination of seditious doctrines and of a political revolution became dominant in the attitude of the Church towards the education of the poor The Bishop of London in his charge of 1803 said that " it is safest for both the Government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in that state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them " Such notions prevalent among the members of the High Church party became the chief obstacle to an establishment of a national system of education.

However, within the Church there was another great party of different tradition—the Evangelicals Historically the Evangelicals trace their origin to Cranmer and the early Puritans within the Church But a real impetus to their activities was given by the religious revival started by John Wesley. Although originally the Evangelicals were Tories, their missionary and educational activities brought them into close contact with the industrial population and gradually changed their outlook This change was clearly seen in the views expressed by Sir Thomas Bernard, the secretary of the Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor, founded by Evangelicals in 1796 He quite definitely advocated the establishment of a national system of education comprehending both Churchmen and Dissenters He says in his *Digest* " In the ornamental branches of the fine arts ; in literary attainments and in professional science,

Education must be as various as the condition, situation and talent of man But in the elements of knowledge, the means not the objects of attainment, in the acquisition of the alphabetical and numerical language, the poor have as good a right to the instruction which illumines and directs their path through life as the greatest and most elevated of their fellow subjects" These two traditions of the Church can clearly be discerned in the whole history of educational struggles in England The High Church claims to some extent the continuity of Catholic tradition and was not much concerned with the elevation of the masses The Evangelical party in conformity with other Protestant bodies adopted the policy of universal elementary education, with Lord Shaftesbury as their representative

Minor Protestant Communities

The Bohemian Brothers, the Baptists, the Unitarians and the Quakers, although they have never attained the status of a national Church in any country, have influenced educational traditions quite out of all proportion to their numbers In contrast to Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans they were composed of small communities scattered in different countries and belonging to various nationalities This circumstance, and the fact that they were in the position of a permanent minority, made them more international in their outlook than the larger Protestant Churches A constant struggle for the freedom of worship made them champions of tolerance

The Bohemian Brothers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries founded many undenominational societies or academies with scientific and literary aims They were the pioneers of reformed methods of education even before Comenius Their greatest contribution, however, was made through their bishop, J A Komensky (Comenius) His educational activities in Germany, Poland, Hungary, England and Sweden disseminated the ideas of the Bohemian Brothers throughout Europe and influenced the subsequent development of education in all European countries The influence of Baptists was chiefly felt in Germany and England. The German leader of Baptism, H Denck, was an outstanding educational reformer and pioneer of tolerance in Germany and Switzerland In England Baptists were always connected with every movement for educational reform The Unitarians were mostly active in England and Hungary In England their influence transformed the Nonconformist academies from places of denominational training into centres of scientific learning and an undenominational approach to religious questions Joseph Priestley was the most outstanding representative of their tradition. In Hungary, and especially in Transylvania, the Unitarians were the champions of tolerance and undenominational education The Quakers were the pioneers of vocational training. They did not wish to encumber the mind with theological reflections, but rather

to rouse it to the problems of this world Their aim was virtuous and industrious living, and the syllabus of their schools included manual instruction in the trades But their main influence in education has been through reformers like Th. Paine, J. Birbeck and W Allen, who came from their ranks.

The Orthodox Church in Russia and the Balkans

The division of the Roman Empire into Western and Eastern halves split the unity of European civilisation The political division inevitably led to a religious schism Since then the two sister civilisations, Roman and Byzantine, although derived from the same sources, went their ways separately Europe was definitely divided for eight hundred years and only during the last two centuries have the twin civilisations again approached a certain semblance of unity This schism made a deeper gulf between Eastern and Western Europe than between Catholicism and Protestantism. Catholics and Protestants may have different beliefs and traditions, but they are compelled by geographical and historical circumstances to live in close proximity, and, indeed, some Western countries are composed of both faiths, speaking the same language and sharing the same citizenship Orthodox Russia and the Balkans, on the contrary, were completely separated from the West for a long period during which they were subjected to a strong oriental influence The vanished Byzantine civilisation itself was a synthesis of Europe and Asia From the start the Eastern Church was a tool in the hands of the Emperors The Church councils were convened, directed and controlled by secular power The Emperors changed the creeds and moulded the policy of the Church. Whereas in the West the schism led to theocracy, in the East it resulted in cesaro-papism This Byzantine tradition was transplanted to orthodox Russia The Russian Tsars were the actual rulers and heads of the Russian Orthodox Church, and Moscow Patriarchs seldom dared to oppose them, since opposition invariably led to imprisonment or even death In such conditions the Russian Church could hardly become the founder of an independent educational system as was the case in the Roman West. Only in that part of Russia which was under the rule of Catholic Poland could the Orthodox Church assume the rôle of a spiritual leader Here, pressed by a foreign secular power and by organised Jesuit *propagatio fidei*, the Russian Church rose to the occasion. A well-organised system of parochial and secondary schools was established by the clerical brotherhoods, which was crowned by the Kiev Academy founded by the Metropolitan Peter Mogila in 1627. These schools educated not only the future clerics, but nobles, cossacks and simple citizens, and in this way preserved the orthodox faith and Russian nationality from Roman Catholic and Polish domination. The Moscow branch of the Russian Church was stimulated by this example only after the reunion of Ukraine

with Muscovite Russia The first Academy in Moscow was opened in 1687 and was staffed by Kiev graduates In the next century the church system of schools was reorganised and regulated by Peter the Great under the direct supervision of secular government Peter abolished the last semblance of independence by creating a Church Synod under a lay Procurator instead of the former Patriarchate. Thus the Church tradition became closely connected with autocracy. In the nineteenth century the autocratic government during the reactionary periods tried to make the Church schools the mainstay of the established order The Trinity of Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality was adopted by the Church as the basis of their system The State system, developed later by the local authorities, was more democratic, and this dualism led to a strong anti-Church feeling among the radical intelligentsia Deprived of the State support, the Church schools were doomed and entirely disappeared after the Revolution

On the Balkans the Orthodox Church was subordinated to the secular government, not only in the Byzantine Empire, but in the Slavonic kingdoms as well The Bulgarian and Serbian kings, in pursuance of the aim of national independence, several times changed their allegiance from Constantinople to Rome Thus from the start the Church was considered only as a means to national ends The Turkish conquest, however, changed the situation The Patriarchate of Constantinople was recognised by the Sultans as the representative of the whole Christian population and enjoyed a certain amount of self-government It was an opportunity for the Orthodox Church to found a system of parochial schools, but, owing to the internal strife among the Christians, it was missed The Greek-speaking clergy did not recognise Serbs, Bulgars and Roumanians as separate nationalities, and would sooner abandon them altogether than promote education in their mother tongues Thus it happened that the national renaissance of the Balkan nations was more influenced by liberal ideals of Western origin than by the Orthodox Church The school systems of the new Balkan States were from the start of secular origin and the Church tradition survived solely in the beliefs and customs, which were dominated by the newly acquired national feeling

Secular Traditions

State versus Church

In Western Europe the Roman Popes as the heirs of the Empire tradition quite naturally acquired a supremacy over the kings of Germanic origin But with the revival of the Empire, the new Emperors were bound to aspire to the priority of secular power. The Imperial party of Ghibellines was formed for that purpose and had many adherents among the lawyers of Germany and Italy. In France a similar movement of Gallicanism was developed later. From being a national movement for independence of the Gallican

Church, it gradually developed during the eighteenth century into a secular opposition to the Church domination The French *Parlements* became the recognised leaders of secularism The representatives of the Paris *Parlement*, La Chalotais and Rolland, demanded centralisation of administration and the establishment of a national system of education free from Church influence. La Chalotais's *Essai d'education nationale* (1673) was the first important work in that direction Besides this historical tradition, which was limited to Latin countries, there were other causes which tended to increase the intervention of the State to the detriment of the Church. Economic development of Europe needed men of technical and practical education, and the growing centralisation of national States required a great number of governmental officials with lay education The Church school system was unable to satisfy these demands The result was the foundation of State lay systems in all European countries But these purely utilitarian aims of the State did not suffice in themselves to supplant the old religious tradition of spiritual training Some new ideals were needed to give life to the materialistic outlook of the State These ideals were supplied by the Humanist movement represented by Rosicrucians and their successors, Freemasons , by the nineteenth-century Nationalism in consequence of the regeneration of oppressed nationalities , and, lastly, by socialism resulting from the growing self-consciousness of the working class

Humanism

The movement of Humanism or Renaissance was the result of many causes, but the deciding factor was the rediscovery of Platonic philosophy and ancient Greek literature After the fall of Constantinople, the Greek refugees brought over to Italy the literary treasures of Greece and founded the first Platonic Academies on Italian soil, *Academia Platonica* of Florence in 1470 and *Romana Academia* at Rome in 1498 In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the movement spread to other countries of Western Europe. In Italy, besides the two mentioned Academies, the most famous were at Naples (*Della Porta*, 1560), at Florence (*Della Crusca*, 1582) and Rome (*Dei Lincei*, 1603). In Germany the *Akademie des Palm Baumes* (Weimar, 1616) was the most lasting and influential among many. In Holland in all towns sprang up the so-called *Rederijkerskamers*, the oldest and most famous of which was the Amsterdam " old Kamer " of *Eglentier* founded in 1519. In England the movement was represented by Gresham College, founded in 1575, and the Royal Society, which began to meet under the name of " Invisible College " in 1645 All these academies pursued the aim of scientific research and the literary perfection of national languages. After the researches of L. Keller,[1] it is evident that behind the official façade of these Academies were hidden secret societies usually

[1] See his many monographs in the transactions of " Comenius Gesellschaft," Berlin

organised into lodges They were known under many names as alchemists or spagyrists,[1] "otiosi" or "virtuosi," Platonic Christians or Brothers. But the most famous name which stuck to them was the "Rosicrucians" Whether these groups had any international organisation with a central organ is not yet proven, but it is established that they all were connected through the travels and correspondence of individual members. Their aims were universal brotherhood irrespective of creed and origin and the diffusion of knowledge throughout the human race The influence of these circles on the development of educational ideas in Europe was most important It is sufficient to mention Andreae, Comenius and Leibniz in Germany, Coornheert and Hugo Grotius in Holland, Robert Boyle, S. Hartlib, J. Dury, Sir W Petty and J. Locke in England, to realise that most of the reforming projects in the field of education were originated among the "Rosicrucians" Their educational ideas were summed up in the works of their greatest representative, J A Komensky (Comenius) They advocated the establishment of a public undenominational school system with universal primary instruction and selective secondary and higher education In distinction to the one-sided followers of the Renaissance such as Johann Sturm, who founded the famous classical Gymnasium in Strasbourg, the representatives of the "Rosicrucian" tradition emphasised the necessity for a vocational differentiation of curricula and of scientific training We shall give just two quotations not widely known An English lawyer, Benjamin Jervis, a member of a secret "Society for Free and Candid Inquiry," delivered an address on the reform of education to the members of the circle in 1613[2] He said "The true end of education is both grossly neglected and manifestly perverted by the Professors of it, not duly considering the difference of genius of boys, the different conditions of life in which they are placed and the different professions and trades they are designed for A Schoolmaster should endeavour to discover the particular genius which every boy possesses, for there is no boy but has a genius for some Art or Science more than another." Another quotation is from Bishop T. Spratt, F R S, the well-known historian of the Royal Society (1667) He said in his *History* (pages 329–31): "It would be no hindrance to the minds of men if besides those courses of studies which are now followed, there were also trial made of some other more practical ways, to prepare their minds for the world and the business of human life. . . . To this purpose I will venture to propose whether the way of teaching by practice and experiment, would not at least be as beneficial as the other by universal rules" The activities of the Academies and Societies and the publications

[1] See, for instance, the letter of John Evelyn to Mr Wotton (September 12th, 1703), where he says that "Robert Boyle was *initiated* among the Spagyrists in Oxford"

[2] The Society was founded by Sir Hugh Middleton, the famous engineer, on October 15th, 1613 See *History of Robin Hood Society*, London, 1759

of individual members diffused the educational ideas of " Rosicrucians " throughout Europe In respect to the prevalent denominational training in all countries the attitude of " Rosicrucians " was negative They propagated the so-called " Platonic Christianity," later known under the name of Deism Francis Bacon, whose membership in Rosicrucian circles is still debatable, was one of the first to deplore the struggle between the rival denominations and to point out the danger to the State of the fanatical distortions of pure religion Hobbes, who it seems was not a Rosicrucian, quite definitely accepted the relative value of religious dogma He advocated the State supremacy in religious matters and subordinated the Church to State needs, at the same time, however, maintaining the principle of the liberty of conscience The natural conclusion was the policy of tolerance not only for private beliefs of individual citizens, allowed by Hobbes, but for public worship of various religious communities J Locke, in his *Letters on Tolerance*, continued the emancipation of conscience from religious dogma and demanded the separation of Church and State He, however, still accepted revelation as a second source of morality side by side with the laws of Nature His pupil, Shaftesbury, made the next step and divorced religion from morality For him morality is innate in human nature and independent of religious revelation Locke's friend, J Toland, who quite openly opposed Christianity as revealed religion, can be regarded as a connecting link between the Rosicrucians and Freemasons But whereas the English Freemasons continued to develop the tradition of Platonic Christianity with a personal God as an Architect of the Universe, the French Freemasons tended more and more to depart from Deism to Pantheism, and, in some cases, even to atheism The speculative Freemasonry of the eighteenth century grew out of two sources Its external organisation, its name and some of its rites and symbols were taken over from the operative masonry of earlier centuries But its speculative character, its pansophic and deistic ideas as well as its educational policy were inherited directly from the Rosicrucians They also accepted the aims of universal brotherhood and diffusion of knowledge and they succeeded the Rosicrucians as propagators of tolerance In educational policy Freemasons, as Rosicrucians before them, upheld the principle of an undenominational State school system with universal primary instruction But whereas, in Protestant Germany, Scandinavia, Holland and Great Britain, undenominationalism meant Christianity without dividing dogma and creeds, in Roman Catholic countries, Freemasons, in an acute struggle with the Roman Church, became adherents of definitely anti-clerical secularism There was another difference. In Great Britain, Freemasons influenced education through subsidiary societies, not directly connected with the Grand Lodge or individual lodges; in Latin countries, on the contrary, Freemasonry was directly involved in political and educational controversies To what extent Freemasons have influenced educational policy in

Europe can be understood only by enumerating their activities in individual countries. In France all the leading encyclopædists were Freemasons : Voltaire, D'Alembert, Montesquieu, La Chalotais, Diderot, Helvetius, Holbach, Lametrie and others The leaders of the first period of Revolution, Mirabeau, La Fayette, Condorcet, Brussot, Danton, were also masons Almost all the projects of educational reform were initiated by the members of the order. Thus the schemes of La Chalotais, Turgot, Condorcet, Romme, Le Pelletier and Fourcroy which influenced the subsequent history of education in Europe were written by masons The minister of Louis XV, Duc de Choisel, who suppressed the Society of Jesus, was also a mason The Minister of Public Instruction of the Second Republic, L Carnot, and other members of the Government in 1848, and the ministers of the Third Republic, Jules Simon and Jules Ferry, the founders of the present educational system, were masons Jean Macé, the founder of the *League de l'Enseignement*, which played such an important rôle in educational politics of France, was a mason The secular laws of 1905 were enacted by the masonic ministry of Combes The Grand Lodges actively interfered in educational policy and formulated the principles Thus, in 1923, the Grand Lodge de France adopted the following resolution " The Lodges demand the establishment of the *école unique* and the monopoly of education . . The principle of the *école unique* appears to them as a natural consequence of the ideas of the French Revolution of 1789–93. This means the grouping of children of all classes in the same educational system " The Convention of the Grand Orient of 1923 expressed similar ideas " All men are brothers They will become brothers more truly through the *école unique* which will cease to divide children into classes and to make enemies of them at the most tender age We want an intellectual democracy and the true solution is the *école unique* gratuitous in all grades with the selection according to merits as its basis " We see here the same ideas as were expressed by Rosicrucians In Italy, the builders of the modern secular State, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour, were freemasons The Minister of Public Instruction, Michele Coppino, who introduced free and compulsory instruction in 1876, was a mason The Prime Minister, F Crispi, and many leading Liberals of later years, were also masons In Spain, the suppressor of the Society of Jesus in 1767, Duc de Aranda, was a Grand Master of Freemasonry The poet, Manuel Quintana, the author of new educational laws of 1812 , Rafael Riego y Nunez, the head of the revolutionary Government of 1820, which introduced free public elementary education, were both masons. After the Revolution of 1868 educational reforms were initiated by the group of " Krausistas," whose leaders, F. Salmeron y Alonso, President of the Republic, Sanz del Rios, R Zorilla, Prime Minister and the famous educational reformer, Francisco Giner de los Rios, were all masons. The educational reforms of the second Republic of 1831 were also initiated by Freemasons, as the Ministers of

Public Instruction, Marcelino Domingo and Fernando de Los Rios (nephew of Francisco Giner) and the present Prime Minister, A. Lerroux y Garcia In Belgium Th Verhaeren, the Grand Master, founded the free and secular University of Brussels in 1834 The secular reform of 1878 was enacted by Prime Minister Frère Orban and Minister of Public Instruction Van Humbeeck, both masons. In Portugal the famous Marquis Pombal, the suppressor of Jesuits and founder of a secular State system, was a mason In 1834 the Grand Master, Manoel da Silva Passos, as minister introduced legislation for compulsory attendance The Minister of Public Instruction of the Republic of 1910, who introduced a secular system, was the Grand Master Dr Sebastiao Magalhaes Lima. In Austria the State system was introduced by Chancellor Kaunitz and his advisers van Swieten and Von Sonnenfels, all three masons. In Prussia compulsory attendance was enforced by Frederick the Great, a mason The educational reforms of the post-Napoleonic period were enacted under the influence of Fichte and Pestalozzi and under the guidance of Humbold and Suvern, all masons. Friedrich Froebel was a pupil and friend of three well-known masons, Pestalozzi, philosopher Krause and scientist Oken In Poland the educational reform of 1773 was guided by a mason, General A Czartoryskyi In Holland the State system was advocated by the masonic Society of General Welfare (*Maatschapij tot nut van't Algemeen*) since 1784 and was realised by its leader van der Palm, who was Minister of Public Instruction in 1799 In Russia the democratic legislation in education during the reign of Alexander I was under the direction of masons In Roumania the State system was inaugurated by Michel Cogalniceanu, the Prime Minister of 1868, a mason In England masons influenced educational policy indirectly by taking an active part in all societies which promoted reforms. It can be said without exaggeration that all State systems of Europe were incepted and developed under the influence of Rosicrucian and Masonic ideas The difference between the Masonry of Protestant countries which is in friendly relations with the Protestant Churches and the Masonry of Latin countries, which is strongly anti-Catholic, accounts in a great measure for the difference of educational policy

Nationalism

During the Middle Ages, when Latin was a recognised medium of expression in all theological and scientific works, nationalism had no opportunity of developing into a nation-wide sentiment. The clergy and the feudal aristocracy were international, and the peasantry was too ignorant and separated into local communities to form a basis for a nation. The birth of national literatures after the Renaissance was the first step in the formation of modern nations But consciousness of common language and traditions is not sufficient for generating that intense sentiment known as nationalism. The new-born national consciousness had to be endangered in its

existence by foreign domination in order to become the focus of social life. In such colonial Empires as Great Britain, France or Russia the ruling nation is too secure in its dominion to become nationalist The pride in citizenship of a great State takes the place of national feeling Only during the short periods of national danger did the English, the French and the Russians become nationalists. Thus the threat of Napoleon to England and the invasion of Russia in 1812 made them nationalist for a short time The same happened to France in 1870 and in 1914 The Scandinavian countries and Spain, on the other hand, are so well defended by geographical frontiers that they can live their separate lives more or less undisturbed All these countries, therefore, could not have been the birth-place of modern nationalism As theory and practical policy, nationalism was born among the oppressed and dismembered nations Italy, subjugated to foreign dominion for centuries, and divided into small principalities, was one source Germany, divided and threatened by French imperialism, was another The Western Slavs—Czechs and Poles subjected to forcible Germanisation and Russification—the third And the Balkan nationalities for centuries oppressed by the Turks—the fourth The same causes led to nationalism in Ireland

At first nationalism in all these countries was permeated with humanistic ideas of tolerance and freedom Almost all prophets of national revival were freemasons Fichte in Germany, Mazzini in Italy, Ypsilantes in Greece and A Czartoryski, the son, in Poland were all masons and humanists The United Irishmen at the end of the eighteenth century were also closely connected with masonry Fichte was the first philosopher to lay stress on nationality as the necessary basis of human society The Church and the State are formal organisations of civic life very often common to many nationalities But the national consciousness based on an original language and literature is the most valuable possession of a nation Only through the preservation of this original means of expression can the nation save its soul and perform its particular mission in the history of mankind Fichte, in his famous *Reden an die Deutsche Nation*, did not insist on the unification of Germany into one State, but he insisted on a unified system of national education The liberation of Germany was for him spiritual freedom first, and only secondly political and industrial independence The next prophet of nationalism, Mazzini, was under the influence of German idealism and combined the cosmopolitan ideas of Kant with the nationalism of Fichte. For him nationality was a necessary stage in the evolution of humanity " Every nation has its own problem, through the solution of which it adds to the general mission of humanity. This particular mission forms its nationality. Nationality therefore is sacred," said he in 1834 For Mazzini the interests of different nationalities were not opposed to each other; on the contrary, every nationality should help the other to attain liberty and independence. In his organisation of Young Europe,

Italian, German, Polish, Swiss and Hungarian nationalists shared the same ideals and the same adventures This Utopian period of nationalism was soon ended The revival of national consciousness among the many nationalities of Austria-Hungary clearly showed the complexity of the problem The revival began in Bohemia, where the brilliant group of Slavists, led by Dobrovsky, Hanka and Palacky, started the movement of Panslavism Soon the Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Ukrainians, joined the ranks. The revolution of 1848 brought the new nationalities face to face with a practical problem of rebuilding the Danubian monarchy on a national principle It was soon discovered that the problem was insolvable The Germans demanded the inclusion of Austria, Bohemia and Moravia in the new Reich, the Hungarians demanded the indivisibility of all territories under the crown of St Stephan and the Slavs demanded the separation of all districts inhabited by Slavs into independent units Even the Slavs were not united, since the demands of Poles and Ukrainians could not be reconciled Palacky had devised a scheme of reconstructing Austria-Hungary into a federation of nine national self-governing units, but it was in vain The nationalities came to blows and the subsequent war and reaction ruined all chances of peaceful solution Nationalism became embittered and lost its previous humanitarian character Hatred of neighbouring nationalities was now the dominant feature The same happened on the Balkans Every nationality exaggerated its territorial demands, which led to mutual suspicions and increased fanaticism The movement soon spread over to Russia, where almost every one of the eighty nationalities demanded a separate existence The ideas of the first prophets of national revival were perverted into the indoctrination of an exclusive and narrow-minded nationalism In the field of education it led to a policy of denationalisation of all minorities and civic inequality The Versailles Treaty has not solved the problem, which defies solution on nationalistic lines

Socialism

Socialism as in the case of nationalism has grown out of humanism Socialistic ideas were expressed long before the word itself was employed One of the first reformers of modern times, who can be classified as a socialist, was the leader of the Digger movement, Jerrard Winstanley, who in his *Law of Freedom* (1652) says that education must be general and compulsory Every child should attend school to learn the laws of the Commonwealth, the arts and the languages. But there should be no special class of children brought up to book-learning only " For then through idleness they spend their time to find out policies to advance themselves to be lords and masters over their labouring brethren, which occasions all trouble in the world. Therefore it is necessary and profitable for the Commonwealth that all children be trained to labour and to learning." Science should be made the basis of learning, and

knowledge and experiment should replace beliefs and imagining. Here we have all the elements of future socialist educational policy: the negation of differentiation into brain and manual workers, the utilitarian bias and a scientific anti-religious tendency The development of Socialism in the nineteenth century is usually divided into two periods the Utopian and the Marxian. The Utopian socialists were all humanists and some were even masons. Their educational ideas therefore were closely connected with the humanistic tradition They demanded a national system of education supervised from the centre Thus Owen says "Under the guidance of minds competent to its direction, a national system of training and education may be formed, to become the most safe, easy, effectual and economical instrument of government that can be devised" (*A New View of Society, Essay IV*) Saint Simon would establish a central board of scientists and scholars, called the Institute, to supervise the whole school system Cabet, in his *Voyage en Icarie*, would go farther and empower the Government with the regulation of entrance of candidates to professions in accordance with needs The utilitarian bias was clearly expressed "It is of little avail to give precept upon precept," says Owen, "except the means should be also prepared to train the children in good practical habits" Cabet would introduce free vocational training "with instruction especially suitable to their particular professions" After the age of 16 everybody should study the theory and practice of his trade But as humanists the Utopian socialists did not neglect spiritual and moral aims Their attitude towards religion as such is positive, they refute only the dogmatic denominational training Owen, in his Autobiography says. "The priesthood of every denomination . should be required to teach . . the necessity for all to acquire a knowledge of the pure and undefiled spirit of universal love and charity . . . and should cease to torment humanity by their much-worse-than-useless dogmas which no one understands" True religion will consist in "daily undeviating practice in thought, word and action of charity, benevolence and kindness to every human being" (*Book of the New Moral World*) Saint Simon would introduce a purified Christianity He says: "In the New Christianity all morality will be directly derived from this principle: Men ought to regard each other as brothers" "All the so-called religions which are professed to-day are only heresies, that is, they do not tend directly toward the most rapid improvement possible of the welfare of the poorest class, which is the only end of Christianity" (*Œuvres*, vii, page 118). Cabet says: "Justice, fraternity and the consequent love of country and mankind and the submission to the general will are the worship most agreeable to Divinity." But he would deprive the priests of all power and allow them only the function of preachers of morals He would forbid any denominational instruction to children before the age of 16.

In contrast to the Utopists, Carl Marx, the founder of the so-

called scientific socialism, has divorced it from humanism and irrevocably based it on the purely materialistic interpretation of the world It is noteworthy that the resolution on education drawn up by Marx at the first congress of the First International in 1866 omits moral training The resolution says " By education we mean three things . (1) intellectual education , (2) education of the body, similar to that given in schools for gymnastics and military institutions ; and (3) polytechnic instruction, which inculcates the general principles of all the processes of production and at the same time gives the child or youth practical training in the use of the simplest tools of industries " The attitude of Marx and Engels towards any religion was hostile Friedrich Engels said that " Religion is nothing else than a phantastic reflection in the human brains of those external powers which dominate their daily existence, a reflection in which the earthly powers take the form of supernatural " Their pupil, the leader of the German Social-Democracy, A Bebel, in his book on *Christianity and Socialism* (1874), is bitterly hostile and unjust towards Christianity and every religion " Religion was only means to use the authority over the masses and still more to strengthen it " " During the last eighteen centuries Christianity was a religion of hatred, persecution and oppression " " Christianity and Socialism are opposed as fire and water, what is good in Christianity is not Christian but general humanity and what forms the Christianity proper is a cramming of theory and dogma inimical to humanity " " The aim of Social-Democracy in the field of religion is atheism " In 1890 the German Social-Democratic Party from opportunistic motives changed the official aim and declared a neutrality in religious questions, but a large and influential minority retained the old attitude The later development of socialism has split the movement into three distinct varieties. The first—the evolutionary socialism of Great Britain—has retained the humanistic tradition of the first Utopists and is religiously minded. The second—the Marxian socialism of Germany and Russia—is definitely materialistic, anti-religious and anti-individualist. The third variety—the syndicalism—has developed mainly in Latin countries and has acquired an anarchist tendency. After the war the somewhat unnatural combination of extreme nationalism with socialism gave birth to a fourth variety, which, however, is unrecognised by older socialists.

Variations of European Civilisation

In conclusion of this chapter let us sum up those traditions which formed the historical background of European education just before the war and revolution Christianity was the general basis of unity of European civilisation as distinct from other civilisations. But the division of the once Universal Church into three main groups of Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Protestantism led to the variation of civilisation. The different attitudes of the Churches towards education influenced the develop-

ment of school systems either directly through a Church control of education or indirectly by opposing the secular State systems. Humanism, cosmopolitan in theory, but limited to Europe in practice, was another general factor of unity It has strengthened the common ties of all European nations, but in its interrelation with different Churches humanism was also differentiated In Northern Europe, Humanisn and Protestantism became allies and have been mutually adapted In Latin countries, Roman Catholicism and Humanism could not be reconciled and for a long period there was a bitter struggle for supremacy and disruption of Latin civilisation into two hostile camps In Eastern Europe neither Orthodox Church nor Humanism dominated educational policy, both being subordinated to State and national aims Nationalism as theory and practical policy was originated in Central and Southern Europe, just that part where State frontiers did not coincide with linguistic and cultural affinities Being at first the champions of oppressed nationalities in the name of humanity the adherents of nationalism have become later the exponents of national expansion beyond the linguistic frontiers In connection with humanism, Nationalism was a uniting factor, but divorced from it has become a dividing force which threatens the unity of European civilisation The same must be said about Socialism In its Utopian period, permeated with humanistic ideas, Socialism was an international factor uniting all friends of reform in Europe In its later Marxian and atheistic stage it has alienated churches, humanists and nationalists alike In attempting to build up a new proletarian culture Marxism denied the spiritual inheritance of European civilisation The difference of racial composition, the influence of Roman Imperial tradition and the religious schism divided Europe into more or less well-defined cultural groups The later growth of humanistic, nationalist and socialist ideas has modified all these varieties of European civilisation, but the main features have been preserved We can distinguish six main varieties in European civilisation (1) the Latin, (2) the Anglo-Saxon, (3) the Germanic, (4) the Scandinavian; (5) the Russian, and (6) the Balkanic The Scottish and Irish traditions, in spite of their peculiarities, must be considered as subdivisions of the Anglo-Saxon civilisation The Czech and the Hungarian States have not yet differentiated their civilisations sufficiently to consider them as separate varieties from the Germanic The Poles have a better claim for a separate heading, but the century following the partition has divided them not only politically but culturally, and a certain period of united social life is necessary to regain the cultural independence. We shall describe the characteristic features of each group as they have been reflected in educational policy

The Latin Group

This group includes France, Italy, Spain, Belgium and Portugal The bulk of Latin nations is of Mediterranean racial origin, by

temperament distinct from Anglo-Saxon and Germanic peoples This racial affinity was reinforced by social inheritance. The levelling influence of the Roman Empire and Latin language and later the influence of the Roman Church put a uniform stamp on all Latin countries In the absence of Protestantism Humanism was the most serious rival of Roman Catholicism The leaders of the humanistic movement organised into secret lodges were looked upon by the Church as dangerous heretics Their Platonic Christianity was a challenge to the universal Catholic Church The first step to a prolonged struggle was taken by the Pope of Rome in 1738 when he edited a Bull against the "Librimuratori," as the secret Lodges of the Florentine Academy called themselves The Bulls of 1740 and 1751 repeated the condemnation of Freemasonry, which then had grown into an international movement [1] The war was declared, and the next offensive was taken by masonic ministers of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal The combined efforts of Pombal, Aranda, Choisel and Du Tillot (minister of Parma) resulted in suppression of the Society of Jesus and a humiliation of the Holy See The Church had lost its monopoly in education but did not surrender all its positions after this severe defeat Both sides were now embittered and there was no possibility of reconciliation The French Revolution and subsequent reaction still more widened the gulf between the two camps and during the whole nineteenth century the struggle was continued with mutual persecutions at the time of triumph It is interesting to note how the attitude of both camps changed with the change of relative position The Church of Rome was originally the promoter of monopoly and centralisation in education, whereas the secular tradition championed tolerance and independence of the educational system from governmental domination Condorcet, the most eminent representative of educational reform at the end of the century, advocated a complete autonomy of education But civil war and opposition of the Church resulted in the victory of the extreme section The Jacobins adopted the methods and even the ideas of the Jesuits pursuing their own aims Instead of autonomy and tolerance they accepted as their policy centralisation and monopoly Napoleon as their successor quite frankly tried to imitate the Society of Jesus in his *Université Impériale* As a result the secular policy became a twin sister of the old Catholic policy with the reversed contents The Catholics, on the contrary, became the champions of decentralisation and liberty of education whenever they were in opposition. The issues were thus confused and the original ideals distorted As a result of the struggle two rival systems of education have grown up which have divided all Latin nations into two halves, with different outlooks and opposite aims In spite of this difference both the resultant systems, Catholic, independent from the State and subordinated to the Church, and Public, independent from the

[1] During the nineteenth century not less than twelve Bulls against Freemasonry were published, the last in 1892

Church and subordinated to the State, are typically Latin and have many common features which distinguish them from systems of Germanic and Anglo-Saxon countries Such features are the centralisation of administration and finance, uniformity of instruction and the separation of the sexes

The Anglo-Saxon Group

Roman traditions did not take deep roots in the British Isles so that the Nordic invaders could develop their self-governing communities on the same lines as in Scandinavia The Norman conquest and consolidation of the country left the Saxon and Danish communities almost undisturbed Thus the tradition of self-government was established even before the Reformation Protestantism, especially in its Calvinist form, still more strengthened it Both the policies of the centralised hierarchy of the Roman Church and of a centralised Latin State were foreign to self-governing communities and the insular pride of a seafaring people All attempts of monopoly were bound to fail in such a country. We have seen that neither the Church of England nor the Presbyterians could establish monopoly in religion and education The restricting Acts of the seventeenth century could not be enforced and the Toleration Acts of 1689 and of 1711 recognised the rights of dissenters in the field of education If the Universities were closed to Nonconformists there were Academies which gave an ample opportunity for higher education Both Churchmen and Dissenters were gradually brought up to the recognition of the principle of tolerance In this respect the secular movement of Humanism was most influential The English Freemasonry always included representatives of all denominations and some of the masonic leaders were clergymen Thus, although undenominational, masonry has retained its religious character In Great Britain, therefore, an embittered struggle between religious and secular traditions could not take place At some periods the problem of religious difficulty in education led to heated discussions, but it never degenerated into mutual persecutions as in Latin countries The denominational and the undenominational educational systems when established were not mutually exclusive and a compromise was possible, without surrendering the principles which underlie them These features were common to all parts of Great Britain, including the Roman Catholic Ireland which has become later an independent Dominion The characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon group are decentralisation of administration and finance, a comprehensive State system based on tolerance and a complete freedom of private initiative in education.

The Germanic Group

The Germanic group includes not only the German-speaking States as Germany, Austria, Switzerland and some parts of late Austria-Hungary, but also Holland. In all these countries the

traditions of German Universities and of German culture in general were dominant until the twentieth century Whereas the Latin countries are Roman Catholic and the Scandinavian countries are homogeneously Lutheran, the Germanic group of nations are divided almost equally between Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists. There is not a single nation religiously homogeneous as the Scots or the Scandinavians The Thirty Years War failed in establishing a monopoly of faith and resulted in a compromise which gave the supremacy to the State *Cujus Regio ejus religio* was a principle subordinating the Church to State although not giving a true freedom of conscience Thus the State became the arbiter in religious matters and at first reluctantly had to adopt a policy of limited tolerance The influence of Humanism changed the policy of expediency into a policy of principle Joseph II was a humanist, and although himself not a mason was a son of a mason and was advised in his policy of tolerance by such leading masons as Kaunitz, Sonnenfels and Van Svieten Frederick II was himself a mason and was influenced by their traditions In Holland it was the masonic influence which led the orthodox Calvinists to agree to a policy of tolerance towards Roman Catholics In all these countries, no Church could claim an undisputed dominion and they had to moderate their original policy of intolerance The Germans, the Czechs, the Magyars and the Dutch were all hopelessly divided in religion, and the only way for them to preserve the unity of national traditions was to divorce the religious dogma from national consciousness National literature and national history was the common ground on which a national system of education could be built Whereas in Lutheran Scandinavia, in Calvinist Scotland or in Catholic Spain religion was the basis of education, in Central Europe religion could occupy only a second place to nationalism In consequence all State systems in these countries give equal rights and financial support to schools of all denominations Side by side with Catholic and Protestant State schools a third variety of undenominational State schools was established with united secular and divided religious instruction On the other hand, with the absence of Roman influence, the old tradition of Teutonic self-government and the variety of religious and historical background led to a decentralisation of administration and finance. The characteristic features of the Germanic group are therefore the following · decentralisation, preponderance of nationalism over religion and equal status of denominational and undenominational education.

The Scandinavian Group

The Scandinavian countries include Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Finland. With the exception of the last, Scandinavia is the most homogeneous part in Europe. Nordic race is predominant even in Finland. Since the Reformation, Protestantism is the acknowledged religion of the whole population in all five countries

with few Dissenters, mostly of foreign extraction We have seen how Lutheranism was adopted in Scandinavia after a very short struggle and has become since then a part of national traditions Humanism from the start was in close alliance with the Church and there was no spiritual schism Educational systems of all five countries were built up by the Church and for a long time administered through the clergy In Sweden, until 1932, the Church Chapters took part in administering the primary public school system As a result, education in all stages is denominational and only individual dissenters are allowed to exempt their children from religious instruction after a public declaration Protestantism still more strengthened the old Nordic tradition of democratic communities and the " vestry " has become the vehicle of local self-government The same democratic tendencies led to an early emancipation of women and the introduction of co-education in all stages of the school ladder The Nordic peasantry was always noted for its independent character Their initiative and love of spiritual culture found its best expression in the movement of Adult Education in the Folk High Schools which became a peculiar feature of Scandinavian countries Only lately the development of Socialism in its Marxian form threatened for a time the unity of Scandinavian civilisation But purely materialistic and atheistic doctrines cannot take deep roots among religiously minded people Very seldom socialists make use of their legal right to exempt their children from religious instruction Humanism and Protestantism are still the dominant influences Nationalism, if displayed at all, is not arrogant and exclusive and is more expressed in the assertion of unity of Scandinavian civilisation than in the aversion to foreigners The features of the Scandinavian group are decentralisation, religious basis of education, co-education of the sexes and local initiative especially noticeable in the field of Adult Education

The Russian Group

The Russian group includes the three branches of the Russian nation Great Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians, and such Christian nationalities within the Russian State as Georgians and Armenians The Moslem, Buddhist and pagan nationalities and tribes were only partially absorbed by Russian civilisation and until recently did not participate actively in the building of the Russian Commonwealth As we have seen, the Russian Orthodox Church had no such vitality as the Church of Rome or Calvinism, it was not a militant Church Since the time of Peter the Great it became a tool in the hands of an autocratic government The educated classes of the two last centuries only formally belonged to the Church and under the influence of French Humanism and later Socialism tended more and more to anti-clericalism and even to atheism The most active part of the peasantry, on the other hand, seceded from the Church and formed many sects. The Orthodoxy of Russia therefore was only a background and not a leading

factor of Russian civilisation in its last period Apart from the Church, there were two old traditions which moulded the Russian Empire The principle of autocratic government inherited from Byzantine and Tartar sources was one of the factors and was mostly developed in the Moscow centre of the Empire The principle of democratic self-government of old Nordic and Slavonic origin, on the contrary, was the strongest in the periphery, in the provinces of the old Novgorod Republic, in the Ukraine and amongst the Cossacks of the South and Siberia The intelligentsia picked up that tradition and combined it with humanism of Western origin The Ukrainians and the White Russians, influenced by national revival of the Western Slavs, developed a separate consciousness in its extreme form directed against the Great Russians The wave of nationalism spread over to the Georgians and Armenians and later to Moslem nationalities For a time the humanist intelligentsia, the Marxian socialists and the nationalist minorities united their forces in the common attack on the autocratic tradition The alliance, however, was so heterogeneous that it could not last for long Both the intelligentsia and the Marxists wanted to prevent the disruption of the great Empire into nationalist small States at war with each other In educational policy we see the reflection of these contradicting influences The autocratic tradition was centralistic and anti-democratic The radical tradition was against centralisation, anti-clerical and was ready to accede to moderate demands of the minorities The extreme nationalists of non-Russian origin, however, demanded complete separation In these circumstances the educational policy was vacillating, at some periods tending to centralisation and Russification, at other periods giving certain freedom to local self-government The features of the Russian tradition are therefore the absence of any dominant factor Neither the Church, humanism nor nationalism could unite the whole people into an harmonious whole This failure gave the Marxists an opportunity to attempt a unification on a class basis through negation of historical traditions

The Balkanic Group

The four Balkan nations—the Greeks, the Serbs, the Bulgars and the Roumanians, in spite of the diversity of language and racial origin, have a common background The Orthodox Church and Byzantine traditions on one side, and the long period of Turkish oppression on the other, have moulded their mentality into something which may be called specifically Balkanic The long separation from the West kept these nations in the backwaters of European civilisation up to the nineteenth century Only then did the contact with Napoleonic France and ideas of humanism bring in a sudden and vigorous revival As has been stated, the Orthodox Church was unable to lead this movement. The revival was bound to become nationalist in the Balkanic conditions. At first the Greek movement was humanistic and was guided by the secret societies

connected with masonry Both Capodistrias and Ypsilantes were masons But the ferocious character of the struggle for independence and later the rivalry between the different nationalities made the movement more narrowly nationalistic Macedonia especially became the bone of contention Educational policy was concentrated on developing national consciousness It often happened that members of the same family educated respectively in Belgrade, Sofia or Athens became fervid Serbs, Bulgarians or Greeks The Orthodox Church was also divided into four independent national Churches entirely subordinated to State and national ends The State educational systems are still too young to have their own traditions In organisation and methods the Balkan nations freely borrowed both from France and Germany Administration is of the French pattern, whereas the organisation of the schools follows more the German tradition The Balkan nations, only recently reunited with the rest of Europe, could not take an active part in such pan-European movements as Humanism or Socialism and of necessity concentrated their minds on nationalism The features characteristic to Balkans are the predominance of nationalism in education combined with a borrowed character of educational systems

N HANS

CHAPTER TWO

The War and Revolution

Introduction

THE period of War and Revolution, although affecting the whole world, was primarily a European conflagration. Its chief cause was the growth of exclusive nationalism in that part of Europe where State frontiers cut across linguistic and cultural affinities The chief sufferers were the Slavs The Czechoslovak nation was divided between Austria and Hungary and was denied an independent existence The Poles were partitioned among the three mighty Empires and were subjected to a policy of denationalisation. The Yugoslavs, although having two independent kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, had the majority of their conationals under Austria, Hungary and Turkey Bulgarians were also partially subjected to Turkey Even the Russians claimed the three and a half millions of their kin under Austria-Hungary The Greeks and Roumanians were in a similar position The Germans as rulers of two Empires were free from any subjection, but they were not united into one national State and in consequence there grew up a Pan-Germanic movement The Hungarians were the only nation contented with the existing situation, but their position among the hostile Slavs and Roumanians led them to adopt an uncompromising policy of Magyarisation The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were a kind of prelude to the World War by releasing the accumulated forces of nationalism The problem was so entangled with conflicting demands of nationalities that no possible change of frontiers could satisfy all of them In this part of Europe, therefore, nationalism is the dominating factor in social life and will be for a long period to come

The participants in the great struggle were differently affected by the war and revolution which followed in its wake The three Western democracies, Great Britain, France and Belgium, although badly shaken, survived the struggle without a great social change. Russia, defeated and impoverished, went through a social revolution and civil war and attempts to build a new civilisation on the basis of communism. Italy, although nominally a victor, was so weak and divided that a new force was necessary for national reconstruction. Germany, wounded in her national pride, and impoverished by reparations, tries to find her salvation in racialism The new countries carved out of the four Empires, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany and Turkey, have their own problems. The three defeated countries, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, have lost parts of their territories, their economic life has been disturbed and now they are struggling for the preservation of their identity against stronger neigh-

bours The victors, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania and Greece, have added to their national territories large areas inhabited by people either of foreign origin or of different traditions The task of uniting heterogeneous elements into one nation proves o be almost insolvable The position of the three Baltic countries is very unstable and their future independence questionable The neutral countries were the least affected by all these changes and could develop their traditions on old lines The northern democracies of Teutonic origin, Scandinavia, Holland and Switzerland, reformed their systems by evolutionary methods extending the underlying principles The two Latin countries, Spain and Portugal, went through revolutions of traditional type inherent in their civilisation based on a struggle of Catholicism with secularism We shall describe each group separately

(1) The Northern Neutral Countries

The Scandinavian kingdoms, Holland and Switzerland, belong to the oldest democracies of Europe and their educational systems were well developed before the war The war and the revolution very slightly influenced the inner conditions of life and did not add any important problem Educational reform in these countries was the logical conclusion of a century-long development without any striking departure from the past Every country had a problem of its own and the measures for solution were started before the war.

Holland

The history of Dutch education since the French Revolution can be divided into five periods (1) 1795–1822—monopoly of the State secular system , (2) 1822–57—the struggle of Roman Catholics for freedom of instruction , (3) 1857–89—the struggle of both Christian Churches for financial grants from the State , (4) 1889–1913—the struggle of both Churches for equality of public grants for secular and denominational schools , (5) 1913–35—the period of actual equality

In 1784, the Society of General Welfare which began the propagation of educational reform in accordance with secular ideas of the enlightenment was founded The proclamation of the Batavian Republic in 1795 and the appointment of van der Palm, the founder of that Society, as the Minister of Education in 1799 gave an opportunity for secularisation of education The Act of 1801 established in Holland a State system for the first time The Calvinist Church was deprived of its previous control and the administration was centralised. The school system was undenominational, but Christianity was accepted as the basis of instruction. Although private denominational schools were not prohibited, the foundation of them was conditioned by many restrictions Neither of the Churches could agree with this solution. For Roman Catholics, undenominational Christianity was another form of

Protestantism, and for strict Calvinists even atheism was preferable. In 1822, when the Catholics started the organised campaign for freedom of instruction, a century-long struggle began At first, Calvinists held themselves aloof, but in the forties they conquered their prejudices against the Catholics and joined hands with them in demanding denominational schools To such powerful alliance, the State had to make concessions The freedom of instruction was officially declared in 1848, and the Act of 1857 confirmed it, at the same time introducing the principle of neutrality into the State system The liberal leader, Thorbecke, pleaded the cause of undenominational Christianity as a basis for national settlement, but was vigorously opposed by both Churches The strict Calvinists really aimed at the reintroduction of Calvinist control in education The Catholics being in a minority were more moderate Having founded many denominational schools, both Churches now demanded Public Grants The elections of 1888 gave the majority to the united forces of the two denominations In 1889, a new article was added which empowered the State to grant subsidies under certain conditions to denominational schools Still the equality of status was not attained The State secular schools were maintained by local authorities with State grants The denominational schools received only the State grants, the communes and provinces giving no support Now the Churches demanded an absolute equality of financial support It was evident that there would be no peace unless the last concessions were made To this end the extra parliamentary Government of Cort van der Linden appointed a commission in 1913 for the revision of the constitution Cort van der Linden was himself an adherent of the undenominational system, but he sincerely wanted a reconciliation with the Churches The Commission reported in 1916 and adopted the principle of complete equality The revised part of the constitution was promulgated on December 12th, 1917 The secular system still retained a slight advantage, as § 4 said " In each commune the authorities shall establish a sufficient number of public (secular) primary schools " Whereas the denominational schools are established on the initiative of private associations § 8 said " The law should respect the liberty of denominational education concerning the choice of school material and nomination of teachers " Further, § 9 " Primary denominational education in accordance with conditions prescribed by law is maintained by public authorities in the same way as public (secular) schools "

The Education Act of 1920 realised these principles and thus established the present dual system Secondary and higher education is governed by the same rules In Holland, therefore, there are at present three large groups of public schools: Secular, Calvinist and Roman Catholic, plus a small number of schools of other denominations The system is a sincere compromise between the contending parties and is accepted by all as a final settlement.

Sweden

The problem of Sweden, as in all Scandinavia, was not of a religious character as in Holland The Lutheran Church is a truly national church in Scandinavia and there is no opposition between the Church and the State The problem facing Scandinavian countries was how to democratise the school system The educational system inherited from the period of Reformation consisted of *two* parallel ways elementary schools for the majority and secondary schools and universities for the *élite* The two ways were not connected, and it was almost impossible to pass from an elementary school to the classical gymnasium, since a knowledge of foreign languages was demanded

Gustavus Adolphus envisaged a scheme of a unified system, but it was not realised The movement for a common system was started in Sweden by Fryxell in 1823 Since then, the demand for the modernisation of classical gymnasia and the linking up of secondary education with elementary schools has been present in Swedish politics The first step was made in 1858, when gymnasia were divided into two branches classical and modern (real) In 1867, Siljestrom unsuccessfully introduced a Bill for unification of the school system In 1883, the movement received a new impetus from the leadership of Berg He persevered in his efforts and succeeded in piloting two separate measures through the Parliament The Act of 1905 introduced selective subjects into secondary schools By the Act of 1909, local authorities were empowered to establish four-years' communal schools as an intermediate stage between elementary and secondary schools The next step was taken by Minister Varner Ryden in 1918 He appointed a Commission to prepare a comprehensive reform The Commission reported in 1922, recommending a radical reform of the whole system The report was accepted as a foundation of the new unified system which was inaugurated by the Education Act of 1927 The main features were the following (1) The chief aim of the law was to democratise the old two-ways division by educating all children together in a common primary school and by postponing the secondary stage of differentiation (2) The common school should have six grades and the gymnasium should be shortened to three upper forms divided into three branches classical, real and modern languages (3) Co-education should also be introduced into the last three forms Thus the present system of three stages was inaugurated Side by side with the movement for the *enhets skola* there was a growing demand for continued vocational education of children not entering secondary schools This reform was realised by the Act of 1918, which introduced compulsory part-time education for the ages 14–16 The reform was prepared by special investigations of industrial conditions in 1907 and 1912. The Act of 1918 made it a statutory obligation on all local authorities to establish, within a prescribed period (1927), part-time continuation

schools for the practical training of the adolescent and made the attendance at these schools compulsory The reform was completed all over Sweden by 1927.

Norway

A similar movement for a unified system was started in Norway in the thirties of the last century The first step was made in 1852, when a modern side was added to the classical curriculum of the gymnasia In 1869, an intermediate school, the *Middelskole*, was added to the system A radical reorganisation was achieved in 1896. To a basis of a common five-years' primary school, a four-years' middle school was added, and the gymnasia were reduced to three upper forms and divided into three branches. From the democratic point of view the reform was not satisfactory since many children did not enter middle schools at the age of 12, but continued their education in the *Folkeskole* up to 14 with no opportunity of further education The reform of 1919 tried to remedy this defect, but achieved it only by prolongation of the whole course by a year. Since 1919, all children have to stay for seven years in the *Folkeskole* and then proceed to a three-years' middle school It seems that Norwegians are not quite satisfied with this solution, and it is very probable that shortly a new reform will be necessary

Another problem which is peculiarly Norwegian concerns the language of instruction During their long union with Denmark, the urban population of Southern Norway gradually forgot their old Norse speech and accepted Danish as their medium of intercourse In the rural districts, on the contrary, Norse dialects were preserved Through the work of Ivar Aasen and other poets various Norse dialects were synthesised into a new national language, " Landsmaal." According to law, both " Riksmaal " and " Landsmaal " are taught in all schools There are at present four gymnasia in rural districts entirely using " Landsmaal " The opposition of the urban population to the second language is gradually disappearing since both languages are tending to amalgamate into a single national speech.

Denmark

In Denmark, the movement for a unified school system achieved its aim by the Act of 1903 which reformed the Danish system on lines similar to the Norwegian law of 1896 Since then there has been no radical reform in education The only important measure was enacted in 1933, by which the Church lost the last semblance of control over primary schools. Previously, the rectors of parishes were *ex officio* chairmen of local education boards, now the boards elect their chairmen and the rectors retain only the supervision of religious instruction A new problem of minor import was added by the return from Germany of North Schleswig. The German minority according to the Peace Treaty has a right to public schools in their mother tongue. Recently the Government

took over a private German gymnasium as a secondary school for this minority

Finland

Although Finland officially participated in the war as part of the Russian Empire, in actual fact she can be considered as neutral Finns were exempted from compulsory military service and very few of them volunteered for service in the Russian Army, perhaps as many, if not more, went to Germany and fought against Russia Only for a short period did the Russian Revolution disturb the constitutional ways of Government By historical connections, by religious traditions and by her educational system, Finland belongs to Scandinavia Although 90 per cent of the population are Finns and only 10 per cent are Swedes, the influence of the latter is much stronger than their numbers suggest Under Russia, Finland always enjoyed a separate constitution and a complete independence in the field of education That explains why the Finnish educational system developed in the past side by side with other Scandinavian systems and has no features common with Russia The only remnants of Russian influence can be traced in Vyborg (Viipuri), which belonged to Russia since Peter the Great Finland was the last of the Scandinavian countries to reform her system in accordance with the ideas of *enhetskola* In 1928, only part of the secondary schools were reformed on a plan similar to the Swedish, but in 1932 a Commission was appointed to reorganise the system

Switzerland

Switzerland was a loose confederation of independent cantons and therefore there could not be a State system based on federal legislation The first attempt to introduce State measures in education was made during the short period of the Helvetic Republic, 1798–1803 Under the influence of humanists such as La Harpe, Pestalozzi and Stapfer a movement for a democratic educational system was launched Reaction, however, temporarily retarded this movement But the constitution of 1848 changed the confederation into a federation and empowered the Federal Government to pass measures in the educational field In 1854, the Federal Institute of Technology was founded and, in 1874, a federal law on compulsory attendance was enacted Later the Government began to subsidise vocational education and, since 1903, primary education The war, with economic depression which followed, tended to increase the movement for a better co-ordination of the twenty-four cantonal systems.

On June 26th, 1930, a federal law on vocational education was passed, by which vocational training is made compulsory for all apprentices The employers are obliged to give facilities for such training On the completion of training, the apprentices are examined by authorities and awarded Certificates of Proficiency. Special federal commissions examine for the title of master-crafts-

man and the award of a diploma The Federal Government subsidises the training to the limit of half the costs The law of December 23rd, 1932, specified the provisions of the previous law. The law is applied to vocational training in crafts, industry, trade and transport Agriculture, forestry, fishing and fine arts are excluded Compulsory instruction, besides vocational training, should include for industrial occupations drawing, mother tongue, arithmetic, book-keeping, civics and economics For commercial occupations mother tongue, one foreign language, commercial correspondence and arithmetic, book-keeping, civics and economics In special cases, shorthand, typing, another foreign language and salesmanship should be added The number of hours per annum is prescribed for industrial occupations as from 200 to 300, and for commercial occupations from 240 to 360

(2) The Latin Neutral Countries

Spain and Portugal both experienced revolutions during the last twenty-five years Their revolutionary movement, however, has very little connection with the period of war and the revolution which convulsed the whole of Europe The Pyrenean drama was acted separately from the European tragedy In certain particulars Primo de Riviera may have imitated Mussolini, and some Socialist leaders, perhaps, were inspired by Lenin, but there is only a superficial similarity Both Fascism and Communism were conscious attempts to break the historical continuity and to refashion the national consciousness into new moulds They have left deep traces in the psychology of Italy and Russia The two Pyrenean revolutions, on the other hand, were traditional *pronunciamentos* which happened so often before, both in Spain and Portugal The explanation of these movements lies, however, in the past We have already mentioned the origin of cultural schism in Latin countries which led to a continuous struggle between Catholicism and Secularism We shall follow it in each country separately

Spain

In the Pyrenean peninsula Roman Catholicism is not only a form of religious belief, it is an integral part of national character The long and bitter struggle with the Moors made Catholicism a lasting feature The Society of Jesus was born in Spain and was the most important factor in the development of Spanish culture. Within a century of its foundation, the Society controlled all universities and about a hundred of the new colleges. The Spanish ruling class was brought up and educated by Jesuits The first signs of opposition to their domination came from the Bourbon Kings, who inherited from Louis XIV his ideas on a centralised State In the middle of the eighteenth century, a definite change took place among the Spanish educated classes Masonic Lodges were established which disseminated the ideas of French Enlighten-

ment. The Duc de Aranda, as Prime Minister of Charles III, banished the Society of Jesus from Spain in 1767 and, in 1768, handed over the Jesuit buildings to Diocesan Bishops for the formation of Council Seminaries By the same Royal Schedule (Article 17) he established secular secondary schools The Proclamation of 1771 stressed the need for primary education, but owing to reaction these decrees were not actually realised That was the beginning of the cultural schism which split Spain into two hostile camps During the revolutionary periods the Jesuits were expelled, educational reforms were introduced, but during the reactionary periods which followed the Jesuits were reinstated in their colleges and the reforming Acts repealed The first Director-General of Education in 1812 was Manuel Jose Quintana, the famous poet, and the author of the Memorandum on Education which formed the basis of the new legislation For the first time in Spain mediæval Latin was replaced by Castilian The introduction of universal primary education, which he demanded, was frustrated by the return of Ferdinand VII in 1814 In 1820, a new revolution, under the leadership of Rafael Riego y Nunez, tried again to realise Quintana's reforms But Riego was defeated and executed, and the Jesuits returned in 1823 In the thirties after the death of Ferdinand, the exiles came back and a new period of secularisation ensued The Prime Minister, Juan Mendizabal, expelled the Jesuits in 1836 and dissolved the monasteries The first State Normal School was founded in 1839 and, in 1843, there were forty-three normal schools A new reaction followed with the return of the Jesuits. In 1857, a Concordat with Rome was signed, according to which, " Public instruction in the Universities, Colleges, Seminaries, public and private schools of every description must be at all points in harmony with the teachings of the Catholic Church " The new Revolution broke out in 1868 The leaders, Sanz del Rio, the head of the philosophic school of " Krausistas " (after the German philosopher, Krause), Salmeron y Alonso, the President of the Republic, Emilio Castelar, the President of the Executive, Francisco Giner de los Rios, the famous educational reformer, and R. Zozilla, the Prime Minister under King Amadeus, were all adherents of secularism They introduced a policy of tolerance, but expelled the Jesuits and secularised education The restoration of the Bourbons in 1875 signified the return of Jesuits and a new outbreak of repressive measures All these changes quite definitely aligned the Spanish educated classes into two groups · the liberal party, with the secularisation of education as its policy, while the Conservative party associated itself with the Catholic Union and the Society of Jesus The reactionary period, under the dictatorship of Primo de Riviera, led to the Revolution of 1931 and the establishment of the second Republic. The new constitution was secular and anti-clerical The Jesuits were once more expelled and all other Catholic orders were prohibited from teaching in the schools. Article 48 of the Republican Constitution asserts that : " Primary

education shall be free and compulsory. Liberty in teaching shall continue to be recognised and guaranteed . . Education shall be secular, its inspiration shall be the ideals of human solidarity. . The Churches are accorded the right to teach their respective doctrines in their own establishment, subject to inspection by the State " The last clause, however, was not enforced and a later enactment nationalised all Catholic schools. The Government founded about 27,000 new primary schools and many secondary schools in the confiscated Jesuit Colleges The Inspectorate and Normal School system was reorganised in 1932 If we consider that 25 per cent of Primary pupils and 65 per cent of Secondary pupils were educated in Catholic schools, we can understand that the sudden closure of religious schools led to a general discontent among the parents The Catholic opposition consolidated its organisation and won the last elections Whether it will lead to a sincere compromise between the two camps it is still too early to judge Another problem, connected with the regionalist movement and the autonomy of Catalonia, we shall discuss in the next chapter

Portugal

Although Portugal officially took part in the war, for the sake of clarity she can be considered with the neutral countries

In Portugal, the anti-clerical movement began its attack on the Jesuits even earlier than in Spain The famous dictator, Sebastias de Carvelho e Mello, known as Marquis Pombal, was initiated into Masonry in London in 1744, and was influenced by English institutions He wanted to establish an independent Portuguese Church on the lines of the Church of England In 1759, he suppressed with unnecessary cruelty the Society of Jesus and confiscated its property He founded the first secular schools in Portugal and laid foundation for a State system which included primary, secondary and commercial schools The University of Coimbra was also secularised and modernised The fall of Pombal in 1777 was followed by a period of reaction, interrupted by the French occupation. In 1814, the Society of Jesus was reinstated and the repressive measures which followed led to a new revolutionary movement in 1820. The Constitution of 1822 was secular and democratic.

The periods of liberalism and reaction followed each other as in Spain In 1835, the Minister, Manoel da Silva, introduced liberal reforms. Schools for girls were founded in every district, the law on compulsory attendance was enacted for the first time During the next liberal period of 1870, the Minister, Antonio da Costa de Sousa Macedo, founded the Ministry of Public Instruction and introduced decentralisation of administration Civic instruction was added to the curriculum in all schools The reforms were repealed by the next Government, but reintroduced by Antonio Rodrigo Sampaio in 1878 Normal schools were founded in all districts and compulsory attendance was enforced. But the policy was changed with each successive Government. During the last

years of the monarchy, the clerical party was in the ascendancy and placed the appointments of teachers under the control of the Bishops, thereby giving the Republicans an excuse for raising an effective anti-clerical agitation which resulted in the Revolution of 1910 The Republican Minister of Education, Sebastiao Magellaes Lima, and Alfonso da Costa, introduced the present secular State system The Jesuits were expelled, religious instruction was prohibited in public schools and a new law on compulsory attendance was passed on March 29th, 1911 After the war, technical education was centralised under the Ministry of Education and a new *Instituto Superior Tecnico* was founded It seems that in Portugal, the Catholic party has little cause to hope for a new reversal of educational policy

By this short account, we see that all neutral countries were little influenced by the war and post-war movements and solved their problems without introducing new principles That cannot be said about the countries which took an active part in the war

(3) The Three Western Democracies

The three Western countries, Great Britain, France and Belgium, are the only participants of the Great War which emerged from it without changing the form of government It seems that the only explanation of this survival lies in the democratic traditions of these countries It is fashionable at present to speak of the crisis of democracy, and of a supposed necessity to supplant it by some other form of government The fact, however, that of all countries which took part in the war, only the three Western democracies withstood the shock, should be considered before dismissing democratic ideas as belonging to an out-of-date political theory In this respect, the three Western countries have more in common with the Northern neutral countries than with other participants in the war But, whereas, in the neutral countries, the influence of the war is hardly noticeable, in Great Britain, France and Belgium we see the quickening of the tempo and gradual departure from the previous policy of expediency Educational reform came to the forefront of political life and is now an integral part of planned reorganisation There were three problems in educational policy not solved by pre-war legislation Firstly, the democratisation of the whole system in accordance with the principle of equality of opportunity Secondly, the recognition of the right of every nationality to education in its own language And thirdly, the organisation of vocational education in accordance with changed industrial conditions With these problems, the reform of administration is closely connected, but we shall deal with this aspect in the next chapter

Great Britain

Every one of the three parts of the United Kingdom, England, Scotland and Northern Ireland has its own educational problem,

besides those common to each The Irish Free State, since its separation from the United Kingdom, has concentrated its efforts on the quite new problem of the generation of Irish culture There are, however, features common to all part of the British Isles The religious difficulty in education was solved by pre-war legislation and resulted in the so-called *dual system* which is likely to remain as a permanent feature of British systems There is no necessity or desire to reopen the question, as all modifications can be achieved within the framework of the accepted compromise The attention of the post-war legislation was focused chiefly on the democratisation of the school system and on vocational education

England

The religious difficulty, which was a stumbling-block to educational reform for more than a century, was finally settled by the Education Act of 1902, whereby compromise was reached which established the present dual system But in contrast to the dual systems of Holland and Belgium, the English dualism is in actual practice often a dualism only in name For, whereas the Roman Catholics and secularists in Belgium and Holland are two distinctive bodies with opposite ideas who arrived at a compromise by dividing their nations into two camps with separate educational systems, in England, both the Church of England and the Nonconformists have much in common with the " Secularists " and there is little difference between the " Secular " council school and a denominational school (We must add that Roman Catholics form a group apart and have separate schools with a distinctive atmosphere of their own) In the great majority of schools religion is taught on an agreed syllabus accepted by all Protestant Churches and local authorities The English dualism is therefore more a survival of the past differences than a real opposition of principles It would appear that as the reorganisation of the system becomes more general, dualism will gradually disappear altogether, with the exception of Roman Catholic schools The solution of the religious difficulty made possible an advance in another direction The English system could have been called " dual " with much more reason on different grounds There was, and still is, in a lesser degree, a parallelism of educational institutions for different social classes The preparatory school, the " Public " school and the two ancient universities formed a system set apart for the ruling minority The elementary School, the new secondary school and the new universities were destined for the majority But even within the latter system only a small *élite* was afforded an opportunity for secondary and higher education The war and post-war social movement brought with it an increased demand for secondary education, which later developed into a demand for secondary education for all The Government attempted to solve the problem through the introduction of compulsory part-time education in continuation schools But the failure of the Education Act, 1918, was

largely due to the lack of genuine support from the working class. The parents of the working class considered it as merely a cheap substitute and demanded the genuine article, i e academic secondary education It was soon recognised, however, that academic education for all, even if possible, is in present circumstances undesirable, since it leads inevitably to the creation of a surplus of black-coated labour, and, in consequence, to unemployment and disillusionment. The solution is sought now on different lines The Hadow Report established the principle of differentiation of post-primary education as the basis of reform At present, more than half of English primary schools are reorganised in accordance with the recommendations of the Report Side by side with this reform, which, when accomplished, will give an opportunity of further education to every adolescent, there is a gradual abolition of social distinction between the independent and State schools More and more of the old grammar schools by accepting grants and State supervision are included in the State system Pupils from public primary schools can be met now almost in all grammar schools and many of them later enter Oxford or Cambridge It seems that the second " dualism " of social origin will be gradually overcome without any pressure from the Government

Another problem of post-war significance is the crisis of vocational training England is tentatively approaching its solution and undoubtedly some important measures will be undertaken in the near future We shall discuss this problem in Chapter Four

Scotland

Whereas to a certain extent the English system can be called dual, the Scottish system, on the other hand, has always been unitary Since the time of John Knox there has been no real distinction between primary and secondary schools, as all schools had divisions preparing for the university The small number of endowed schools on English lines are usually supervised by the Education Department and fall into line with the general educational system The same unitary character was preserved from the religious point of view, as there is no similar division into provided and non-provided schools as in England The religious minorities, Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, have their separate schools, but they are administered by public authorities In Scotland, therefore, the problems, typical to England, did not exist The only problem common to both countries is that of vocational training Although Scotland possesses a centralised system of vocational training, it is not compulsory, as is the case, for instance, in Germany, and about 60 per cent. of adolescents from 14 to 18 years do not attend any school.

Ireland

In Ireland, in contrast to other parts of the British Isles, Roman Catholicism has remained the religion of the majority. Only in the

six northern counties did the Reformation take deep roots. This division into two religious communities was the first difficulty which the State educational system tried to surmount. The schools established since 1831 were legally undenominational, but in practice, a complete segregation of the two communities took place. The undenominationalism was realised only among the various Protestant bodies which could not afford a further division into smaller communities It seems that in both parts of Ireland this segregation is the final solution, and there would appear to be little hope of establishing a single national system Whereas in England and Scotland the administrative problems were more or less solved by the pre-war legislation, in Ireland, the first task of both Governments was the unification of administration In old undivided Ireland, the primary, secondary and technical education were administered by separate Boards and three branches were in no way co-ordinated After separation, both the Free State and Northern Ireland centralised administration under a Ministry of Education The different branches were co-ordinated into one school system, although the old parallelism between primary and secondary schools remained In Northern Ireland, the Ministry took over the existing preparatory schools and thus achieved a certain unification But the difference between free primary schools and fee-charging preparatory schools was not entirely abolished The introduction of compulsory attendance, and the development of vocational education after the war, have brought Ireland into line with other parts of Great Britain The most important problem, at any rate for the Irish Free State, is the revival of the Irish language The pre-war British authorities were not hostile to the native languages of the Celtic population In Wales, the Welsh language was freely used in schools In the Scottish Highlands there were public schools using Gaelic as the language of instruction Even in Ireland, in 1914, there were 215 bilingual schools, besides which 1,400 schools taught Irish as a subject But this policy of tolerance was certainly quite insufficient for creating a separate Irish culture The Irish patriots have accepted the ideas of Fichte and other prophets of nationalism, that original culture can prosper only on the basis of original language congenial to the psychology of the people. The question is whether the Irish nation is different in its racial composition from the English and Scottish peoples. It seems that the chief difference was, and is, in religious traditions and historical opposition The first Irish Nationalists, the United Irishmen of the eighteenth century, were mostly Protestants and English-speaking. But whatever the reason there is no doubt that the Irish Free State is determined to make its population bilingual There is little likelihood that English will be ousted altogether from daily life, as the majority of Irishmen live among the English-speaking population outside Ireland. But the policy of compulsory introduction of Irish language is not seriously opposed and is bearing fruit. In this respect, the policy of the Irish Government has its parallels in many

States of post-war Europe. The reorganisation of vocational education was started in 1930 by the introduction of compulsory part-time attendance at vocational and technical schools We shall return to this subject in Chapter Four

France

The century-long struggle between Roman Catholicism and Secularism in France came to an end when the laws of 1904 and 1905 separated the Church and State, and prohibited the religious orders from taking an active part in education The struggle, however, was only shifted from the sphere of legislation into the sphere of ideas The gulf between the two camps was not bridged even by the conclusion of the *Union sacré* during the war The truce was only temporary, and, after the war, the struggle was resumed around the introduction of the *école unique* We have seen that French masons quite openly advocated the *école unique* which was always implicit in their educational tradition But especially prominent in the propagation of the *école unique* were the *Compagnons*, an educational association which publishes the *Université Nouvelle* In 1927, they made public their schemes of reform , the parallelism of the French educational system should be abolished and the *colleges* and *lycées* should be brought into close connection with the elementary school Their scheme is a 6-3-3 plan in which the first six years would form a compulsory elementary school common for all without exception, the second step would include the *colleges* with three differentiated courses, and the third step—the reformed *lycées* with eight specialised curricula Such reform would inevitably lead to a certain monopoly of State schools because of free secondary education. Roman Catholic opinion is bitterly opposed to this scheme They sense in it a new device of the secularists to suppress the Catholic system, which could not be suppressed by an open attack and prohibitive legislation But that was not the main reason of the secularist party

École unique is not necessarily connected with the State monopoly in education, but it is evident that it will be more difficult for Catholic secondary schools to compete with free State schools This opposition of Catholic circles prevented the secularists from introducing a straightforward reform. *École unique* is being realised gradually by separate measures In 1928, for instance, the Minister of Education, Herriot, introduced free tuition in all sections of mixed institutions, i e *colleges* and *lycées* combined with free higher elementary schools and technical schools He also extended the regulations permitting the admission of girls in boys' colleges. On April 16th, 1930, a law was passed introducing free education in all State secondary schools beginning with the first year in 1930. In 1936, free secondary education will be an established fact. This legislation will undoubtedly attract many pupils from expensive Catholic schools to free State schools. The number of pupils in the *sixième* (the first form of secondary education) increased from

16,000 in 1929 to 34,000 in 1932. Thus the parallelism of primary and secondary school systems will be overcome so far as the State schools are concerned The adherents of the *école unique* will be hardly satisfied with this limited success So long as about 45 per cent of secondary pupils are educated in Catholic institutions there will be no actual equality of opportunity at which the *école unique* aims We might expect, therefore, new attempts to introduce a stricter supervision of the Catholic system which will be undoubtedly opposed by the Catholic Church Another problem which became more acute in the post-war period is that of vocational education The system of vocational and technical schools was not developed in France before the war The total number of scholars in all vocational schools was about 28,000 These were mostly old schools for higher technical and commercial occupations The industrial workers, with the breakdown of the apprentice system, had no opportunity of vocational training Before the war, the Government introduced some tentative measures, as the decrees of Minister of Commerce Couyba in 1911, establishing *Comités de l'enseignement technique* or the founding of few voluntary *Cours complémentaires*, but they were quite inadequate to cope with industrial problems of the post-war period A real start was made by the law of July 25th, 1919 According to Article 38, all young people up to the age of 18, employed in industry and commerce, were obliged to attend vocational courses connected with their work The law was not enforced, and, in 1929, the Ministry had to issue a decree to the *préfets* urging them to demand from local authorities the strict application of the compulsory clause It had its effect, since the number of pupils began to increase rapidly and was soon trebled This reform was facilitated by centralisation of administration and transference of vocational and technical schools from the Ministry of Commerce to the Ministry of Public Instruction, later known as the Ministry of National Education

Another problem was a direct consequence of the war. The return of Alsace Lorraine put the Government in a dilemma The educational system of the two provinces was denominational and under the influence of the Roman Church To apply the laws of secularisation, and thus to bring it into line with the rest of France, would offend the population and strain their loyalty to France To leave the public schools in the hands of Catholic congregations meant a breach in the policy of secularisation and possibly the reopening of the question in France itself The Government tried at first to secularise the public school system of the newly acquired provinces, but the Roman Catholics replied by joining forces with communists and even separatists in opposing the policy of centralisation, and the Government was compelled to abandon the proposed secularisation and to leave the Alsatian system unchanged. On the other hand, the Government promoted the foundation of secular public schools, hoping that gradually the problem would solve itself without compulsion. This exceptional treatment of Alsace Lorraine

raised the question of regionalism in administration which we shall discuss in the next chapter

Belgium

Since the French Revolution, the Belgians were divided into secularist Liberals (mostly French-speaking Walloons) and the Roman Catholic party (more powerful among the Flemings). In 1830, the independence of Belgium was achieved solely because the two parties concluded a compromise and joined their forces against their common enemy—Holland King William of united Holland alienated the Walloons by his policy of introducing Dutch as a language of instruction, and the Roman Catholic Flemings by his policy of secularisation The compromise between Liberal Walloons and Catholic Flemings therefore avoided both issues The Flemings did not insist on the language question, accepting French for a time being, while the Walloons accepted denominational Catholic schools side by side with public secular schools This compromise lasted during the first period of consolidation following the attainment of independence Both parties tried to entrench behind the educational system The Bishops founded the Catholic University in 1834, which later was transferred from Malines to Louvain The secularists, under the leadership of F L Verhaeren, founded the secular University of Brussels in the same year A certain equilibrium was thus attained, but the Catholics demanded State grants for their schools In 1842, the Catholics, being in majority, introduced new legislation, by which Catholic schools received subsidies from the State, whilst retaining their independence The Liberals and Freemasons contended that the truce was broken and began a campaign for secularisation of the public system In 1878, the Liberals won the elections and the Minister of Education, Van Humbeeck, secularised public schools by forbidding local authorities to subsidise Catholic schools. Religious instruction, which was made compulsory in 1842, was eliminated from public schools The Bishops threatened to excommunicate all parents who sent their children to public schools, and, in consequence, the public system lost more than a third part of its pupils in two years It was evident that neither party could impose its policy on the other and a compromise became a necessity. In 1884, Humbeeck's law was repealed and, in 1895, the present dual system was inaugurated The law of 1914 adjusted some conditions and the final settlement of the religious difficulty was arrived at in 1919 by the new organic law, and was accepted loyally by both sides. The religious difficulty being out of the way, the language problem came to the forefront. Although Flemings form a majority of the Belgian population, the French language was the accepted medium in all schools and there were no Flemish secondary or higher institutions. The position was anomalous, but the Flemish Catholics concentrated their efforts in combating secularism They could not avoid the issue, however, and the demand for Flemish schools became more insistent, so that

in 1883 Flemish was introduced into primary schools. The German occupation forced the development. The Germans sided with the Flemings against the Walloons and introduced Flemish in the University of Ghent When Belgium was liberated the Government found it impossible to impose French on the Flemish-speaking population Both languages were recognised as State languages and the politicians tried to introduce a bilingual system of education. But they met with strong opposition from both sides The Walloons flatly declined to learn Flemish and the Flemings agreed to learn French as only one of the foreign languages The final settlement was achieved on regional lines By the law of July 14th, 1932, the French-speaking communes employ French; throughout the Flemish-speaking communes, Flemish, and the German-speaking, German Only the municipality of Brussels, and some border communes with mixed population, remain bilingual The problem of vocational education is not yet solved, but a beginning was made on December 21st, 1932, by the creation of the *Office de l'Enseignement Technique* under the Ministry of Instruction

(4) The New Countries

Although the new countries which emerged after the war belong to different racial and cultural groups, with different historical traditions, they have the same main problem common to all of them It is the problem of building up a national system of education in new conditions and in the shortest possible time Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, the three defeated countries, with their decreased territories and impoverished resources, are encircled by hostile neighbours and have to strain all their powers to retain their economic, political and cultural independence A thorough reform of the educational system is one of the means for national revival In these countries, the inherited systems were overhauled and imbued with nationalism as the only possible means of survival Czechoslovakia and Poland, although both possessing national traditions with a great historical past, lack homogeneity of population and have disputable frontiers Their problem is to bind together the heterogeneous parts and to connect the present with the past Yugoslavia, Roumania and Greece have acquired such large tracts of new territories with populations of different traditions that their task is actually equal to building up a new nation. In such countries as Albania, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania the problem was to create a nation in a few years almost out of nothing In these conditions, all new countries adopted a nationalist policy in education, as neither religion nor citizenship could supply a tangible basis of cohesion Apart from this common problem each country has its own difficulties.

Austria-Hungary

The Empire of the Habsburgs has vanished for ever from the maps of Europe, but the heritage left behind is not solely of a negative

character In the field of education the Habsburgs initiated the building up of a vast State system which furnished the basis for the present systems of all succession States (Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania) and partly of Belgium and Italy. It is of great importance, therefore, to give a short account of the educational traditions in the late Empire The Reformation started in Bohemia, and in the sixteenth century the Bohemian Brothers and the Lutherans were predominant in the country The movement penetrated Austria proper and Hungary, where Calvinists vied with Lutherans in propagating the reformed faith In many towns, Protestants founded grammar schools The old Catholic schools could not rival the new foundations and it seemed that the Roman Church had lost the battle But the advent of the Society of Jesus entirely changed the situation They founded their own colleges to compete with the Protestant gymnasia, and especially they inspired the Imperial House with a new zeal for the old religion The policy of persecution followed which led to the Thirty Years War Austria and Bohemia were successfully cleared of Protestants, who emigrated to Prussia in large numbers Protestant gymnasia without exception were either taken over by the Jesuits or closed In Hungary, however, the Jesuits were not so successful, the Protestants held their ground and acquired an autonomy in education The monopoly of the Society lasted for two centuries, but in spite of that, the influence of Protestantism was not extirpated Catholicism was accepted as the official creed, but it did not become an integral part of the national character as in Spain or Italy After the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the ideas of Humanism were quite freely disseminated by masonic lodges The Chancellor, Prince Wenzel Kaunitz, his adviser, von Sonnenfels, and the court physician, Gerard van Swieten, achieved the greatest school reform in the eighteenth century Van Swieten was the Vice-Chairman of the *Studien Kommission* in Vienna which guided the reform In 1781, the Emperor Joseph II appointed his son, Van Swieten, junior, as the Chairman of the *Kommission* and at the same time published his *Toleranzedict* The whole school system was taken over by the State and became undenominational This sweeping reform decided the future of education in Central Europe Although the Jesuits, after the restoration in 1814, came back and founded new colleges, the State system retained its independence from the Church After the revolution of 1848, the reactionary Government, by the Concordate of 1855, tried once more to put education under the Church domination, but it was impossible to regain the lost ground In 1867, the new constitution reintroduced the freedom of conscience and civic equality of all creeds Undenominational instruction was accepted as the basis of the State system The Educational Acts of 1869 for Austria and Hungary respectively introduced compulsory attendance and founded the school system which survived the fall of the Habsburgs and the disruption of the Empire

The Austrian Republic

The old Austrian system, as we have seen, was undenominational and was hardly permeated with Roman Catholic traditions Neither was it German nationalist, as Pan-Germanism was hostile to the Habsburg dynasty The monarchy had to steer a middle course between different nationalisms which threatened its downfall It often happened that at the head of the Ministry of Education stood a Slav, who was quite indifferent, if not hostile, to German culture as such Separated from its late Slavonic dependencies, as well as from the rest of the German-speaking world, the small Austria is at a loss how to direct the education of its rising generation There is no separate German-Austrian culture, and a nationalist trend in education will inevitably lead to a union with Germany When both Germany and Austria were democratic republics the *Anschluss* was accepted as the final goal by the overwhelming majority of Austrians The German character of instruction was emphasised, and Austria was treated as part of Greater Germany The Nazi revolution in Germany brought with it a new complication Neither the Roman Catholics, nor the Socialists, nor the Jews want to be ruled with an iron hand from Berlin The Government, therefore, tries to find some basis for a specifically Austrian nationalism distinguishable from the Pan-Germanic It tries to revive the old Imperial tradition and Roman Catholicism as distinctive features of Austria Whether this attempt to create a new national culture has a chance of success is questionable Apart from this main problem, the Austrian Republic had to reorganise its inherited system in accordance with the new conditions and democratic ideas We shall discuss the Austrian reform in Chapter Four

Hungary

Till the end of the eighteenth century, Latin was the official language of Hungary and the medium of instruction in schools The attempt of Joseph II to Germanise his non-German lands led to opposite results In Hungary, it provoked a national movement which demanded the acceptance of the Magyar language throughout the kingdom, which included Slavonic provinces It led to the nationalist revolution of 1848 and war between the Magyars and Croats In vain Ludvig Kossuth (himself a Slovak) offered at the last moment a compromise to the Slavs, but it was too late and Hungary was defeated A new period of Germanisation ensued which, however, was doomed to failure The new constitution of 1867 gave the Magyars a free hand in their half of the Empire. The racial pride and fiery character of the nation which had been suppressed from Vienna generated an intense nationalism. When freed from the threat of Germanisation the Magyars could not themselves abstain from an oppressive policy towards their Slavonic and Roumanian subjects The result was a disintegration of Hungary after the war. The Slavs regard it as just retribution, the Magyars as

unjustifiable cruel revenge Almost half of the educational institutions went over to the succession States and were lost as places of national culture. The new Hungary received an influx of teachers and professors from the ceded territories which enabled them considerably to expand their system. The Hungarians have concentrated their efforts on readjusting themselves to new conditions without attempting a thorough reform of the school system. Nationalism, as in the past, is a dominating factor in education At present, however, it has become more embittered, thus distracting their attention from other problems which were successfully solved in Austria

Czechoslovakia

The new Republic was formed from the old provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which were ruled from Vienna and Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Russia, which belonged to Hungary The two parts of the present State were quite different in their traditions and general standard of life The Czechs were greatly influenced by the Reformation, and although after the Thirty Years War they were won back to Catholicism, the traditions of Huss and Comenius survived as part of their national heritage In the late Hungarian part the Slovaks retained their devotion to traditional Catholicism, and the Russians to Orthodoxy In culture there was also a great difference The Czechs, after the national revival, have won their independence in education and possessed before the war a well-developed school system in their mother tongue The Slovaks and the Russians, on the other hand, had only a few Church parochial schools strictly supervised by the Hungarian Government The whole State system was in the hands of Magyars and was the best means of Magyarisation With the birth of the new State, the first and most difficult task of the Government was to create a national system of education common to the three Slavonic nationalities The simplest solution was to expand the developed Czech system into Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia There was, however, an obstacle the Slovaks speak a dialect different from the Czechs, and the Russians have their own language The movement for one Slavonic language throughout the State had to be abandoned, and the Slovaks and Russians were allowed to build school systems in their mother tongues In both parts the clergy took the lead and the primary school system fell into the control of the Church. The Czech ruling class could secularise the schools only gradually Until 1933, there was a marked difference between the Czech undenominational and Slovak Church systems. The reform of administration in 1933 secularised the Slovak and Russian parish schools and thus laid the foundation for a unitary State system. Both Slovaks and Russians are not, in a strict sense, national minorities and are treated by the Government as parts of the Czecho-slovak nation Quite a different position is occupied by the late rulers of Austria-Hungary—the Germans and the Magyars. By

origin and culture they belong to nations which have their independent States on the borders of Czechoslovakia From the start, the Czechs had little hope of making them sincere citizens of a national Slavonic State. Living in compact communities, the Germans and the Magyars resented their inclusion in the new Republic and wait for an opportunity to rejoin their co-nationals beyond the frontier. The Czechoslovak Government made all possible efforts to reconcile them to their present position They have their own school systems in their languages, they enjoy all the privileges of local self-government on equality with the Czechs, and are even given a fair share in central government But it is doubtful whether this sincere and fair offer of the Czechs will be accepted by Germans and Magyars as a final settlement With these difficulties the Czechs had no time for a thorough reform of the old school system, which remains, in its chief features, as it was before the war

Poland

The problem of Poland was similar to that of Czechoslovakia. The three parts which belonged respectively to Austria, Prussia and Russia had different educational systems and were of a different cultural standard Besides, there was a substantial minority of non-Poles As in Russian and German parts the late systems were in Russian and German languages, the Polish Government took as a basis the school system of Austrian Poland where the Polish language was the medium of instruction for a long period The Polish penetration of the schools was successfully achieved almost at once, since the Polish population as a whole retained their national character in spite of the policy of Russification and Germanisation The unification of these different systems, however, was not so easy, as the Russian and German Poles were not eager to be guided by the Austrian Poles. But, after a short period of friction, the Government succeeded in obliterating the differences between the three parts The national enthusiasm surmounted all difficulties and in a few years the whole country was covered by schools Compulsory attendance for the ages 7–14 was enforced, even in the most backward parts, and the first problem of establishing a unitary national system was successfully solved The next problem was to reform the whole system in accordance with democratic ideas In her past, Poland was one of the first European countries which followed the ideas of Comenius in her legislation. The Polish Education Commission of 1773 was under the direction of Prince Adam Czartoriski (General, the father of the more famous Prince Adam), who, with his collaborators, founded a State system of schools which survived the Partition The same ideas were followed by his son in Russian Poland under Alexander I, and in the Dukedom of Warsaw established by Napoleon Thus Poland had an old democratic tradition which was revived after the war The law of 1932 abolished the dualism of elementary and secondary education, and introduced a unified system similar to the Scandi-

navian School systems We shall discuss this reform in Chapter Four There is a third problem—that of national minorities—which, as in Czechoslovakia, is not yet satisfactorily solved. The large minority of Ukrainians demand a separate school system in their mother tongue, with a separate Ukrainian University in Lwov.

The concessions made by the Polish Government did not satisfy the Ukrainians and, with the help of the Czechoslovak Government, they have founded a Ukrainian University in Prague Thus the cause of friction between the Poles and Ukrainians is not yet removed and is an obstacle to further progress

Yugoslavia

Although Yugoslavia is more homogeneous in race and language than Czechoslovakia and Poland, her difficulty is rather greater The Yugoslavs are divided into four groups, each with a different cultural tradition The Serbs are Orthodox and were independent for a century The Slovenes are Roman Catholics and for centuries lived in close relations with Germans The Croats are also Roman Catholics, but were connected with Hungary In the southern part of Yugoslavia there are about a million of Moslem Yugoslavs who were under Turkey Their school systems were different and their educational traditions are of different origin In Slovenia, 92 per cent of population were literate, in Serbia only 35 per cent and among Moslem Yugoslavs only 15 per cent were literate The position of women also varied greatly from Slovenia to Southern Serbia Even the alphabet was different, Latin in Roman Catholic parts and Slavonic in Orthodox parts The problem of the Yugoslav Government was to achieve national unity with a certain unification of educational conditions, preserving, at the same time, the various religious and cultural traditions

It soon became evident that these two aims are contradictory and one must be sacrificed to the other By the law of October 3rd, 1929, the Government introduced a new division of the kingdom into nine Banovins, which entirely disregarded the historical frontiers and tribal differences Even the old names of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia disappeared from the map The administration was centralised in Belgrade The Slovenes, Croats and the Moslems, however, refused to co-operate with the Government, thus frustrating the aim of unification In these unsettled conditions, the educational systems remained unreformed and still retain their historical differences Apart from this main problem, there are considerable minority groups of Germans, Magyars and Albanians and the spurious population of Macedonia. We shall discuss the Macedonian problem under Bulgaria

Roumania

The problem of the greater Roumania was similar to that of Yugoslavia. The systems inherited from Austria in Bukovina, from

Hungary in Transylvania and from Russia in Bessarabia, had to be unified with the established system of the old kingdom In Transylvania, the medium of instruction was Magyar; in Bukovina, Ukrainian and German; and in Bessarabia, Russian In spite of that, the peasant population of Roumanian origin preserved their nationality and it was comparatively easy therefore to change the language in the rural schools

A more difficult problem, however, was the nationalisation of secondary schools in towns where the teachers did not know Roumanian The different systems were unified by Education Acts of 1928, by which compulsory attendance was extended to ages 5–16, and the four years of primary education instituted The aim of national unity was furthered by the compulsory adoption of the Roumanian language in all State schools, and by special provision for adults who do not know the State language All citizens of Roumanian origin who have forgotten the language of their ancestors are obliged to send their children to Roumanian Schools. Only parents who undoubtedly belong to non-Roumanian minorities have the right to educate their children in private schools using their respective mother tongues These restrictions considerably diminished the number of schools for minorities, and caused some friction, especially in regard to the Magyars Nevertheless, the Roumanian Government succeeded in their task, and the unified school system is developing very rapidly The old State system of Roumania was established in 1864, by the Prime Minister Cogalniceanu, under the influence of French legislation In 1896 it was reformed when secondary education was based on the primary school

Bulgaria

Although parts of territory acquired by Bulgaria in 1912 were again lost by subsequent wars, the post-war State had a large province with a considerable non-Bulgarian population which recently belonged to Turkey The question of the Turkish minority, however, is of minor importance compared with the problem of the Bulgarian nation as a whole The Bulgarians claim the whole of Macedonia as the historical cradle of Bulgarian civilisation and as populated by a kindred tribe It is perhaps true that the Macedonians are more akin to Bulgarians than to Serbs, but they have become an integral part of Yugoslavia and could only be united to Bulgaria after a new and embittered struggle. With these facts in mind, the Bulgarian revolutionary Government, headed by Stambolisky, decided on a bold policy of union with Yugoslavia. But he and his Agrarian party were denounced as traitors by Bulgarian and Macedonian nationalists, and he, with many adherents, were killed during a *coup d'état*. The new Government adopted a decidedly nationalist policy, thus closing the door to the establishment of a greater Yugoslavia. In education, this policy was reflected by emphasising national tendencies and the insistence upon a stricter

supervision of Turkish schools The Bulgarian school system is the most developed in the Balkans, but its further progress is hampered by the economic crisis resulting from post-war conditions

Greece

After the exchange of her nationals with Turkey and Bulgaria, Greece has a more homogeneous population than any of the other Balkan States But there is a great difference in tradition between the Old Greece and the New Greece The old provinces, especially Morea, are conservative and monarchist, while the new provinces and the islands are radical and republican Old Greece and some islands have an established school system with a tradition antedating the period of independence In Macedonia and Thracia, on the other hand, the whole system is of quite recent origin The new citizens of Greece, immigrants from Turkey, had to build their villages, schools and other institutions on places deserted by Turks or Bulgarians. The problem of Greece is to equalise educational opportunities between the two parts and to unify them culturally In this work Greece was helped by European and American charitable organisations and considerable progress has been recorded Unfortunately, however, the peaceful unification of the nation is periodically disturbed by the internal strife of the two parties The glorious culture of Ancient Greece forms the basis of their educational system and the Greeks claim an uninterrupted continuity of tradition But in organisation and methods they freely borrowed from France and Germany, and the present system is quite modern

The Baltic Countries

The three Baltic countries, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, acquired their nationhood only after the war and had a difficult task of reconstructing their educational systems Lithuania alone had a period of independent existence as a State for three centuries, but the culture and religion of the majority of the population of that State were Russian and not Lithuanian After the union with Poland, Polish influence was predominant among the Lithuanians Since 1830, however, the school system was Russian. In Latvia and Estonia, the German culture and Lutheranism were stronger than Russian influence. In these circumstances, native languages and traditions had no chance of asserting themselves, and the new States had not only to fight for their political independence, but to build up anew their national culture. There is a great difference between Protestant Latvia and Estonia and Roman Catholic Lithuania and Latgalia (eastern part of Latvia) Whereas, Protestant provinces introduced compulsory attendance in the eighties of the last century, and had a well-developed system of parish schools, the Catholic provinces were among the most backward in the European part of the Russian Empire. Consequently, the reorganisation of education in Latvia and Estonia was achieved in a short

period, and, at present, they are among the most progressive countries in Europe Lithuania, on the other hand, had no foundation for her school system and the majority of institutions are of post-war origin In Latvia and Estonia, the State systems are undenominational; in Lithuania, the influence of the Roman Church is still felt in the schools.

(5) Revolution in Education

Catherine the Great of Russia, when inaugurating her State system of education, declared that her aim was " to create new men and new women " This ambitious aim was hardly taken seriously by her contemporaries, or even by herself To create a new race of men in the full sense of its meaning, involves a complete break with the past, razing to the ground the whole European civilisation, and erecting a new one from the debris No revolution has ever attempted such an impossible task The most radical reformers were always unconsciously aware of the necessity of connecting their ideals with the past, and representing them as the original features of some religion, nation or class The Protestant Reformation was a " return to original Christianity," the French Revolution a " return to the natural rights of men," the nationalist movement a " return to original nationality " All new measures were interpreted as " true " features of that past and thus were accepted by the masses It is doubtful whether any revolution could have been successful without this camouflage. But there is more truth in these assertions than would appear on the surface All new ideals are not sprung upon humanity by some inventive mind, unless, through a long process of germination, they have grown out of the past The new proletarian, the new Italian or the new German culture initiated by the revolutionary movements in Russia, Italy and Germany are not so completely new as their leaders assert. By designing their measures as " true proletarian," " true Italian " or " true German " they themselves appeal to the past The real difference between the evolutionary reform in the democratic countries and the revolutionary change in these three countries lies in the methods applied by the Governments and not in the ideals. That is why we group together Russia, Italy and Germany in contrast to the rest of Europe, in spite of their seemingly contradictory ideals Communism, Fascism and Nazism have much in common, even in their philosophy, which historically has grown from the same source of German idealistic school—and especially from the Hegelian conception of the State. In Hegelian terms we can represent the socialism of Russia as thesis, the nationalism of Italy as antithesis, and the national-socialism of Germany as synthesis. The Marxian conception of class war, dividing humanity horizontally, was developed in Italy on nationalist lines representing the Italian people as proletarians oppressed by capitalist nations. In Germany, both horizontal and vertical divisions were combined,

and the German people was represented as oppressed by bourgeoisie of alien origin To restore justice on a large scale, therefore, severe discipline is necessary and all individual rights must be subjugated to the right of the class or the nation as a whole. The opponents of the régime are considered as the enemies of the class or of the nation, and as traitors, must be ruthlessly suppressed Education must be organised with the sole aim of creating a new generation with a singleness of purpose and uniformity of ideas The luxury of variation in minds and opinions, which is the essence of democracy, cannot be permitted in a totalitarian State which is at war with the past Cultural traditions inherited from the past must be laboriously sifted, and only features and events congenial to the new ideology can be incorporated in the school curriculum But the emphasis is shifted from the school to the out-of-school activities The whole of the rising generation must be organised in a military fashion in order to bring it under the sway of new conceptions, thus counteracting the traditional influence of the family, the Church and classical literature This aim can be realised through the medium of a powerful partisan organisation which is the bearer of the new culture, and which enjoys a monopoly in education relegated to it by the State These features are common to all three countries under discussion, and were realised at first in Soviet Russia There is little doubt that both Mussolini and Hitler utilised Lenin's practice, and followed his methods, although publicly they might vigorously deny any connection with Communism We shall follow each country separately

Communism in Russia

In old Russia, two traditions struggled for supremacy the autocratic and the democratic. The first was best represented by the well-known trinity of ideas of autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality. The idea of autocracy was inherited by Muscovite Russia from the Byzantine Empire and Tartar Khans It was not original to Slavonic Russia and was not an integral part of Russian civilisation Orthodoxy, on the other hand, was deeply rooted in Russian consciousness and was the basis of purely Russian traditions But two facts undermined the influence of the Orthodox Church Firstly, the subjugation of the Church to the lay government since the time when Peter the Great made it an agent of the autocratic régime, thus depriving it of any initiative Secondly, the growth of the Russian national State into a colonial Empire added millions of non-orthodox population. The idea of nationality as understood by the Government was very narrow, even excluding as aliens the Ukrainians and White Russians. The policy of Russification promoted by this tradition was not successful and was one of the primary causes of the Revolution. The democratic tradition had an historical basis in the old Slavonic and Nordic self-government, but during the last century was entirely under the influence of English and French liberalism. In its opposition to autocracy, the

Russian democrats developed a negative attitude to the two other ideas coupled with it. They were anti-clerical and international in their outlook The spread of the Marxian doctrine amongst the industrial population and part of the intelligentsia made this attitude still more pronounced As we have seen, the nationalist movement among the oppressed nations of Europe was reflected in Russia, and led to the awakening of national consciousness among the Russian minorities The unity of the great Empire was shaken, and the old autocratic tradition was unable to weld together the heterogeneous population The democratic tradition was not united on the question of national minorities and usually tended to accept the Russian national culture as a common basis for all citizens of the Empire Moreover, it was torn by factions and badly organised During the social revolution following the war and the revolt of minorities, it was difficult for democrats to find a common denominator which would bind the whole of Russia Lenin found it, and thus succeeded in overthrowing the democratic Government and establishing a new Russian Empire of Soviets In a multinational State such as Russia, whereas nationalism divides, economic interests bind together Appealing to the class consciousness of the workers of all the nations which comprised Russia, Lenin bridged national antagonism Communism became a common creed for Russians and Tartars, Jews and Georgians But Lenin himself, as a Great Russian, had little sympathy with national minorities as such, and it was Stalin, a Georgian by birth, who amended the original communism of the Russian majority He proposed to grant to all minorities territorial autonomy, with their own languages as the medium of instruction, on condition that they accepted Communism Thus he solved the problem of combining the multifarious forms of national expression into a single and uniform whole As a result, the whole of the Soviet school system is dominated by the Marxian doctrine, in spite of decentralisation of administration between the twenty-four national Commissariats of Education. Neither Marx nor Lenin devoted much time to the theoretical foundation of educational principles, but they have given some leading ideas which served as a basis for Soviet pedagogics We have seen how the materialistic conception of the world influenced Marx to omit from his educational programme the spiritual factors of mental growth. Spiritual culture is conditioned by material causes, and therefore it is sufficient to build up suitable material conditions in order to get a desirable cultural effect In practice, however, Marxists had to recognise the powerful influence of old cultural and religious " prejudices " which stand in the way of communistic society. Thus the policy of material reconstruction had to be supplemented by a policy of combating old traditions. Unconsciously, and by force of circumstances, the materialistic doctrine became a kind of new religion which had to form the minds quite apart from the material conditions Instead of being neutral, the Soviet schools have developed into militant anti-religious institutions. The

second characteristic feature of the Soviet school is its pronounced pragmatism, expressed previously by Marx. Industrial conditions form the basis of the whole curriculum, and the aim of the school is to prepare industrial and agricultural workers for State concerns. But the school is only a part of life, and, left to itself, will be unable to counteract the influence of the old-fashioned family, of the Church and of the pre-revolutionary literature. Youth has to be spiritually segregated from the adult generation and put under the direct control of the Communist Party, bearer of the new culture For this purpose, the Union of Communist Youth was founded in 1918, and later, the Pioneers of Communism and the October children The whole rising generation has to pass through the Communistic mill From 6 to 10 they join the October children, from 10 to 15 the Communist Pioneers, from 15 to 23 the " Komsomol " (Communist Youth) Only those who have passed successfully all partisan examinations, and proved by their activity their trustworthiness, are accepted as fully fledged members of the party For the adults who have not passed through this partisan training, special partisan schools were established, and all civil servants (and who is not a civil servant in Soviet Russia ?) have to pass an examination in political literacy Thus a unique system of monopoly has been built up From being only an economic monopoly, the Soviet State has gradually permeated all sides of social and individual life, and has become a kind of dogmatic State which demands from its citizens, not only an outward loyalty of behaviour, but a spiritual loyalty in thought and emotions This singleness of mind and purpose, so far as it is realised, gives the Soviet State an enormous advantage in comparison with Western democracies, but, on the other hand, it suppresses all variation which is the necessary condition of progress

Fascism in Italy

The conditions of social life in post-war Italy were not unlike those of Russia Nominally a victor, Italy was exhausted by the struggle and disillusioned by the results of the Versailles Treaty. Moreover, Italy was herself divided, as neither of the two historical traditions was strong enough to lead the nation to unity. The Roman Church still could not reconcile itself to the loss of Rome, and was jealous of the secular State The secularists, on their part, did not understand that Italy was still Catholic at heart and that the first condition for a united Italy was a reconciliation with the Roman Curia. The post-war economic crisis added a new source of discontent and resulted in increased Communist activities. The Government was weak and unpopular and could not decide to use force in stemming general disorder amounting almost to a state of civil war. In these circumstances, it was comparatively easy for a man of Mussolini's stamp to organise a new national movement. At first, the new creed of Fascism was a composite of many elements. Nationalism, syndicalism, Catholicism, Romanism and even

Socialism contributed to the new movement, and it took several years before these heterogeneous elements were welded together into a distinctly Fascist philosophy of life. The passionate Nationalism of Mazzini was taken as the starting-point The Socialistic conception of economic inequality was applied to Italy as a whole in contradistinction to the " satiated " capitalism of the Great Powers. The syndicalist contempt of parliamentary democracy was reflected in the idea of a corporate State. Roman Catholicism was accepted as an integral part of national character and as an heir of Roman Imperial traditions The philosophic synthesis was made by Giovani Gentile, the foremost Hegelian of modern Italy. He accepted the Hegelian idea of the State as a super-personality, whose mission is to realise the historical destiny of the Italian people Confronted with this great national mission, individual, partisan and class interests are of no consequence Even the Catholic faith is allotted a subordinated position and is accepted only because it is Roman, i e Italian This conception implies that Fascism is not a mere political revolution, but a spiritual change initiating a new era of Italian culture As such it has the rudiments of a new religion. The people is more " catholic " than the Church, the Church, therefore, must be embodied in the State " The State's active and dynamic consciousness," said Gentile, " is a system of thought, of ideas, of interests to be satisfied and of morality to be realised Hence the State is, as it ought to be, a teacher, it maintains and develops schools to promote this morality " When appointed Minister of Public Instruction, in 1923, Gentile reformed the school system in accordance with his ideas. He introduced religious instruction in primary schools as a compulsory subject. According to the Casati Law of 1859, communes could secularise their schools, a practice which was almost universal. But secondary schools and universities retained their secular character Religious instruction in the elementary schools, however, should be given by secular teachers appointed by the Government. This solution did not satisfy the Roman Curia, and Mussolini, being more realistic, made further concessions to the Church in his Concordat of 1929. Article 36 provides that " Italy considers the teaching of Christian Doctrine in the form handed down by the Catholic tradition to be the foundation and crown of public education and therefore agrees that religious instruction, now given in the public elementary schools, should be further developed in the secondary schools according to syllabuses to be settled in agreement between the Holy See and the State. Such instruction shall be given by clerical or lay teachers approved by the ecclesiastical authorities. For such instruction in the public schools only textbooks approved by the ecclesiastical authorities shall be adopted." In 1930 all secondary schools taught religion. This concession, however, did not impair the supremacy of the State, i.e. of Fascism. In adopted textbooks children read : " Religious dogmas are not discussed because they are truths revealed by God. Fascist principles are not discussed

because they come from the mind of a genius, Benito Mussolini "[1] Moreover, Fascism has monopolised the Youth Movement and thus deprived the Church of its previous influence Immediately after the March on Rome, the *Avanguardia* and *Balilla* were organised In 1925, they were incorporated as parts of the Fascist political system. In 1926, a special law gave them a legal status The whole organisation is similar to the Communist system in Russia Boys from 8 to 14 years belong to *Balilla* and from 14 to 18 years to *Avanguardia* Girls correspondingly to *Piccole Italiane* and *Giovani Italiane* In Soviet Russia both sexes belong to the same organisation; in Italy, according to Catholic tradition, they are separated. For adults, as in Russia, special Fascist schools were founded and a system of Adult Education, *Dopolavore*, was developed The emphasis was thus transferred from the school to the out-of-school activities It is difficult to say whether the Church of Rome has gained from this compromise with Fascism Mussolini, by dissolving and persecuting all secularist organisations, has given it a formal recognition For instance, the old enemies of the Church, the Freemasons, are proscribed and their Grand Master is imprisoned But the minds of children are completely under the sway of Fascism, which employs rites and ceremonies of its own, often of pagan Roman origin The conception of a totalitarian State cannot tolerate rivals and, sooner or later, Catholicism and Fascism may again oppose each other

National Socialism in Germany

Here is not the place to criticise the Treaty of Versailles But we have to consider how it was accepted in Germany before we can understand its influence on German psychology Germans, irrespective of their partisan affiliation, looked upon it as an unjust and cruel revenge for the misdeeds of the pre-war statesmen Especially, the war guilt clause, which offended their national pride and developed an accentuated sensibility in their relations with foreigners In this atmosphere of embittered nationalism, the German people, in addition, had to pass through a period of acute physical privations caused by the post-war economic crisis The middle class was completely ruined and in its despair was prone to follow extremist ideas The old-fashioned nationalism of conservative type was too closely connected with the Prussian Junkers to make an effective appeal to the empoverished masses The Marxists, whether Social-Democrats or Communists, were too international in their outlook and reminiscent of the Soldiers' and Workers' Soviets to be accepted by middle classes The Weimar Republic, in spite of its good intentions, did not succeed in uniting Germany or introducing radical social reform. Thus, when Hitler began to preach his new gospel of National-Socialism, he found allies among the disillusioned people of all classes. The Nazi movement has not

[1] Schneider, *Making Fascists*, page 101.

yet produced a man, like Lenin in Russia or Gentile in Italy, who would philosophically integrate the ideas underlying it. The various elements can still be easily distinguished. Fichte's nationalism and his conception of a closed economic State, Hegel's idea of the State, H Chamberlain's racial theory and the socialism of reformed Marxists all contributed to the idealogy of Nazism The existence of the two totalitarian States of Russia and Italy furnished a model for partisan organisation Lenin united all nationalities of Russia on a class basis ; Mussolini united Italy by appealing to their nationalism ; Hitler united Germans by combining both ideas in his theory of race The moral features of capitalism are the result of a domination by an alien race which is foreign to German culture and creates discord among the Germans The policy towards minorities is therefore different in each country. In Soviet Russia all nationalities enjoy complete equality in so far as they conform to Communism , in Italy all citizens must be Italians and minorities are forcibly Italianised , in Germany they are treated as a foreign body which must be segregated from the true Germans and deprived of any influence in the civic life Only those who can prove the purity of their " Aryan " descent are considered worthy of being citizens of the Third Reich To cleanse the German culture from the alien elements which penetrated into it, the whole educational system must be monopolised and put under the direct control of the Party In the official publication, *Deutsche Erziehung in neuen Staat*, 1935, the editor, F. Hiller, thus defined the attitude towards the past . " The National Socialism wants no ' reform,' it demands a completely new foundation of our educational system, which although based on the ' good ' inheritance of the past in other respects will ruthlessly abolish everything which is not congenial to national-socialistic *Weltanschauung*." The organisation of the National-Socialist Party is very similar to that of the Communist Party in Russia or the Fascist Party in Italy It begins with the *Jungvolk* for the boy or the *Jungmadel* for the girl from 10 to 14 years, which is equivalent to Communist Pioneers or *Balilla*. The next stage is the *Hitler-Jugend* for boys and *Der Bund Deutscher Madel* for girls from 14 to 18 years, equivalent to the Komsomol or *Avanguardia*. As in Italy, sexes are divided, but the supreme command of the whole Youth Movement is centralised. As in Italy and Russia, the whole rising generation is monopolised and the emphasis is transferred to the out-of-school activities. Apart from administrative reforms and partisan monopoly, the new régime has not yet reformed the school system inherited from the Weimar Republic. There is nothing in Germany comparable to the Soviet reform or the *riforma Gentile*. It seems that the greatest difficulty of the new régime lies in the question of religious education. The German-speaking population is almost equally divided between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Which of the two is the true German religion ? Historically, there should be no doubt that Protestantism is more German or even Nordic than the Roman

Church, but Hitler, himself, is a Roman Catholic and till now has not changed the faith of his childhood There are voices which want to purify Christianity from its non-Aryan features (Jesus, and especially St Paul, were Jews) or even to return to the Nordic paganism But the spirited opposition of the Protestant pastors and the hostile attitude of the Roman Curia induce the leaders to think twice before deciding on such a radical step The decision when taken will be of greatest importance, not only for Germany, but for the whole of European civilisation In the schools, the old denominational teaching is going on as before, but in the *Hitler-Jugend* the supremacy of Nazi philosophy is strictly demanded The only change was the prohibition of secular schools established by Marxists during the Republic

The other new feature introduced since April 1st, 1934, is the so-called *Landjahr* The two bases of the racial theory are " blood " and " soil " The purity of race is emphasised in special hours of the school curriculum The connection with the " soil " is especially necessary for the children of urban areas The adolescents of industrial areas, after eight years of compulsory attendance at school, have now to spend the ninth year in a rural district in special homes under the leadership of trained Nazis The aim is to unite the agricultural and industrial population in one " volk " At the same time, it gives an ample opportunity to inculcate in the minds of the children of ex-Socialists or ex-Communists the new ideology of Nazism The training is carried out on military lines The Nazi writers emphasise the difference between the " soldierly " (*Soldatisch*) and " militaristic " training They deny any " militaristic " tendency in their training of the Youth It is questionable, however, whether the boys themselves understand this difference We see that in all three totalitarian States a similar system of education has been established State monopoly, partisan supremacy and organisation of Youth outside of the school The differences are in the contents of the ideology. The class consciousness of proletarians in Russia is supplanted by Roman-Italian consciousness in Italy and German-racial consciousness in Germany. The attitude towards religion is also different. The materialistic proletarians are militantly anti-religious, the Italian Fascists are Catholics, but not in the sense of the Roman Curia, whereas the German Nazis are religious adherents of the new German Christianity which is not yet formed into a separate Church.

N HANS.

CHAPTER THREE

Administration and Finance

Introduction

EDUCATIONAL administration and finance are usually similar to the general system of administration in a country The devolution of powers to local authorities is not necessarily connected with some definite form of constitution A democratic country can be centralised as France, or decentralised as Switzerland On the other hand, an autocratic Government can be centralised as in Italy or decentralised as in the Union of Soviet Republics. The type of administration is usually the result of historical development and of national tradition We have seen how European civilisation was differentiated by cultural and religious traditions The Roman legal tradition of central administration influenced mostly Latin countries, the Germanic tradition of self-government, on the other hand, was the strongest in the northern part of Europe In the East there was the Byzantine, and later Oriental, tradition of a strong central authority The religious schism only accentuated this difference The Roman Catholic Church was a centralising factor, whereas Protestant churches furthered decentralisation. Roughly, therefore, Europe can be divided into three parts. In Latin and Roman Catholic countries we should expect centralisation of administration, whereas in Germanic and Protestant countries the old system of local self-government should have had a better chance of surviving in spite of the encroachment of the central government In the East of Europe, in Russia and the Balkan States, the centralising tradition of Byzantine, and, later, of Moslem Empires, was met with the old Slavonic system of self-government which survived among the peasant communities The resulting system depended, therefore, on some additional factor which weighted the balance The table (on page 76) shows that our classification holds good. From this table we see that not a single Latin country has a decentralised system, and only a single Protestant country (Estonia) a centralised administration and finance. If we classify countries by origin, we get 6 Latin, 2 Slavonic and 4 others with centralised administration, and 8 Germanic, 3 Slavonic and 3 other countries with decentralised administration. The religious division works out as follows : 7 Catholic, 3 Orthodox, 1 Protestant and 1 Moslem have centralisation, and 9 Protestant, 2 Catholic, 1 Catholic-Protestant and 2 Orthodox have decentralisation. This is not an accident, but the result of different historical traditions. We shall describe each group separately.

LATIN TYPE			
COUNTRY	ADMINISTRATION	FINANCE CONTRIBUTION FROM IN PERCENTAGES	
		CENTRAL	LOCAL
Latin, Roman Catholic			
1 Belgium	Centralised	75	25
2 France	,,	77	23
3 Italy	,,	70	30
4. Portugal	,,	80	20 [1]
5 Spain	,,	85	15
Latin, Orthodox			
6 Roumania	,,	85	15 [1]
Non-Latin, Roman Catholic			
7 Lithuania	,,	90	10 [1]
8 Poland	,,	83	17
Non-Latin, Orthodox			
9 Albania	,,	100	— [3]
10 Greece	,,	90	10 [1]
11 Jugoslavia	,,	70	30 [1]
Non-Latin, Protestant			
12 Estonia	,,	75	25

GERMANIC TYPE			
COUNTRY	ADMINISTRATION	FINANCE CONTRIBUTION FROM IN PERCENTAGES	
		CENTRAL	LOCAL
Germanic, Protestant			
1 Denmark	Decentralised	51	49
2 Germany	,,	50	50 [2]
3 Great Britain	,,	51	49
4 Netherlands	,,	65	35
5 Norway	,,	50	50
6 Sweden	,,	57	43
7 Switzerland	,,	54	46 [2]
Germanic, Catholic			
8 Austria	,,	25	75
Non-Germanic, Protestant			
9 Finland	,,	60	40
10 Latvia	,,	56	44
Mixed [3]			
11 Czechoslovakia	,,	46	54
12 Hungary	,,	50	50 [1]
Slavonic, Orthodox			
13 Bulgaria	,,	40	60 [1]
14 U S S R	,,	44	56 [2]

[1] *Approximately*
[2] *In Germany, Federal and* Lander *included in Central , in Switzerland, Federal and Cantons , in Russia, Federal and Republican*
[3] *Albania is Moslem Orthodox and Catholic Czechoslovakia and Hungary Catholic and Protestant*

(1) CENTRALISED ADMINISTRATIONS

(*a*) The Latin Group

(i) *France*

France is the spiritual leader of the Latin world, and her administrative system was historically the model followed by other centralised countries The principle of centralisation of education was at first pronounced by La Chalotais in 1763, and was upheld by the writers of the French Revolution But the practical realisation of this policy was achieved only by Napoleon in his *Universite de France* of 1808 In his reform, Napoleon quite consciously imitated some features of the Society of Jesus As Jesuits were organised in a military fashion with one supreme head in the person of the General of the Order, so the whole school system should be centralised under a head directly appointed by the Emperor " I want," said Napoleon, " to create a corporation, not Jesuits who had their sovereign in Rome, but Jesuits who would have no other ambition except to be useful, no other interest except public welfare My aim in establishing an educational corporation (*corps enseignant*) is to be able to direct political and moral opinions " The country was divided into *Academies* (twenty-seven, the number of Courts of Appeal), with uniform administration subordinated to a central office in Paris under the *Grand Maître de l'Université* But in one respect the centralisation was not completed The elementary school system by the law of Fourcroy, 1802, was left to the direction of Christian Brothers and local communes Finance was also centralised only in respect of secondary and higher education We see how in this organisation the Jesuit tradition was combined with the ideas of French secularists The subsequent reform of administration only changed the territorial distribution of Academies and abolished the *Grand Maître*, whose place was taken by the Minister of Public Instruction, or, quite recently, of National Education. As in the Napoleonic system, at the head of each *Académie* stands its Rector, appointed by the President of the Republic and directly responsible to the Minister. The Rector has almost absolute powers within his *Académie*, and directs the whole system from *Ecole Maternelle* to the university, including the supervision of all private schools. Under his control are the Inspectors of Academy, one for each *Departement* For primary schools, each district has a Primary Inspector subordinated to the Inspector of Academy. For pre-school institutions there are special sub-inspectors, usually women. The Ministry of Interior, through its *Préfets*, shares in the administration of primary schools For the purpose of general supervision from the centre, special Inspectors of National Education are appointed, who supervise the whole country in their respective subjects. By this organisation, a complete unification of administration, school curricula and even methods is achieved. The local authorities have no participation in administration whatever.

Growth of a Regionalist Movement

This rigidity of centralisation was attacked from two sides In the nineties of the last century, in the old historical provinces with linguistic differences, a movement of regionalism was started The Bretons, the Corsicans, the Basques and the Provençals revived their dialects and insisted on the reform of administration on a regional basis with the introduction of local dialects in primary schools. After the war, Alsace-Lorraine, with its German-speaking population, reinforced the regionalist movement However, in 1926, the Minister, De Monzie, quite definitely rejected the petition of Provençal delegates to permit the use of dialects and insisted on the French language as the basis of unity of French culture The only concession made was in favour of Alsace, where German is used during the first two years of primary instruction The other opponents of extreme centralisation, *Les Compagnons*, attacked it from pedagogical reasons and advocated regionalism and more freedom for local initiative They succeeded only in one respect—the rigidity of supervision is slightly relaxed, and some inspectors even encourage differentiation of method

Finance

In finance, the present centralisation is of comparatively recent origin As we have seen, Napoleon left the elementary schools entirely to the initiative of Christian Brothers and communes The first subsidies from the central government were introduced by Guizot in 1833, but the grants were insignificant in comparison with the local expenditure Even the Third Republic only gradually released local authorities from their financial liabilities But, in 1889, the additional 8 centimes, which the Departements and communes had to contribute towards elementary education, were taken over by the State The following table shows the change in distribution of burdens between the local and central authorities (in million francs elementary schools) :

	COMMUNES	DEPARTMENTS	STATE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE OF STATE
1870	42	9	11	62	18
1880	57	20	31	108	29
1889	72	18	80	170	47
1890	57	—	121	178	69
1900	71	—	147	218	68
1907	90	—	203	293	70

Since then the ratio has been more or less stabilised At present the communes are responsible for the cost of erecting or purchasing school buildings, the purchase of sites, the heating and lighting of classrooms ; they pay, in addition, certain costs, such as the lodging of teachers. The communes also furnish school equipment and

materials of instruction They also pay the costs of anything which they introduce or undertake voluntarily at their own expense, such as medical inspection, school supplies, e g books or copybooks. In secondary education the contribution of communes is still smaller, amounting only to a few francs per hundred expended by the State. The Departements are obliged to upkeep Normal school buildings, to allow additional salaries for Primary Inspectors, to upkeep the residences of Directors of Normal schools and Academy Inspectors and to grant subsidies for vocational education Proportionally their contribution to national expenditure on education is insignificant

(ii) *Italy*

In the kingdom of Sardinia, centralisation of administration was introduced even before the Napoleonic reform Charles Emmanuel III expelled the Society of Jesus from Piedmont in 1771, and, in the same year, established a State monopoly in education under the centralised control of the State University of Turin As a matter of fact, his organisation served as a model for Napoleon, although the latter added some new features The conquest of Italy by Napoleon led to the incorporation of the Northern Provinces into the French Empire, and the law of 1802 introduced the same administration as in France The subsequent laws of 1807 and 1811 completed the centralisation In the south of Italy, the Kings of Naples, Joseph Bonaparte, and later Murat, also established monopoly and centralisation The subsequent reaction and return of the Jesuits disorganised the State system, and administration was again decentralised In Piedmont, however, the Jesuits encountered the opposition of the secular government and were expelled once more in 1847 At the same time, the Ministry of Public Instruction was founded, and the centralised administration was gradually extended to all provinces with their incorporation in the united kingdom.

The Period of Local Self-government

The law of Casati of 1859, following the French practice, left elementary schools to the initiative of the communes The State maintained only secondary and higher schools. The country was divided into sixty-nine provinces, at the head of each stood the *Provveditore*, who was equivalent to the Inspector of Academy in France The universities had their own Rectors (*Rettore*) Thus, whereas in France many *departements* were combined into an Academy, in Italy, on the other hand, the province (*departement*) was directly subordinated to the Minister. The post of the French Rector was absent, as the Italian Rector administered only the university. The communal schools were also administered by the *Provveditore* until 1911 The law of that year gave the communes the right of self-government in education—they could appoint their own Inspectors (so-called " Didactic Directors ") directly subordinated to the Minister. At first, many communes availed themselves

of this right, but soon one after another abandoned the independence and again subordinated their schools to the provincial *Provveditore* In 1923, out of 8,354 communes of pre-war Italy, only 264 retained their own Inspectors The financial liability involved in maintaining the Inspectors was the chief reason for abandoning self-government.

The Fascist Administration Reforms

The Fascist Minister, Gentile, reformed the administration in 1923 The sixty-nine provinces were combined into nineteen regions, which more or less coincided with historical frontiers between the different parts of Italy The regional *Provveditore* of the new régime is thus equivalent to the French Rector, the Inspectors to the French Inspectors and the Didactic Directors to the French Primary Inspectors As in France, the *Provveditore* and Inspectors have advisory councils appointed by the authorities In one respect, however, the Italian regions are different from the French Academies Gentile is an adherent of the " Regionalist " movement His regions are historical units, the curricula in each region have a local bias using local traditions and local dialects in primary schools But the principle of regionalism was not extended towards the German-speaking population of the Tirol or to the Slovenes of Venetia Julia. The minorities have to use Italian from the first year of instruction Here the principle of Italian nationality prevailed

Finance

As in France, educational finance was only recently centralised The primary schools were maintained by the communes up to 1904, when the State granted the first subsidy From 7 million lire in 1904, the State grant rose to 50 million in 1914 After the war, the ratio was still more changed in favour of the State In 1925, all Italian communes spent 468 million lire on education, whereas the State expended about 1,100 million lire The financial liabilities of the communes are similar to those in France

(iii) *Spain*

In Spain, centralisation was introduced by Quintana in 1812, who himself was the first Director-General of Education Following a reactionary period, a Directorate was re-established during the period of the revolutionary government of Riego in 1921 The next period of liberal government in 1843 led to the creation of a Ministry of Commerce, Instruction and Public Works The present division into university regions was introduced by the fundamental law of 1857. The Ministry of Public Instruction was separated from the Ministry of Commerce in 1900 The present administration is similar to the French system. At the head of each university region (there are twelve regions) stands the Rector, who administers the whole system within his area In each province under him (there are altogether fifty provinces) an educational Council

(*Junta*), under the chairmanship of Provincial Governor (French *Préfet*), administers the schools. Members of the *Junta* are appointed by the Government on the recommendation of the Governor In each municipality (commune) a local *Junta* is appointed by the Government and administers municipal schools. In 1902, Madrid and Barcelona, and in 1904 Sevilla and Valencia, received an extended regional *Juntas*, with representation of local authorities Every province has a Primary Inspector appointed by the Government and subordinated to the Rector After the establishment of the Second Republic in 1931, there is noticeable movement towards regionalism By the decree of July 27th, 1933, a regional Council for Catalonia was created Six members are directly appointed by the Republican Government and five are appointed from Madrid on the recommendation of the Catalonian authorities The Council administers the whole system of Catalonia subject to Republican legislation It was intended to grant the same powers to other regions, but the revolt in Catalonia led to the temporary curtailment of self-government and the reintroduction of strict centralisation The finances were centralised since 1901—secondary and higher education is now maintained by central government, and primary education conjointly by local and central authorities, the contribution of local authorities not exceeding 16 per cent of total expenditure Before 1901 the State contributed little to educational expenditure Thus in 1896, in elementary education, municipalities spent 24,941 thousand pesetas, the State 841 thousand and the Provinces 894 thousand

(iv) *Portugal*

In Portugal, centralisation was introduced by Pombal, but a separate Ministry of Public Instruction was created in 1878, to be abolished almost immediately The new legislation decentralised administration, and municipalities took over primary schools from the Ministry of Interior The more progressive local authorities vied with each other in founding new schools, but the backward areas neglected their duties and progress was very unequal This led to the abolition of local self-government in 1890, and the Ministry of Interior once again took over the administration of schools from the municipalities Nevertheless, the period of local self-government was one of the most progressive in Portuguese education The municipalities received from the Ministry 2,360 schools in 1881, and returned, in 1890, 4,472 The establishment of the Republic in 1910 led to a new separation of education from Home Affairs under the Ministry of Public Instruction The law of March 30th, 1933, completed the reorganisation of administration on a centralised basis In each district the Inspectors, appointed by the Minister, are the local agents of the Government. The Inspector (*Inspector de Distrito*) is assisted by a sub-inspector and local Directors (*Directores de Zona Escolar*), who also are agents of the central government. The finances are centralised, but the

municipalities contribute about 25 per cent. of total expenditure. They have to provide school buildings, material and equipment.

(v) *Roumania*

Roumania, from the start, took the French system as a model, and the law of 1864 established a centralised administration and finance similar to France The State paid the salaries and the communes provided the buildings and current expenses All teachers were directly appointed by the Ministry. The new legislation of 1928 only unified administration for all parts of the new Roumania

(vi) *Belgium*

Belgium, by population and by tradition, is not a typical Latin country, although it is strongly Roman Catholic and was subject to French influence The old system of local and provincial self-government is still evident in administration in spite of later centralisation In the field of primary education the communes retain their independence and appoint their teachers But all Inspectors are centrally appointed and their powers of supervision are wide Often local appointments are not approved by central authorities, being subsequently quashed by a Royal decree State Inspectors control material organisation, curricula and pedagogical methods and enforce a punctual execution of law There are 2 General Inspectors, 30 Principal Inspectors and 180 Cantonal sub-Inspectors Secondary and higher education is administered directly by the Ministry There is a tendency for a regional re-organisation of administration By the law of 1932, Belgium was divided into linguistic regions, and Inspectors of each region form a separate body subordinated to a centralised control of the Ministry Otherwise there is no exchange of teachers and Inspectors between the regions.

Finance

In finance, the communes maintain their own schools and those schools of religious associations which were adopted The adoptable schools are maintained by associations The State grants to the communes one-third of the cost of the buildings and equipment of communal schools, the adopted and adoptable schools do not receive these grants Since 1929, the State grants are unified and go directly to the teachers as salaries established by law. In secondary education, municipalities maintain the buildings, all other expenditure being provided by the State.

(b) Non-Latin Centralised Countries

(i) *Poland and Lithuania*

The two non-Latin Roman Catholic countries, Poland and Lithuania, have an administrative tradition dating back to the old Polish-Lithuanian State before the partition. In 1773, the first

central authority in education was set up by the Polish Education Commission The country was divided into two Curatorships under the control of the Rectors of the two universities, Cracow for Poland, and Wilna for Lithuania This centralised administration continued to exist under Russia till 1830. The new States of Poland and Lithuania revived the old tradition and modified it to modern conditions In both countries, education is administered by the Ministry through its agents, the local authorities having no powers Poland is divided into ten Curatorships, the Curators being appointed by the Minister They administer secondary and vocational education directly and primary education through subordinated Inspectors In finance, local authorities contribute only to the maintenance of school buildings and current expenses. Similar centralisation exists in Lithuania

(ii) *Yugoslavia*

In Yugoslavia the present system of centralisation was introduced as recently as 1929 All educational authorities, whether Banovin or local, are the agents of the Ministry in Belgrade, and often have no connection with local traditions In finance, secondary and higher education is maintained by the State, and primary education conjointly by the State and communes. It is very probable that the present centralised system will undergo a radical change in the near future, involving the devolution of powers to provincial authorities.

Greece and Albania

In Greece and Albania, administration and finance are highly centralised following the Latin system Estonia is the only country of Protestant tradition which, since 1934, has introduced a centralised administration and system of finance This fact can be explained by the peculiar conditions of Estonia, which has to maintain its independence from stronger neighbours and to build a new national culture

(2) DECENTRALISED ADMINISTRATIONS

The Germanic Group

Among the peoples of Germanic origin or tradition the Roman legal system did not take deep roots and its influence did not supersede the old customs of self-government The centralising tendency of the monarchy could not break down the opposition of the aristocracy and the population at large. This old tradition was reinforced by the religious Reformation, which built up the new churches on the basis of a self-governing presbytery or parish. If, later, the growing intervention of the State has led to a certain centralisation of supervision, the administrative independence of local authorities was still retained.

(i) *Great Britain*

Both in England and Scotland education was under the control of the Churches up to the Education Acts of 1870 and 1872 (Scotland) The parishes were the local authorities, and in Scotland were even empowered by the Parliament to levy local rates for the maintenance of schools. The first lay authorities established by an Act of Parliament were the School Boards in 1870 for England and Wales, and in 1872 for Scotland The School Boards controlled areas of different dimensions In boroughs, they covered the whole town and had many schools under their direction , in rural districts, they were limited to a single parish and usually had one school. The central authorities did not intervene in their administration, their supervision being limited to the distribution of grants in accordance with the results of teaching The first central authorities created in 1839, the Committee of the Privy Council for England and the Educational Department for Scotland, were thus only boards for regulating the administration of grants to independent bodies Even the creation of the Scottish Education Department in 1872, and of the Board of Education in 1899, did not change materially the independence of local authorities The Balfour Act of 1902 abolished the School Boards in England and Wales and transferred the administration of schools to County Councils and County Borough Councils In Scotland, the School Boards were replaced by *ad hoc* education authorities in 1918, and in 1929 County and Burgh Councils were given similar powers as in England This present organisation of administration is almost identical for both parts of Great Britain England and Scotland are quite independent of each other, though both central authorities, the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, are subject to the same British Cabinet Universities, apart from Government supervision of finance, are practically independent Voluntary training colleges and grant-aided secondary schools are similarly supervised by central authorities As a rule, neither central authority directly administers universities or schools The Board of Education, as an exception, administers the School of Crafts and Arts, and the Scottish Department administers the Central Technical Institutions For all other institutions, Counties and County Boroughs (Burghs in Scotland) are local administrative authorities. In England and Wales certain urban districts and boroughs called " Part III Authorities " (under the Act of 1918) have limited powers and administer only primary schools Secondary and vocational schools within their boundaries are administered by counties Wales is under the supervision of a separate Welsh Department of the Board of Education, and the system of the Welsh intermediate schools is, in addition, supervised by an independent Central Welsh Board. The differentiation in England between the Part III Authorities for primary education and County Councils for secondary education often leads to lack of co-ordina-

tion. The law gives the Part III Authorities an opportunity to relinquish their powers and duties in favour of the county or, if retaining them, the power to enter into such arrangements with other local authorities as they think proper for co-operation and combination of their systems. In practice, however, no such federation of authorities has been established, and any co-operation which exists is of local application and concerns such minor questions as exchange of " Free Placers " and " Extra District " children This defect of English legislation was avoided in the recent Local Authorities Act for Scotland (1929) There, no separate authorities for primary education were created, and even some minor counties were combined into regional authorities In finance, the participation of the State has been constantly growing since the first grant of £30,000 was made in 1833 The table on the following page shows the change

From the table we see how the introduction of the Revised Code in 1864 decreased central expenditure both relatively and absolutely The establishment of School Boards in 1871 and expenditure from the rates changed considerably the ratio The introduction of free education and the remission of fees by State grants in 1892 restored the balance The Balfour Act of 1902 relegated all local expenditure on new local authorities, but the ratio between local and central expenditure remained more or less stable In Scotland the present ratio is similar

(ii) *Ireland*

(*a*) *The Irish Free State*

The State system of Ireland dates back to 1831, when the Board of Commissioners of National Education was established The actual administration of national schools was in the hands of local patrons, who were usually the parish priests, or, in case of Protestant schools, representatives of various denominations The Board paid two-thirds of the costs of the building and teachers' salaries based on capitation grants In 1878, a second central authority was created for secondary education—the Intermediate Education Board, which granted subsidies to voluntary schools in accordance with the results of examinations There were no local authorities, and thus no expenditure out of rates up to the Partition of Ireland. This comparative centralisation in old Ireland explains the present departure of the Irish Free State from the Anglo-Saxon tradition of self-government In the Free State there are no local educational authorities and the administrative and supervisory powers are centred in the Ministry of Education created in 1924. The appointment of teachers, however, is still in the hands of local managers, who are usually Catholic priests The finances are centralised and, with the exception of small local contributions for current expenses, the whole cost is born by the State. Only in the field of vocational education do the local authorities participate to the amount of one-third of total expenditure on vocational schools

EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN £'s

YEARS	FROM LOCAL SOURCES						FROM CENTRAL SOURCES		
	VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME ENDOWMENTS	PERCENTAGES	SCHOOL PENCE	PERCENTAGES	FROM RATES	PERCENTAGES	STATE GRANTS	PERCENTAGES	TOTAL
1851	96,036	30	73,145	25	—	—	150,000	45	319,181
1855	193,991	26	142,441	23	—	—	396,921	51	733,353
1860	279,293	22	250,886	23	—	—	724,403	55	1,254,582
1865	347,414	26	349,742	30	—	—	636,810	44	1,333,966
1871	487,917	24	539,548	27	71,184	4	919,132	45	2,018,781
1875	771,442	20	933,666	24	588,845	15	1,780,500	31	3,774,453
1880	882,155	13	1,431,828	23	1,579,752	25	2,487,667	39	6,381,402
1890	922,732	10	1,940,546	20	2,968,096	31	3,678,540	39	9,509,914
1895	990,670	8	306,853	3	3,987,790	33	6,794,614	56	12,079,927
1900	963,437	6	262,135	2	5,723,789	36	8,220,366	54	15,169,727
1930	18,000[1]	0	—	0	29,393,000	45	35,316,000	55	64,709,000
1934	18,000[1]	0	—	0	31,705,000	50	31,499,000	50	63,204,000

[1] *Endowments not included in total*

established under the Act of 1930 On the whole, about 98 per cent of expenditure comes from the State, and only 2 per cent from local sources

(*b*) *Northern Ireland*

In Northern Ireland, where the Protestant tradition is prevalent, a process of devolution has taken place since the Partition The Education Act of 1923 established a central authority in the Ministry of Education, and local education authorities in the County and Borough Councils The powers of the local authorities, however, are more limited than in England and Scotland The appointment of teachers is practically in the hands of managers, representing religious interests The curricula and regulations are prescribed by the Ministry. We have to add that Roman Catholic schools refused to be transferred to local authorities and are supervised directly by the Ministry. In finance, there is also a greater centralisation than in England, and local authorities contribute only about 12 per cent of total expenditure from public funds. From these particulars we see that Ireland is an exceptional case, and does not fit properly into our classification. The Irish Free State has many features common with the Latin Roman Catholic group, whereas Northern Ireland is more akin to Great Britain and other Protestant countries. On the other hand, both parts of Ireland have a common past which was intimately connected with England and Scotland. Moreover, Ireland is in a transition period, and the

present conditions may change towards a devolution in educational administration

(iii) *Scandinavia*

In all Scandinavian countries the administration of education, until recently, was in the hands of the Lutheran Church, and the local authorities were, as in Scotland, parish councils under the chairmanship of the local pastor With the growing intervention of the State, however, the Church was gradually released from administrative responsibilities which were transferred to local authorities In all Scandinavian countries the old tradition of self-government prevented the State from introducing a centralised administration as in Latin countries In secondary education, however, side by side with locally controlled schools, there grew up a system of State schools directly administered from the centre This is the chief difference between the British and Scandinavian systems of administration

(*a*) *Sweden*

By the law of 1842, the parish vestries were made responsible for the maintenance and administration of primary schools The parish pastor was *ex officio* the chairman of the School Board (*Skolrad*) In towns, the School Boards were elected partly by the Church and partly by the town council All School Boards for primary education were supervised and controlled by the Chapter (*Domkapitel*), a diocesan Church council consisting of the bishop and the dean of the cathedral as president, and the vice-president and four or more lectors of State secondary schools, as members Certain cities, as for instance, Stockholm, were directly supervised by the Ministry and were independent of the Church. Since January 1st, 1932, however, the Church has lost its administrative functions in education This secularisation proceeded gradually. In 1904, the Church lost its supervisory powers over secondary schools; in 1913 many of the duties of the Church were transferred to local authorities, and in 1932 the administration was entirely secularised. At present, secondary schools are directly administered by the Royal Board of Education, which is a part of the Ministry of Religion and Education, primary schools are administered by town councils and parish councils who elect their School Boards, and are supervised by Inspectors appointed by the Royal Board. In secondary schools, teachers are appointed from the centre; in primary schools, by local authorities. Secondary education is maintained by the State, the municipalities in some cases are obliged to provide the building. In primary education, the State provides teachers' salaries, and the local authorities the buildings and current expenses Some local authorities pay additional salaries to their teachers, so that in Stockholm, for instance, the addition is larger than the minimum paid by the State (since 1924).

(*b*) *Denmark*

The Danish administrative system has been practically unchanged since the Education Act of 1814 The Ministry of Education administers directly secondary education and supervises primary. The provincial Educational Committees, under the chairmanship of the Governor, have financial powers and administer the funds for teachers' pensions and certain other funds. Until 1933, the provinces were divided into districts (deaneries), each of which had a School Board with the rural dean as its secretary, who at the same time supervised the schools as the Government Inspector. Municipalities and rural parishes elected their own school committees In rural districts, the rector of the parish was *ex officio* the chairman of the committee In 1933, a reform of administration was enacted The rectors and the rural deans were deprived of their powers, but can continue their functions if elected by the local authorities The districts were abolished and merged in the province The provincial committees consist now of the Governor, a representative of the Church, and three elected representatives of the provincial authorities who constitute now the majority of members The rural dean is now only Inspector of religious instruction In finance, local authorities maintain primary and middle schools with the State grants for half of the teachers' salaries Secondary schools are maintained by the State.

(*c*) *Norway*

In Norway, the administrative system was completed after the separation from Denmark and union with Sweden in 1814. In 1827, the national administration was established which, however, did not deprive the Church of its supervision In 1837, the local authorities received enlarged powers In 1860, the County Councils were created, and the Church has gradually lost its influence At present, the Ministry administers secondary education and supervises primary schools. The County Councils maintain primary schools and supervise them through their own Inspectors (not universal, in some places the State Inspectors). The local authorities in rural districts are communal School Boards, which consist of the parish pastor, the chairman of communal council, two elected representatives of the teachers (one woman), several representatives of the local council and the headmaster of the secondary school, if there is one In industrial districts, the factory owners, if they have schools in their factories, select one representative The Ministry supervises the primary system through appointed diocesan School Directors Teachers are appointed by local committees, but the Director has a right of *veto* in certain cases. In secondary schools all teachers are appointed from the centre. The State secondary schools are maintained by the State, the communal secondary schools by communes with State grants covering one-third of teachers' salaries. On the whole, the expenditure is equally divided between the central and local authorities.

(*d*) *Finland*

The secularisation of administration in Finland was achieved in 1870, when a special Board of Education was created and the Church was deprived of its previous control At present, the Ministry of Education administers secondary schools and supervises primary In rural districts the supervision is carried out by State Inspectors, in municipalities by municipal Inspectors paid and appointed locally, but subject to the approval from the centre Primary schools are maintained by local authorities with State grants, secondary schools by the State

(iv) *Netherlands*

The reform of 1801 achieved two results Firstly, the educational administration was secularised and the Calvinist Church lost its previous control Secondly, a central authority for the whole country was created and the old States (*Staten*) lost their independence in educational matters Since then the changes in administration were gradual and were completed by the Act of 1920 The Ministry administers State secondary schools and supervises communal secondary and primary schools and "*bezondere*" (non-provided) schools of religious associations The provincial States (*Gedeputeerde Staten*) supervise schools buildings, the enactment of legislation by the communes, and receive annual reports from the communes They can withdraw the Teachers' Certificate from teachers engaged in disloyal propaganda or for misdemeanour They have to consult the State Inspector before enacting measures obligatory to the communes In cases of conflict between the communes and religious associations, the States decide the dispute. Local communes administer public (secular) primary schools, subject to supervision of State Inspectors Religious associations administer their "*bezondere*" schools subject to the same supervision Teachers are appointed locally The financial burdens are divided between the central and local authorities. Before 1920 the State equally subsidised the communal and "*bezondere*" schools, by paying one-fourth of the cost of buildings and minimum salaries But the provinces and communes did not subsidise the religious schools Since 1920, all current expenses of both types of schools are provided by the local authorities, and salaries by the State. The ratio is about 66 per cent from central sources and 34 per cent. from local sources

(v) *Switzerland*

The Swiss republic is the only case in Europe where the old system of extreme decentralisation has remained almost unchanged As mentioned before, the first federal law on compulsory attendance was passed in 1874. Since then, the intervention of the federal authorities has grown considerably, and by the recent law of 1930, the vocational training is supervised by federal commissions. In

secondary education, the federal government influences the standard of matriculation examinations by prescribing certain minimums for entrance into the Polytechnic in Zurich, which is the only institution administered by federal authorities In all other respects, the twenty-five cantons are completely independent and have their separate legislation and systems The difference of language, religion and cultural traditions explains the variation of cantonal systems, although, in spite of that, the main features of organisation and administration are common to all Swiss cantons Every canton has an educational department which supervises communal schools through cantonal inspectors, and directly administers a few cantonal institutions All primary schools and many secondary schools are communal and administered by communal committees The teachers are appointed locally In finance, the communes are responsible for the maintenance of schools and teachers' salaries The cantons, however, exact compulsory scales and grant subsidies to communes The federal government subsidises the teachers' salaries, buildings, welfare work and preparation of teachers in the field of primary education, and pays about half the cost of vocational training since 1930 On the whole, about 5 per cent of expenditure comes from federal sources, about 50 per cent. from cantons and about 45 per cent from the communes.

Central Europe

The empire of Habsburgs was so heterogeneous in all respects that a policy of centralisation pursued by the Emperor Joseph II was bound to be a failure Although a central authority existed in Vienna since 1774 (*Studien Kommission*), the various Crown lands enjoyed considerable autonomy After the unsuccessful revolution of 1848, the old *Kommission* was replaced by a Ministry of Education and a new attempt at centralisation was undertaken In 1860, the Ministry of Education was subordinated to the Ministry of Interior, but the new constitution of 1867 quite definitely put an end to the policy of unification Two separate Ministries of Education were created, for Austria and Hungary respectively. In Austria herself the territory was divided into sixteen Crown Lands with practically independent administration of education. The Crown Lands roughly coincided with territorial distribution of nationalities Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Carinthia, Styria, Salzburg, Tirol and Voralberg were German speaking and later formed the present Republic of Austria Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia were mostly Czech speaking, and are now incorporated in Czechoslovakia Galicia went to Poland, Bukovina to Roumania, Istria to Italy, whilst Dalmatia, Gorz and Gradiska, and Krain (Slovenia) formed part of the present Yugoslavia. Each of these Crown Lands had a *Landesschulrat* with large legislative and administrative powers subject only to the fundamental Imperial law of 1867. During the seventies each *Landesschulrat* enacted educational legislation for its own land,

which was more or less similar throughout Austria. Each Land was divided into regions, with a *Bezirksschulrat* as educational authority The *Landesschulrat* consisted of the Governor, representative of the Emperor, elected representatives of the Land parliament, representatives of all denominations, and appointed representatives of the teaching profession. The *Bezirksschulrat* consisted of elected representatives of regional and local authorities, representatives of denominations and two elected representatives of the teachers The local authority in each community (*Gemeinde*) were the *Ortschulrate*, consisting of the local priest, the head teacher and members of the *Gemeinde* In those regions where two nationalities lived together, two separate national *Bezirkrate* were formed The Imperial Ministry carried out a general supervision through Imperial Inspectors, but the actual administration was in the hands of the *Landesschulrat* This organisation formed the basis for the present administration of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Austrian Republic

In the new Republic the old seven Lands were increased by the addition of Burgenland from Hungary and the separation of the municipality of Vienna from the Lower Austria into a new Land Thus the republic is a federation of nine self-governing Lands The Central Ministry of Education was reorganised in 1919 and in 1922 The *Landesschulrat* and communal authorities were democratised, but their powers remained unchanged The *Bundes Ministerium* directly administers secondary and higher education, and the Land authorities primary and continuation schools subject to central supervision Burgenland, as a former Hungarian province, had no *Landesschulrat* and is still administered by the Inspectors of the Ministry, but will be shortly reorganised on the lines of other Lands. The Ministry appoints Chief Inspectors, each Land appoints its own Inspectors, who have to report to Chief Inspectors The local authorities (*Gemeinde*) also elect sub-inspectors, subordinate to the Land Inspectors and paid by the Land In finance, the old distribution of burdens remained almost unchanged. During the first decade after the war, the central government subsidised the Lands to about one-quarter of their expenditure on primary education, but, since 1927, this emergency measure has been discontinued Elementary schools are maintained conjointly by the Lands and communes, the latter contributing only about 8 per cent. of total expenditure, comprising as a rule the current expenses. In Vienna, which combines the Land and the communes, all services are paid by the municipality. In secondary education, with the exception of two Land and four city schools, all public secondary schools are maintained and administered by the Ministry. Higher education is also centrally controlled On the whole, the ratio is 30 per cent of educational expenditure from the central sources, 66 per cent from the nine Lands and 4 per cent from local communes. The ratio slightly changes from year to year.

Czechoslovakia

The new Republic inherited from Austria the three provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and from Hungary, the two provinces of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia The late Austrian provinces had their *Landesschulrat* with an established local tradition and school systems in the Czech language The late Hungarian provinces had no provincial authorities and their systems were largely Magyar in language The first task of the new Ministry of Education was to establish *Landesschulrate* in Slovakia and Russia and nationalise the inherited system On the other hand, Moravia and Silesia were merged into a combined province Moravia-Silesia Thus there are now four provincial authorities with powers and constitution according to the old Austrian law of 1868 The same division into regions (*Bezirke*) and communes (*Gemeinde*) is retained with the *Bezirks*—and *Ortstrate* But side by side with communal and denominational primary schools inherited from the old régime, the new Republic has established a network of State primary schools maintained and administered directly from the centre These schools are intended for dispersed national minorities, and usually serve the Czech group living among other nationalities In two Czech provinces, the local authorities maintain primary schools with State grants covering the major part of teachers' salaries In Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia, the great majority of primary schools were, until recently, maintained by the Churches with State grants Since the reform of 1933, the denominational schools of these two provinces were transferred to the local authorities, and the conditions are more or less similar to Bohemia and Moravia In secondary education, 77 per cent of schools are national, 35 per cent are provincial (only in Moravia), 7 per cent are local and 9 per cent are maintained by religious associations. Financially, including grants to non-State schools, the State provides 91 per cent of expenditure on secondary education, Moravia 2 per cent , municipalities 5 per cent and fees about 2 per cent Higher education is centrally controlled On the whole, provinces and communes provide for about 56 per cent of total expenditure on public education

Hungary

In the old kingdom of Hungary since 1860 there were two central authorities in education the Ministry of Education for Hungary proper and the *Landesschulrat* for Croatia. Slovakia, Russia and Transylvania were directly subordinated to the Ministry in Budapest, although the Churches and some communities (notably the Germans in Transylvania) were almost autonomous Since the partition of Hungary, there has been practically no change in administration as established by the law of 1869 The Ministry administers directly the State primary and secondary schools and higher education The communes and the Churches administer their schools through local committees representing teachers and

communal or clerical authorities In non-State schools teachers are appointed by local authorities, either clerical or communal The State Inspectors supervise all schools In finance, the State maintains State primary and secondary schools and higher institutions. Subsidies are granted to poor communities both secular and denominational In primary education, the Churches maintain 63 per cent of the schools, the State 23 per cent and secular communes 14 per cent In secondary education, the State maintains forty-eight State schools and grants subsidies to seventy-two religious and municipal schools The grants cover teachers' salaries up to 90 per cent On the whole, the State covers about 50 per cent of total expenditure

Germany

Germany at present is undergoing a complete reorganisation of administration The old federation of Lands of various size and different organisation will evidently be supplanted by more uniform provinces with limited self-government It is hardly consistent with the Germanic tradition to expect an extreme centralisation on the French model, and probably some powers will be retained by local authorities The present reform is but the last stage of a long historical process After the Thirty Years War, Germany was politically disintegrated and religiously divided The subsequent consolidation of Prussia, and, later, of the German Reich, only partially abolished the absurdity, from the administrative point of view, of multiplicity of various units and the great number of enclaves The Weimar constitution only stated the problem but did not solve it It corrected the most incongruent frontiers, but the majority of Lands retained their sovereignty in education. According to the Republican constitution, Germany was divided into seventeen Lands independent in educational administration There was no federal Ministry of Education, the only organ of federal supervision was the "*Ausschuss fur das Unterrichswesen*," established in 1919 and reformed in 1924 Every Land had its own central authority and its own legislation The federal legislation on education, sects 145–52 of the Weimar constitution, was only partially enforced According to their systems of administration, the seventeen Lands can be divided into four groups In the first group the administration is decentralised, in the second, it is centralised but divided between various Ministries; in the third, it is centralised within one central authority The fourth group form the Hanseatic States, which can be looked upon as independent municipalities. Only three Lands—Prussia, Bavaria and Oldenburg—belong to the first group of decentralised administration In Prussia, the *Ministerium fur Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung* administers directly only higher education Secondary education is administered by provincial authorities (since 1932 the duties of the *Provinzialschulkollegium* are transferred to the *Oberprasident*, its chairman) and supervised by Inspectors of the Ministry. Intermediate

schools are administered by municipal authorities Primary schools, in self-governing municipalities by municipalities In rural districts, every commune (*Gemeinde*) has its school committee, subordinated to the district school committee (*Regierungsschulbehorde*), which in its turn is subordinated to the provincial authorities Vocational and technical schools are administered by a district chairman (*Regierungsprasident*) and supervised by the Ministries of Trade and Agriculture In Bavaria, the *Ministerium fur Unterricht und Kultur* administers directly higher and secondary education and through district committees (*Regierungsschulbehorde*), primary, intermediate and vocational education In Oldenburg, the Ministry has two Departments, one for Protestant and another for Catholic schools Two districts, Birkenfeld and Eutin, have their own committees To the second group belong Saxony, Thuringia, Hesse and Mecklenburg-Schwerin There are no local authorities, but the central control is divided between the Ministry of Education for the general system, and other Ministries, usually that of Trade, for the vocational system In the third group, comprising Anhalt, Braunschweig, Lippe, Baden, Wurttemberg, Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Schaumburg-Lippe, the whole system is directly administered by a single central authority The three Hanseatic States—Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck—have no local authorities, as the States themselves can be considered as single communes

This system of decentralisation, as already stated, is undergoing reform The first step was made in May 1934 by establishing a federal authority—the *Reichs Ministerium fur Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*, which in practice is united with the Prussian Ministry. The Ministries of all seventeen Lands are subordinated to the new Reichs Ministry In financial matters, the federal Government does not participate in educational expenditure, with the exception of few federal institutions The whole cost of education is borne by Lands and local communes (*Gemeinde*) In 1931, the Reich contributed only 35 million Reichsmarks towards education—the Lands 1,743 million, the Communes 1,630 million and Hanseatic States 116 million The table on the following page shows the distribution of expenditure in all seventeen Lands

In Bavaria, Saxony, Wurttemberg, Hesse and Baden, the Land pays the teachers' salaries, in Thuringia, the Land pays seven-tenths and the communes three-tenths In Prussia, the salaries are paid by local authorities, but there exists a central school fund which reimburses the larger part of the bill.

Russia

The first central authority in education was created by Catherine II in 1782. It was reorganised by Alexander I in 1802 into the Ministry of Public Instruction, which continued its existence, with slight changes, up to 1918. The clerical schools formed a separate system and were subordinated to the Holy Synod. Up to

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN 1930-1 IN MILLION R.M.

LAND	MILL R M		IN PERCENTAGES	
	LAND	GEMEINDE	LAND	GEMEINDE
Prussia	790	796	50	50
Bavaria	237	61	80	20
Saxony	139	89	61	39
Wurttemberg	75	44	63	37
Baden	80	30	73	27
Thuringia	41	21	66	34
Hesse	43	12	79	21
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	23	6	79	21
Oldenburg	8	12	40	60
Braunschweig	18	5	79	21
Anhalt	12	3	80	20
Lippe	4	0 5	88	12
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	4	0 2	95	5
Schaumburg-Lippe	0 6	0 6	50	50
Hamburg	0 8		100	
Bremen	0 2		100	
Lubeck	0 1		100	

1864, there were no local authorities, with the exception of larger towns, which enjoyed a certain amount of self-government in education With the creation of Zemstva in 1864, there was a devolution of powers, and the local authorities administered their own schools, subject to the supervision of the Ministry. The schools of the Holy Synod, however, were independent from local authorities and were administered from the centre The whole Empire was divided into Curatorships combining usually from four to six provinces The Curator was the agent of the Minister and had under his control Directors, for each province, and Inspectors for each District Secondary and higher education was directly subordinated to the Curator , primary education was supervised by Inspectors In the *Zemstva* and Municipal schools, teachers were appointed by local authorities with the consent of the Inspector ; in all State schools by the Curator Universities, secondary and intermediate schools, and schools of the Holy Synod were maintained by the Government, whilst local authorities sometimes subsidised State schools in their areas The schools of the *Zemstva* and Municipalities, on the other hand, were maintained by local authorities with the grants from the State. The grants were calculated by the number of registered pupils and roughly covered the teachers' salaries. There were also special grants for building purposes. The ratio of central and local expenditure on education was about 60 per cent. from central sources and about 40 per cent. from local sources. During the first years of the Soviet Government,

1917–21, both the administration and finance were centralised in Moscow. With the end of civil war, the administration was decentralised and the burdens were relegated to a great extent to the local Soviets Until quite recently, there was no federal authority in education and all constituent Republics were quite independent and each had its own Commissariat of Public Instruction The Republican Commissariats must be divided into two categories The Commissariats of the nine members of the Union (Russia, Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan) were central authorities comparable with Ministries of Education in sovereign States The fifteen Commissariats of Autonomous Republics within the area of the former were independent central authorities within their limited territories and had no jurisdiction in the field of higher education The fifteen Commissariats of Autonomous Areas, on the other hand, must be considered as local authorities subordinated to the respective Republican Commissariats The larger Republics are divided into districts, with local Departments of Education supervised by Inspectors of the Republican Commissariat (see the diagram in the YEAR BOOK, 1933, page 755) This decentralisation was mitigated by a highly centralised organisation of the Communist Party which directs and controls the policy of the whole Union Since 1928, the federal authority began gradually to assume the direct control of higher education At first, individual institutions were exempted from the jurisdiction of Republican Commissariats and subordinated to various federal Commissariats On October 17th, 1933, a new federal organ of supervision was created—"The Federal Committee of Higher Technical Education"—which took over the organisation and control of higher vocational education throughout the Union A federal Commissariat has not yet been established, but it is evident that the present Committee is in many respects a new central authority for the whole country The present distribution of financial burdens has remained more or less unchanged since 1923 The following table shows the changes since 1923 (expenditure in million roubles from sources).

YEAR	FEDERAL	PER CENTAGE	REPUBLICS	PER-CENTAGE	LOCAL	PER CENTAGE
1925–6	227 7	33	164 2	23	304 4	44
1927–8	340 1	31	243 3	22	505 2	47
1929–30	707 6	34	400 9	20	934 9	46
1931	1,171 6	35	581 2	18	1,543 9	47
1933	2,060 9	37	883 5	16	2,664 1	47

As a rule, higher and technical education is maintained by federal authorities, secondary and vocational by the nine constituent Republics, and primary and adult education by Autonomous Republics, Areas and local Soviets.

Decentralisation in Bulgaria and Latvia

In *Bulgaria*, a decentralised system of administration and finance antedated the independence and was retained by the new State The communes maintain and administer their primary schools and the Ministry maintains and controls secondary and higher education Lately, however, there has developed a tendency for stricter centralisation and supervision In *Latvia*, since the *coup d'état* of 1934, the decentralised system introduced since the independence is undergoing a change towards a stricter supervision and centralisation We give here a comparative table of State expenditure on education in European countries, with the exception of Austria, Germany, Switzerland and U S S R which are not comparable with the rest because of their federal structure

COUNTRY	STATE EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN 000 OF CURRENCY	PERCENTAGES TO THE TOTAL BUDGET	DISTRIBUTION ON CENTRAL EXPENDITURE IN PERCENTAGES ON					YEAR
			PRIMARY	SECONDARY	HIGHER	VOCATIONAL	ALL OTHER	
Belgium	971,742	9	74	11	2	7	6	1933
Bulgaria	821,540	16	74	9	7	10	1	1934
Czechoslovakia	925,409	?	31	21	15	13	20	1934
Denmark	64,926	18	56	21	12	9	3	1934
Estonia	7,019	11	—	—	—	—	—	1933–4
Finland	447,489	15	56	21	9	9	5	1934
France	3,517,495	7	70	13	6	6	5	1933
Great Britain	47,003	—	64	13	4	7	12	1932–3
Greece	678,971	8	66	22	2	10		1933–4
Hungary	105,204	13	50	23	17	4	6	1933
Irish Free State	4,946	22	74	7	4	4	11	1932
Italy	1,738,000	8	66	8	9	13	4	1933–4
Latvia	19,670	15	53	14	17	16	1	1933
Lithuania	38,881	15	50	11	12	6	21	1933
Netherlands	154,319	21	66	8	8	11	7	1934
Norway	52,061	14	59	6	10	14	11	1931
Poland	324,597	13	62	12	8	6	12	1933–4
Portugal	210	9	46	11	17	15	11	1932
Spain	310,789	7	68	5	7	3	17	1933
Sweden	146,090	20	67	17	8	4	3	1933–4
Yugoslavia	815,229	7	66	13	10	5	6	1932–3

It is interesting to note that centralised countries devote a greater percentage of State expenditure to primary education than the decentralised countries where primary education is largely maintained by local authorities Portugal and Lithuania are exceptions, because primary education in these countries is not yet universal.

National Minorities

A special aspect of educational administration is connected with the problem of national minorities Of all European countries,

Portugal, Albania and the Netherlands are alone entirely free from this problem. In Norway and Sweden, there is a minor problem of educating the Lapps of the far north In Denmark, the German minority in Schleswig. In Great Britain, there is Wales and the Gaelic-speaking Highlands of Scotland However, the small problems of these countries are satisfactorily solved by ordinary legislation and do not come to the forefront of educational politics In the three Latin countries, national minorities are not recognised as such, and the question is of regional adjustment rather than of minorities proper France does not distinguish her citizens on account of their racial origin or different native tongue The Italian-speaking Corsicans, the German-speaking Alsatians or the Celtic-speaking Bretons are all considered as Frenchmen and are treated in the same way as the rest The departure from the unitary system is only conceded to Alsace, as mentioned before In Spain, the Catalans and the Basques are not considered as minorities, but as Spaniards with regional differences. The regional self-government will answer the needs of these provinces and the Spanish Republic has already initiated the necessary legislation In Italy, the two minorities of Germans and Slovenes were at first recognised by the Italian Government, which even solemnly promised to safeguard their cultural needs. Since the advent of the Fascist régime, however, the policy was entirely changed and the two minorities were subjected to a forcible Italianisation Belgium and Switzerland form a separate group. In these two countries, two or more nationalities peacefully collaborated in forming a State, and therefore neither nationality is, properly speaking, a minority The different linguistic and cultural needs are satisfactorily met by regional adjustment. It is only in Central and Eastern Europe that the problem of minorities in its acute form confronts the legislators. The comparative importance of the problem in different countries may be seen from the following table.

MINORITIES			MINORITIES		
COUNTRY	PER-CENTAGE	LARGEST MINORITY	COUNTRY	PER-CENTAGE	LARGEST MINORITY
Czechoslovakia	35	Germans	Hungary	12	Slavs
Poland	35	Ukrainians	Greece	12	Turks
U S S R.	27	Moslem nation	Estonia .	12	Russians
Latvia	25	Russians	Finland	11	Swedes
Roumania	25	Magyars	Lithuania	12	Jews
Yugoslavia	17	Non-Slav Moslems	Austria	10	Slavs
Bulgaria	14	Turks			

Attempts to Solve Problem

As a rule, minorities in all these countries live in compact communities and cannot be considered as foreign immigrants. There-

fore, a policy similar to a compulsory Americanisation in the U S A. cannot be followed with justice. A *modus vivendi* had to be found which on one hand would preserve the national identity of the State, and on the other hand safeguard the legitimate cultural needs of minorities Unfortunately, an equitable solution of this problem in the present conditions of nationalist revival is a task beyond the powers of modern legislators The post-war European States tried to solve this problem on different lines The most radical solution was attempted in Greece It amounted to a wholesale transportation of Turks and Bulgarians to their respective countries and settling in their stead the Greek refugees from Turkey This policy was only partially successful, since a few hundred thousand Bulgarians and Turks still remain in their old homes and must be considered as permanent citizens of Greece Perhaps some of them are encouraged to remain by a hope of a new change of frontiers Another radical solution, from an opposite point of view, was sought by Estonia and Latvia Recognising the permanent character of settlements of minorities, these two Republics sought to win the loyalty of minorities by granting them what is called a personal national autonomy The theory of such autonomy was elaborated by the Austrian Social-Democrats Karl Renner and Otto Bauer even before the war They proposed that, in multi-national States, every nationality should constitute a self-governing community quite irrespective of the territorial distribution of its members The homogeneous communities *ipso facto* are included in the corresponding nationalities , the mixed communities, on the other hand, obtain a special status of " double representation " Common, local affairs are entrusted to territorial local authorities The cultural needs of every nationality, however, are administered by special national local authorities, elected by members of the respective nationalities and subject to the control of the central authority of every nationality All members of each nationality should pay special taxes, which are at the disposal of the central organ of each nationality for their cultural needs This theory, with the exception of financial provisions, was realised in Estonia and Latvia during the first years of their independence. The German, Russian and Jewish minorities elected their respective educational, local and central authorities, and, through these organs, administered their national schools. In practice, however, the rigid application of this doctrine has led to some undesirable results The members of the ruling majority were not allowed to attend minorities' schools, and the members of minorities the schools of other minorities Thus the German schools, very often the best in the country, were closed to all except Germans themselves. This distribution of population into water-tight national groups tended to segregation and national seclusion. There is little interchange of ideas and methods between the various nationalities and no interchange of teachers and pupils. Partly from these reasons, and partly because of the revival of a nationalist movement

among the Estonians and Latvians, both Governments have changed their policy since the *coup d'état* of 1934 The central organs of minorities were abolished and their schools were directly subordinated to the Ministries of Education This has already resulted in a stricter supervision and less opportunity for national minorities to develop their school systems

A moderate application of national autonomy was realised in Czechoslovakia with better success We have seen that even the old Austrian law of 1868 has given an opportunity to all nationalities to found public schools in their mother tongues The Czechoslovak Republic completed the existing legislation by the law of April 3rd, 1919, Act 1, which says " 4 public elementary schools can be established in any community where, on a triennial average, there are at least 40 children liable to attend a school, and if the said community does not maintain a public school with the mother tongue of the said children as the language of instruction The language of instruction of these schools should be the mother tongue of respective children " Act 2 repeats the provisions for intermediate schools This additional legislation provided for small groups living in the communities of other nationalities Such " minority's " schools are maintained by the central government as distinct from the communal schools of national minorities maintained by local authorities If the region is composed of two nationalities, two national regional authorities are created to administer their respective schools But apart from local national authorities in homogeneous areas, the Government has not created central national organs as in Latvia or Estonia All schools, irrespective of nationalities, are supervised by the same central authorities

A different approach to the solution of the minorities' question was made in Russia The Communist doctrine does not regard the difference of national cultures as of great importance The new proletarian culture, uniform for all nationalities, must supplant the differentiation of the capitalist world into national units The question of mother tongue in the schools is therefore only a question of expediency The large and compact non-Russian nationalities were separated into national Republics with independent commissariats of Education Within the territories of these twenty-four Republics, the whole system is nationalised, employing the mother tongue as the language of instruction. The small and dispersed nationalities are divided into two groups. The small tribes, which have no alphabet and no national culture, are taught in Russian schools through the medium of Russian until these deficiencies can be met by creating a native intelligentsia capable of taking over the education of their tribes Those small nationalities, which live in compact communities and use their language in their daily life, but have no national culture and native intelligentsia, are supplied with primary schools in their mother tongue, but continue their education in Russian secondary schools The Russian language is obligatory

for all nationalities throughout the Union In the twenty-four Republics the language of the majority is in addition obligatory to all minorities So that, for instance, in the Ukrainian Republic, the German minority is educated in German schools but has to learn both Russian and Ukrainian The administration of the twenty-four Republics and fifteen Autonomous Areas is territorial irrespective of national composition. The administration of small and dispersed nationalities is entrusted to special minorities' Departments within the Republican Commissariats It seems that this solution is working satisfactorily and creates no ill-feeling or friction between the nationalities

In Finland, historically the Swedish minority was the ruling class, and only in the nineteenth century was the emancipation of the Finnish-speaking majority achieved The historical rights of the Swedes are safeguarded by the constitution The Ministry of Education has a special Department for Swedish schools, which are administered by Swedish-speaking Inspectors and officials The Swedish-speaking Aland Islands have a complete autonomy in education

In the remaining countries, the position of minorities is more or less unsatisfactory, and leads to continuous friction and complaints from the representatives of the minorities in the foreign press According to the treaties of Versailles, Saint Germain-en-Laye and Trianon, the contracting parties (Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece) undertook to safeguard the cultural needs of the minorities The articles in the treaties are almost identical, and we take Act 9 of the Treaty with Poland as the first concluded, as an example

> " Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, those minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums under the State, municipal or other budget, for education, religious or charitable purposes "

This provision was defective because it was ambiguous and did not mention post-primary education. The words " considerable proportion " were differently interpreted by the States and by the minorities, and, as a result, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, the recent legislation in these countries practically disregards Act 9 of the Treaty. The Roumanian law of 1928, for instance, grants State subsidies only to primary schools using Roumanian as the language of instruction, whereas primary schools of minorities may receive grants from local, national or religious communities but receive no grants from the State. Another provision of the same law states

that all members of minorities whose Roumanian origin can be proved have to send their children to Roumanian schools. This leads in practice, as the Hungarians complain, to a " chemical analysis " of family names. Any Magyar-speaking citizen whose name might be interpreted as Magyarised Roumanian is counted as a denationalised Roumanian and must send his children to Roumanian schools That happens in spite of a definite provision in the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, which says :

> " Roumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czecklers (Hungarians) in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Roumanian State "

In Poland, the position of the Ukrainian minority, amounting to about 9 million Polish citizens, is unsatisfactory and leads to constant friction There are public primary and secondary Ukrainian schools, but their number is insufficient, and many Ukrainians are compelled to attend Polish schools Moreover, they demand a university of their own, the provision of which was promised by Poland, but not yet put into practice

In Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary the minorities are allowed to maintain their own schools, but they usually do not enjoy the support of the State and must be supported by the communities themselves

Especially during the last few years, with the revival of extreme nationalism, the position of minorities in many States has become more precarious Germany presents a special case where a new principle of racial purity was taken as a basis of educational policy The small minority of Lusatian Serbs does not present a problem, as this nationality is peacefully being Germanised and has no chance of survival, being surrounded on all sides by millions of Germans. The new problem was the outcome of Nazi philosophy and is connected with the racial origin of the Jews Aiming at a racial purity of the German nation, the new régime initiated a policy of segregation of the Jews, which, in practice, amounts to a kind of cultural Ghetto. By the new laws, the Jews are allowed to attend schools in limited numbers, so that their ratio should not surpass 1·5 per cent of the total number of the pupils in any individual school. They are entitled, however, to have their own Jewish schools maintained by their communities The same ratio should be preserved in secondary schools and universities. If this policy has any justification in regard to Jews, who form even less than 1·5 per cent. of the total population, it is entirely unjustified when applied to German-speaking Christians, who have some Jewish blood. These Christian " quarteroons " and " octoroons " (these American terms are quite appropriate in this case) are Germans to all intents and purposes and often did not know of their Jewish grandmothers. Only the " chemical analysis " of their ancestry instituted by the Government revealed the " foreign " blood in their

veins Their position is still more abnormal than that of the Jews, who in the last resort may emigrate to Palestine

Private Initiative

Under the term of private initiative in education are usually meant institutions which were founded independently of public authorities, both central and local, and which still retain some measure of financial and administrative independence Taken so widely, private schools would include the English non-provided (voluntary) schools, the Belgian adoptable schools and the Dutch " *bezondere* " schools Whereas, in point of fact, all these schools must be considered as public, since they are maintained and supervised by public authorities Here we have to distinguish between public schools, established in the past by private initiative and subsequently taken over by the State, from purely private schools enjoying no State or local subsidy The policy of European States towards purely private schools ranges from a total prohibition to a complete absence of any supervision Two States, the U S S R and Yugoslavia, prohibit private schools by law In Soviet Russia, the centrally controlled Trades Unions or partisan (communist) organisation may under certain conditions establish and maintain their own schools, but both the Unions and the party must be considered under the Soviet constitution as public bodies and their schools can hardly be called private In Yugoslavia, the Churches and the communities of national minorities are also allowed to maintain schools under State supervision, but these schools are public. In both countries, private individuals or private societies have no right to found and maintain schools of any kind

This extreme case of national policy may be contrasted with the policy of Great Britain In England, the only legislation concerning private schools was enacted in 1918, by which all new private schools were obliged to register at the Board of Education Even this provision is not strictly enforced, and there are many private schools of whose existence no public body is aware. There exists, in fact, an almost complete freedom for any person to establish an educational institution, from a nursery school up to a school of higher study The only supervision which exists is exercised by the police and health authorities in case of complaints against the proprietor. In no other European State is such complete freedom possible

Belgium, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries come next in the facilities afforded to private initiative. But in these countries some preliminary conditions are required before the schools can be opened, usually some qualifications for the teachers of private schools. All qualified schools may apply for Government grants, and thus the majority of them lose their private character. All subsidised schools are supervised by the Government.

In Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary the old conditions of the law of 1869 are still in force. According to § 187 of that law,

" the foundation of a private school is that it is free to everybody who can prove his qualifications " The qualifications must be equivalent to those required for public schools and must be approved by the authorities. Private schools are supervised by the State

In Italy, similar conditions are imposed by the law of 1859 Citizens, who are entitled by their qualifications to be a headmaster of a public primary school, have the right to maintain a private school subject to State supervision The same applies to secondary schools Private schools founded in communities deficient of public schools are subsidised by the State with the consent of the *Provveditore* The subsidy is fixed triennially by the Minister.

In France, the law of 1882 in theory gives full freedom of private initiative, and even allows parents to educate their children at home. But all children educated at home have to be examined yearly by State Inspectors By the law of 1904, private initiative was limited and religious orders and congregations were forbidden to furnish any kind of instruction to children The foundation of private schools by proprietors and lay associations is surrounded by many formalities, and State or local authorities can always find a pretext for closing existing private schools, or refusing to give consent for opening a new one

In Germany, the tendency towards a State monopoly has become stronger in post-war years Article 147 of the Weimar constitution says :

> " Private schools as a substitute for public schools require the consent of the State and are subject to the laws of the country The consent will be given if private schools in their aims and organisation, as well as in the scientific training of their teachers, are not inferior to the public schools and also if the division of pupils according to the pecuniary position of their parents is not promoted The consent should be withheld if the economic and legal position of teachers is not sufficiently ensured Private preparatory schools should be closed "

During the new régime this tendency is much stronger, and the policy of the Government is definitely aiming at the elimination of private schools altogether Even the old Catholic foundations, of the Society of Jesus, and other orders, are evidently doomed to gradual extinction In Saxony private schools were forbidden as early as 1919.

Teachers

The status of teachers varies greatly as from country to country In the majority of European States they are State servants, and their salaries are paid either directly by the State or by local authorities—assisted by definite State grants. Secondary schoolmasters are almost invariably State officials and are paid directly by the Government. The difference in status can be seen from the table on the following page.

Teachers in the universities and higher technical colleges, with the exception of Great Britain, are State officials and are either directly appointed by the State or confirmed by the State in those

COUNTRY	PRIMARY TEACHERS				SECONDARY TEACHERS			
	APPOINTED BY	SALARIES PAID BY	STATUS	WOMEN	APPOINTED BY	SALARIES PAID BY	STATUS	WOMEN
Austria	Locally	Land	Local official	Equal	State	State	State official	Equal
Belgium	,,	State	,, ,,	'	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Bulgaria	,,	,,	,, ,,	—	,,	,,	,, ,,	—
Czechoslovakia	,,	State grants	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Denmark	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	Unequal	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Estonia	State	State	State official	Equal	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Finland	Locally	State grants	Local official	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
France	State	State	State official	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	Unequal
Germany	Locally	Land	Local official	,,	Land	Land	,, ,,	Equal
Great Britain	,,	State grants	,, ,,	Unequal	Locally	State grants	Local official	Unequal
Greece	State	State	State official	—	State	State	State official	—
Hungary	Locally	State grants	Local official	Equal	,,	,,	,, ,,	Equal
Irish Free State	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	Unequal	Locally	State grants	Local official	Unequal
Italy	State	State	State official	Equal	State	State	State official	,,
Latvia	Locally	State grants	Local official	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Lithuania	State	,, ,,	State official	—	,,	,,	,, ,,	—
Netherlands	Locally	,, ,,	Local official	Equal	,,	,,	,, ,,	Equal
Norway	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Poland	State	,, ,,	State official	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Portugal	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	—	,,	,,	,, ,,	—
Roumania	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	—	,,	,,	,, ,,	—
Spain .	,,	State	,, ,,	—	,,	,,	,, ,,	—
Sweden .	Locally	,,	Local official	Unequal	,,	,,	,, ,,	Unequal
Switzerland	,,	Canton grants	,, ,,	,,	Locally	Canton grants	Local official	,,
U S S R	,,	State grants	State official	Equal	State	State	State official	Equal
Yugoslavia	State	,, ,,	,, ,,	—	,,	,,	,, ,,	—

countries where the self-government of the universities is not abolished. Participation of teachers' elected representatives in administration is seldom allowed, although usually the authorities appoint teachers to sit on various committees.

Curricula and Textbooks

In all European countries, with the exception of Great Britain, the curricula of both primary and secondary schools are prescribed by the State Not only the subjects are definitely stated, but the number of hours and even the time-tables are prescribed from the centre In Great Britain, the Board of Education issues only " suggestions " for primary teachers, and regulations for secondary schools on the Grant List The Board requires only the adequate provision for instruction in a number of subjects, the details are entirely in the hands of the teachers and local authorities That is why the great variation in school curricula in England is so incomprehensible to Continental teachers In the matter of textbooks a greater freedom is allowed The only country which has a State monopoly in textbooks is the U S S R All other countries issue regulations, but do not prohibit the use of privately published books In France, every *Departement* has a list of recognised textbooks which is annually revised A special list of prohibited books is also published All prohibited books are liable to confiscation and destruction if found in public or private schools In Italy, a similar law was enacted in 1923 Only textbooks published in the official list may be used either in public or private schools Since 1929, the principle was laid down that textbooks for primary schools should be compiled by the State and their adoption was made compulsory for all schools In Germany, State control was introduced even before the Nazi régime, and all textbooks had to be approved by the Minister Now the conditions are still more strict and almost amount to State monopoly. It is interesting to note that in this respect, as in many others, the Irish Free State follows the Continental policy Textbooks are prescribed and published by the Government.

International Authorities

There are two international authorities in education, both of which have only advisory powers The League of Nations has a Committee of Intellectual co-operation which publishes Reports and Surveys of educational conditions in various countries, and thus furnishes information A second international agency is the International Bureau of Education in Geneva which is independent of the League of Nations. Only a minority of European States are members (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Spain and Switzerland), but almost all European States use its offices for information and special surveys It is a kind of clearing house in educational matters, and has great influence with the States members

N. HANS.

CHAPTER FOUR

Types of Institutions

(1) Pre-school Education

EDUCATION of infants is a comparatively recent development As in other branches of education, pioneering efforts were made by private initiative The names of J F Oberlin, Robert Owen and Friedrich Froebel are usually associated with the first infant schools in Europe Although the institutions established by them became known throughout Europe during their lifetime, the Governments were not eager to recognise infant education as a regular branch of the public system In Prussia, for instance, the Froebelian kindergartens were even prohibited in 1851 It is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic Latin countries were the first in Europe to establish a wide net of publicly supported infant schools The Netherlands and Great Britain are the only non-Latin countries which share this distinction Belgium recognised *écoles gardiennes* as a part of the public system in 1833 France began to subsidise the *Salles d'asiles* in 1837 There were already forty-one infant schools in Spain by 1850 (*Escuelas de Parvulos*) In Italy, public *Asili* have existed since the sixties of the last century The two Latin cantons of Switzerland established a public system of infant schools much earlier than other cantons, Geneva in 1872, and Vaud a little later In the German-speaking countries, including the German cantons of Switzerland, in spite of Pestalozzi, Froebel and other Geman-speaking pioneers, kindergartens are not included in the State system and only lately have municipalities begun to develop locally supported institutions In the Scandinavian countries, with the exception of Finland, infant education is not developed at all In the rest of Europe the attention of Governments was only drawn to the pre-school ages in the post-war years It is difficult to explain the causes of this difference between the Latin and other Continental countries as the Scandinavian- and German-speaking States were more progressive in other branches of education It is possible that comparatively late development of Nordic children and climatic conditions are partially responsible for the difference.

Great Britain

Both England and Scotland may be considered as pioneers of infant education The activities of Owen, Wilderspin and Stow made known the need for special institutions for infants. The Home and Colonial Infant School Society, founded in 1836, by establishing a model school and publishing set books, made a firm foundation for a national system developed later. By 1870, when the local

School Boards were created, infant schools were an accepted part of public education. In 1874, there were not less than 617,910 children of 3–6 years in the infant schools of England and Wales Ten years later, their numbers rose to 841,128 If we exclude the age (5–6) of compulsory attendance, we get the following table for England and Wales :

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN 3–5	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN 3–5
1870	275,608	24
1880	393,056	29
1890	458,267	33
1900	615,607	43
1910	350,591	23
1920	175,467	15
1930	159,335	13

The change of policy in 1905 was the result of official investigation, which showed that, in the absence of special buildings for infants and of specially trained teachers, the attendance at schools by infants is often detrimental to their physical and mental growth The New Code of the Board, therefore, advised local authorities to concentrate rather on the quality of infant departments than on large numbers Since then, the policy has not been changed The emphasis is laid on providing all infant departments with specially trained teachers and the general raising of standards The Act of 1918, for the first time, made public grants available for special nursery schools which must be distinguished from infant departments The number of nursery schools, however, is still very small, there being only 65 for England and Wales, accommodating 5,000 children

France

As already mentioned, public subsidies to infant schools (*Salles d'Asile*) have been granted since 1837 In 1836, there were only 24 institutions, in 1837, 262, and in 1850, 1,735 (1,055 public), with 160,244 children In 1883, 5,380 (3,345 public) with 679,085 children In 1881, the *Salles d'Asile* were renamed *Ecoles Maternelles* Since then, development has been uninterrupted There are two kinds of institutions for the ages 3–6 The *Ecole Maternelle* is an independent institution under the supervision of special inspectors and catering for children from 2 to 5 years The *Classe Enfantine* is a kindergarten attached to a primary school and accepting children from 3 to 6 Between them, these institutions educate about 52 per cent of all children of these ages In comparing French figures with the English, we must note that compulsory attendance begins one year later in France.

Belgium

Ecoles gardiennes are independent institutions receiving State grants and catering for the ages 3–6. The Belgain pre-school

system is the most developed in the world, and embraces about 70 per cent of all children of the ages 3–6

Italy

In 1862, there were 373 *Asili*, in 1886, 2,139 (650 private) attended by 270,000 children In 1898, there were 2,989 *Asili*, with 324,751 children At present, there are about 10,000 institutions, with about 730,000 children, covering about 30 per cent of the population 3–6 years

Spain

A great impetus to the development of *Escuelas de Parvulos* was given by the law of 1904, which made it a duty of every commune of 10,000 inhabitants to maintain one infant school In 1908, there were already 516 public and 508 private institutions, with 231,658 and 85,765 children respectively In 1908, about 24 per cent of all children of 3–6 years attended these schools

Switzerland

The three Latin cantons, Geneva, Vaud and Tessino, have cantonal systems, the German cantons, Zurich, Bern, Basle and St Gallen, communal systems, and the remaining cantons voluntary systems Geneva enacted the first law in 1872, which made it a duty of every commune to establish at least one *école enfantine* The canton grants a subsidy for building purposes and maintenance The attendance is therefore unequal as from canton to canton In the whole country, about 50 per cent of the population 3–6 attend kindergartens

The Netherlands

Kindergartens date from 1847 The majority were private, maintained by the Churches In 1875, 73,018 children attended infant schools In 1894, there were 135 public (secular), with 24,273 children, and 870 denominational, with 82,576 children At present, all institutions enjoy State and communal grants, and cover about 28 per cent of population 3–6

Austria

The State does not support kindergartens, but, since 1879, some municipalities have begun to maintain them There has been a big growth of kindergartens in Vienna since the war. In 1918, there were 57 kindergartens, and in 1934, 116.

Hungary

The State has subsidised infant schools (*Bewahranstalten*) since 1876 In 1891, a law was passed by which the State had to found institutions in communes which were themselves unable to maintain

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN PRE-SCHOOL INSTITUTIONS OR INFANT DEPARTMENTS

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	YEAR	AGES	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION	MAINTAINED BY
Albania	2,017	1933	3–7	1	State
Austria	44,662	1933	3–6	13	Two-thirds municipal, one-third voluntary No State grants
Belgium	263,557	1934	3–6	66	State grants two-thirds communal
Bulgaria	12,101	1933	3–7	4	Three-quarters communal, one-quarter voluntary
Czechoslovakia	110,275	1934	3–6	12	Communal
Denmark	8,000	1932	3–7	2	Voluntary
Estonia	5,949	1932	3–8	2	One-third communal, two-thirds voluntary
Finland	6,992	1932	3–7	3	Communal
France	946,514	1933	3–6	55	92 per cent State, 8 per cent R C
Germany	421,955	1931	3–6	14	One-quarter municipal three-quarters voluntary No State grants
Greece .	32,212	1931	3–6	8	90 per cent State, 10 per cent voluntary
Hungary	124,605	1934	3–6	25	Communal State grants
Italy	705,728	1934	3–6	30	State two-thirds, voluntary one-third
Latvia	3,996	1934	3–7	3	Voluntary
Lithuania	3,885	1934	3–7	2	Voluntary
Netherlands	203,584	1933	3–6	38	State grants, 20 per cent communal, 80 per cent voluntary
Norway	Few private kindergartens				
Poland	93,664	1934	4–7	6	40 per cent State grants, 60 per cent voluntary
Portugal	3,857	1934	3–6	1	Municipal
Roumania	133,550	1933	4–7	12	State grants, communal
Spain [1]	317,423	1908	3–6	24	Three-quarters public, one-quarter voluntary
Sweden	2,893	1932	3–6	2	Private
Switzerland	100,000	—	3–6	50	In three cantons State, in the rest municipal and voluntary
U S S R	1,318,169	1934	3–8	10	State
Yugoslavia	36,950	1934	3–6	3	Communal
England .	642,682	1934	3–6	36	State grants, local.
Scotland .	64,819	1934	3–6	26	State grants, local.

[1] *Last data available, at present about* 520,000

them. Every commune with 40 children of pre-school age was obliged to found a kindergarten This law is still valid. There are, at present, about 1,000 institutions, with about 120,000 children. Almost half of them have been established since the war.

Germany

The 17 Lands do not maintain kindergartens, but the largest towns have municipal systems Public institutions were especially developed after the war in Berlin and Hamburg In 1931, there were in Germany 1,865 public kindergartens, with 101,485 children, and 5,417 private, with 320,470 children In some Lands, pre-school institutions are under the supervision of the *Jugend Amt*, in others, under the Education Departments The Lands issue regulations and supervise both municipal and private institutions

Russia

Kindergartens are of quite recent origin There were few voluntary institutions in large towns before the war, thus the present net of public kindergartens was developed during recent years In 1925, there were 1,146 kindergartens, with 60,002 children, in 1928–9, 2,517, with 129,250 children, in 1930–1, 6,574, with 366,236 children, and in 1933–4, there were 27,151 kindergartens, with 1,318,169 children In *Roumania*, *Poland*, *Yugoslavia*, *Bulgaria* and the *Baltic States* kindergartens were also developed after the war (see the table)

(ii) Primary and Intermediate Schools

As we have seen from the historical survey, primary education was developed mostly in Protestant countries, which were the first in Europe to introduce compulsory attendance In the nineteenth century, the Latin countries followed suit, and also passed legislation on compulsory attendance However, the law was enforced only in France and Belgium At the beginning of the present century, Europe could be divided into two parts In the first, which included all Protestant countries, France, Belgium and Austria, compulsory attendance, for at least seven years, has become a fact, and thus elementary education was imparted to all children In the second part, which included Portugal, Spain and Italy in the west and the Russian Empire and the Balkans in the east, elementary education of much shorter duration was available only for about one-half of the child population The problems of the two parts of Europe, therefore, were quite different The north-western part, having achieved universal elementary education, had a qualitative problem of changing the antiquated curriculum and building up a new system of post-primary schools. The south-eastern part was mostly concerned with the extension of primary schools and enforcing the compulsory attendance. The most backward countries, in this respect, were Spain and Portugal in the west, and Poland, Russia, Roumania and Yugoslavia in the east. The post-war Governments of these countries concentrated their efforts on primary schools, and have achieved a striking success. The following table shows the increase of percentage of children of school age attending schools

COUNTRY	1918	1933	AGES
	%		
Poland	50	94	7–14
Roumania	60	97	7–14
Spain	45	75	6–12
U S S R	50	98	8–12
Yugoslavia	40	80	6–12

In a few years, universal elementary education will be an established fact throughout Europe, with few exceptions, such as Portugal and Albania The more advanced countries, as already stated, had a qualitative problem The old elementary school usually included eight age-groups, from 6 to 14 years The aim of elementary education was to impart the knowledge of the three R's and the basic ideas of religious and civic education With the improved methods and better equipment, these aims could be achieved in a shorter time than previously It was a general observation in all countries, that during the last two or three years of compulsory attendance, the pupils did not progress, but simply " marked time." The development of genetic psychology, however, acquainted educationists with marked psychological differences between the late childhood or pre-puberty period and adolescence or puberty period It was recognised in all countries, that the old eight years' elementary school had to be divided into two parts primary department for the ages 6–7 to 10–11, and post-primary department for the ages 11–12 to 15–16 The intermediate schools for the second period have existed in most countries for a long time, but they were separate institutions for the selected few and did not form an integral part of universal education The extension of intermediate and secondary schools would not solve the problem, as the traditional aims of these schools were directed towards the formation of an *élite* and therefore could not embrace the whole child population Thus the reform of the elementary school was not a problem of selection, but rather a problem of treating adolescence as a definite age-group The question was how to educate the ages 11–15 after the *élite* was drafted into existing intermediate and secondary schools It was quite evident that the old elementary school was unable to give ample opportunities for boys and girls of this group The movement for reform was started before the war, but the practical realisation of these ideas is the achievement of the post-war period. We have seen how the social results of the war, and subsequent revolution, have cleared the ground for more radical reform Obstacles, which were almost unsurmountable, vanished in the general upheaval, and the new States were given an opportunity to plan their school systems on a new basis Even the old countries which experienced no revolution were affected by the general movement, and adapted the old systems to new conceptions In spite of differences in approach, the general features of the reform were common to all countries.

England and Wales

The new schools within the elementary school system were started in England just before the war, in London in 1911, in Manchester in 1912 and in some other local authorities a little later The Education Act of 1918, by making it a duty of local authorities to provide advanced instruction for adolescents, at once furthered the reform The most important, however, was the Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent of 1926, which was adopted as the policy of the Board of Education Since then, the reorganisation of elementary schools has proceeded more rapidly At present more than 50 per cent of adolescents attend either central schools or senior departments

Scotland

The Scottish system was better developed in this respect than the English, and the reform was introduced without any striking change in the old structure The chief difference of the Scottish system is a later transfer to the post-primary departments Whereas in England the age of 11 + constitutes the break, in Scotland the transfer is made at the age of 12 The reform of the Scottish system is completed, and the real division at present is horizontal into primary and post-primary education, although the separate regulations for secondary schools are not yet abolished

The Continent

On the Continent, the reform was introduced under the name of *Einheitschule* or *Ecole unique*, and was advocated in Germany for the last thirty years by all educationists and Teachers' Unions The underlying idea was more of social importance than of pedagogical significance More stress was laid on establishing a common school for all classes than on psychological reasons In spite of this difference of approach, the results of the reform were similar to those in Britain

Germany

The old eight-years' *Volksschule* of Germany was reorganised in 1920 The first four years were separated into the *Grundschule* which formed the basis for all post-primary education. After completing the course of the *Grundschule*, the pupils enter on one of three possible courses The upper group enters the nine-years' secondary schools, the middle group the six-years' intermediate schools and the majority continue their education in a four-years' *Volksschule* This horizontal division of the old *Volksschule* was accompanied by a change of curriculum which is now more adapted to the period of adolescence, and is more differentiated in accordance with abilities and local environment The break occurs at the age of 10 Side by side with this reform, the old preparatory classes and schools were closed, and the *Grundschule* has become a truly common school for all children of the nation.

Austria

In Austria, the reform was more drastic and the ideas of the *Einheitschule* were actually put into practice. The law of 1927 completed the reorganisation of the old system As in Germany, the old *Volksschule* was horizontally divided into a four-years' *Grundschule* and a four-years' *Hauptschule* The old secondary schools were also divided horizontally into a four-years' intermediate school equivalent to the *Hauptschule* and a four-years' secondary school The two breaks occur at the age of 10 and 14 years The *Hauptschule* is organised into two parallel courses for more and less able pupils respectively The pupils of the advanced course may pass from the *Hauptschule* directly into a secondary school without any examination The chief difference from Germany is that the change of curriculum is postponed to the age of 14 As a consequence, the differentiation of children at the age of 10 in Germany is more a matter of the social and financial position of parents, whereas in Austria it is more the result of psychological difference.

France

The reorganisation of the French system is not yet completed, and the majority of the adolescents still continue to attend the old elementary school The Higher Elementary Schools (*École elementaire Supérieure*) and continuation courses (*Cours complémentaire*) existed for a long time but were attended by a very small number of pupils Since 1919, however, the French Government reorganised them with the intention of making them a regular continuation of the primary school and an alternative to the academic secondary school In many cases these schools were housed together with the *Collèges* under the same headship The introduction of free secondary education accelerated the reform The new scheme consists of a primary school with six standards for the ages 6–12, and post-primary schools with differentiated curricula

Italy

The *riforma Gentile* of 1923 reorganised the old eight-years' elementary school into a five-years' primary school for the ages 6–11, and a vocational post-primary school (*Scuola di avviamento al lavoro*) for the ages 11–14 Old complementary schools (*Scuolas complementari*) were all transformed into vocational schools Thus Italy has solved the problem by vocationalising the upper grades of the old elementary school. At the age of 11 years, only the small minority continues a course of general education in secondary schools, the great majority are trained for definite vocations.

Russia

In pre-war Russia, elementary education was clearly divided into two stages . the Primary School for the ages 8–12, and the

COUNTRY	YEAR	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NUMBER OF CHILDREN			YEARS	INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS		COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE	
		IN PRIMARY STANDARDS	YEARS	IN POST PRIMARY STANDARDS		NUMBER OF CHILDREN	YEARS	AGES	PERCENTAGES IN SCHOOL
Albania	1933		50,890		6	—	—	7–13	35
Austria	1933	714 404	4	—	—	172,001	4	6–14	99
Belgium	1933		944,495		8	31,898	—	6–14	99
Bulgaria	1934	714,621	4	—	—	235,759	4	7–14	85
Czechoslovakia	1934		1 853,076		8	409,018	6	6–14	93
Denmark	1932		437,278		7	41,300	3	7–14	93
Estonia	1934		115,293		6	—	—	8–14	99
Finland	1932		388,100		7	—	—	7–14	80
France	1933		4,553,351		7	115,537	4	6–13	95
Germany	1932	4,707,219	4	2,882,854	4	229,671	6	6–14	99
Greece	1931	778,865	6	—	—	10,199	2	6–12	99
Hungary	1933	1,006,430	6	—	—	89,447	4	6–12	95
Italy	1933	4,716,896	5	—	—	25,994	5	6–14	92
Latvia	1934	209,232	6	—	—	5,414	—	6–14	85
Lithuania	1932	259,614	4	—	—	5,707	4	7–11	95
Netherlands	1932		1,274,833		8	75,240	—	6–13	99
Norway	1931	404,362	7	—	—	18,700	3	7–14	97
Poland	1934	4,628,421	6	—	—	103,927	—	7–14	94
Portugal	1933	420,499	4	—	—	—	—	7–11	60
Roumania	1933		2,127,409		7	—	—	7–14	80
Spain	1932		3,335,056		6	9,258	—	6–12	75
Sweden	1932		671,606		7	130,500	4	7–14	92
Switzerland	1932		472,538		8	69,520	4	6–14	99
U.S.S.R.	1934	16 652 648	4	—	—	3 368 000	3	8–12	98

Higher Elementary School for the ages 12–16 Thus the grading was quite adequate for the two periods of pre-puberty childhood and adolescence The Soviet reform shortened the course of the second stage to three years, and made it compulsory On the other hand, secondary and vocational education was continuous as the third stage The latest development, however, has slightly changed the clear-cut division of primary and post-primary education by dividing the schools into four-years in the rural districts, seven-years in the towns and complete secondary schools with a ten-years' course It has thus replaced the horizontal division by the old vertical division In theory, the horizontal division is retained, as the pupils from the four-years' schools have a right to pass without examination into the fifth grade at intermediate and secondary schools

Scandinavia

In *Scandinavia*, the reform has taken a different course *Norway* has solved the problem by postponing the break to the age of 14, and making the seven-years' primary school (7–14) a necessary stage for any post-primary education This solution, however, is not satisfactory as it prolongs unduly the secondary stage, which many parents, especially in rural districts, cannot afford A shortening of the primary stage by a year (7–13) would be a better solution *Sweden* has not made a clear-cut horizontal division but has provided many avenues for post-primary education at the ages 11 + and 12 + The majority continue in elementary schools till 14, and then attend compulsory part-time continuation schools *Denmark* has a senior division for the ages 11–14, and special intermediate schools

(iii) Secondary Education

The development of general secondary education as preparation for academic professions must be considered from two points qualitative and quantitative, or the reform of the grading and curriculum, and the expansion towards the ideal of secondary education for all

The history of secondary schools may be considered as the struggle between classicism and " realism," as the modern scientific curriculum was called on the Continent In all countries, the classical curriculum inherited from the Renaissance was considered as the only adequate preparation for the universities We have mentioned, however, that among the representatives of Humanism were many pioneers of modern science who quite definitely advocated differentiation of curricula and the introduction of a parallel course of secondary education based on science But the Latin language was entrenched in the unreformed universities, and the latter refused to admit students without the knowledge of Latin. Only gradually, step by step, the pupils of " real " schools received the

right of matriculation At first they were admitted only to the Technical Higher Schools, later to the Faculties of Science, and only in the post-war period were the last obstacles removed, and Latin has lost its previous monopoly

Russia

The most radical change was made in Russia Latin and Greek were banished, not only from the curriculum of secondary schools, but even from the universities In old Russia the struggle between classicism and " realism " assumed a political character, the Government tried to limit the access to the universities by requiring a knowledge of Latin, and the radical intelligentsia considered the study of ancient languages as an unnecessary loss of time The Soviet Government inherited this attitude towards Latin and Greek, and made the change more from political reasons than pedagogical considerations The removal of classical languages obliterated the historical difference between the Gymnasia and Real Schools, and cleared the way for the unification of the school system The previous vertical division into elementary and secondary education was replaced by a horizontal division into primary and secondary grades of a unified school As mentioned before, the latest Soviet reform partly reintroduced the old classification, and the present secondary school includes four years of primary education plus six years of secondary But as the curriculum of the first four years is similar in all primary schools, the pupils of rural schools may pass without examination into the fifth year of secondary schools.

Austria

In Austria, the reform was not so radical The old eight-years' secondary schools have preserved their identity in spite of the opposition of the Austrian Social-Democracy But they have lost their exclusiveness They were divided horizontally into four intermediate grades and four secondary grades The first four grades have no Latin, and their curriculum was equivalent to that of the *Hauptschule*, the reformed upper part of the elementary school The study of Latin begins only in the fifth year as an alternative subject The curriculum of the upper four grades is differentiated into four equivalent courses (1) with two ancient languages (*Gymnasium*), (2) with Latin only (*Reformrealgymnasium*), (3) with modern languages and sciences (*Oberrealschule*), and (4) with German culture as the basis (*Oberdeutschschule*) All four branches lead to the universities and Higher Technical Schools.

Germany

In Germany, the reform was still more moderate The nine-years' classical Gymnasium remained unreformed, but by closing down the preparatory schools the entrance was opened to the pupils

of the common *Grundschule*. The remaining three branches of secondary education were connected by the first three grades common to all. A new type of six-graded secondary school was created for the advanced pupils of the *Volkschule*. Thus, side by side with the nine-years' classical school, a new modern *Aufbauschule* with six grades is recognised as an adequate preparation for academic careers The advent of National Socialists to power has not changed the situation It is probable that the relative predominance of classical Gymnasia will vanish, and more schools will adopt the modern curriculum The new Government does not intend to eliminate Latin and Greek from secondary education, but their declarations clearly show the tendency to limit the classical curriculum to a small number of schools

Scandinavia

In Scandinavia, the reform of secondary school's curriculum was introduced even before the war, and Latin was relegated to the three upper forms of the secondary stage as an alternative subject In all other non-Latin countries, the Latin language had lost its privileged position before the war and the modern curriculum is more popular

Poland

In Poland the reform of 1932 regraded secondary schools in accordance with the practice of Latin countries The former Gymnasia and Real schools of German pattern were shorn of the two lower grades and transformed into six-years' schools similar to Italian *ginnasi-licei* Latin, as in Italy, is compulsory to all pupils with few exceptions By this reform, Poland asserted her close connection with the Roman Catholic and Latin world in contrast to Protestant Germanic countries and other Slavonic states

Great Britain

In Great Britain, Latin has lost its predominance since the growth of the new secondary schools founded by local authorities Even in the old Public Schools, a modern curriculum is offered as an alternative to classical education Thus we can say that with the exception of Poland all non-Latin countries have dispensed with Latin in the curriculum of secondary schools as a compulsory subject

Latin Countries

The position of *Latin* countries is different Latin for Romance nations is not a foreign language, but the ancient basis of their native tongues. *France*, alone of the Latin countries, introduced in 1902 a modern side without Latin, but the struggle is not ended, and as recently as 1923, Latin was again made compulsory In 1925, the new reform reintroduced a modern side without Latin but it is followed by the minority of pupils. *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*,

Belgium and *Roumania* still retain Latin in all secondary schools leading to universities

The *Expansion* of secondary education was especially marked during the post-war period As the table on page 120 shows, we can distinguish two periods of this expansion. During the first years after the war, all countries expanded secondary education, which had been retarded by the war Especially rapid was the growth in new countries as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia Of old countries, the greatest acceleration was shown in Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland and Russia During the second period we see a change Some countries experienced a check in growth and even decrease in the accommodation, whilst other countries continued to expand at an accelerated rate The first group (see the table) includes all new countries, with Germany and Norway The second group is not so homogeneous and has only one feature in common, i e. continuity of growth The causes of this difference are not similar for all countries As we have already mentioned, the new countries had a tremendous task in adjusting the inherited systems to new conditions of national independence This led to the foundation by the State of many secondary schools in the new State language, and to the growth of private schools for national minorities Many schools were created for political reasons, and some of the private ventures had no sound basis The growth was too rapid to withstand the unfavourable conditions of the economic crisis Many private schools were closed owing to the lack of funds, and State schools lost considerable numbers of pupils in consequence of general impoverishment

In some countries, additional causes contributed to the relative decline of secondary education In *Germany*, there is to be noticed a certain disillusionment in academic education with its traditional emphasis on intellectual attainments, and the new Nazi decrees of 1935 quite definitely aim at limiting the number of secondary school population In *Greece* the drop of almost one-third in the number of pupils since 1925 is partially explained by the abolition of the *Hellenic* schools, the two-years' intermediate schools which were already included in the totals *Norway* has quite special causes and does not really belong to this group The development of vocational schools diverted many boys from entering secondary schools On the other hand, the prolongation since 1919 of the curriculum by one year deprived many parents of the opportunity of secondary education for their children owing to the increased costs. In *Poland*, in addition to general causes, the reform of 1932 shortened the curriculum of secondary schools by two years and thus transferred two age-groups to primary schools

In the second group, all countries show an uninterrupted development but the rate of growth is different. Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Scotland and Switzerland, after a rapid growth in the first period, show a gradual slowing down to a normal rate of increase

COUNTRY	1920	1925	1931–3	PERCENTAGE OF 2 TO 1	PERCENTAGE OF 3 TO 2	AGES	NOTES
I GROUP							
Czechoslovakia	100,218	111,388	110,766	111	99	11–19	
Estonia	9,612	17,294	11,509	168	70	13–18	
Germany	723,714	822,609	786,691	113	95	10–18	
Greece	78,463	90,535	62,733	116	70	12–18	
Latvia	7,330	19,021	13,641	257	72	13–18	
Lithuania	12,731	24,268	17,521	190	73	11–18	
Norway	27,741	25,202	25,509	90	101	13–19	
Poland	204,804	220,922	160,812	108	73	11–19 13–19	Change in 1932 (13–19)
Roumania	60,000	95,000	92,127	160	97	11–18	
Yugoslavia	60,528	86,506	82,563	144	95	11–19	
II GROUP							
Austria	40,257	44,513	63,760	111	143	10–18	
Belgium	28,500	28,786	28,995	101	101	12–18	Public School only
Bulgaria	33,657	37,762	38,210	112	101	13–18	
Denmark	36,150	47,813	60,152	135	125	11–18	
England	344,818	388,826	486,351	113	126	11–18	Efficient School only
Finland	28,830	42,702	49,613	147	116	11–18	
France	100,449	115,659	161,646	116	140	12–18	Public School only
Hungary	56,672	61,757	65,327	108	105	10–18	
Italy	124,972	129,270	200,526	107	155	11–18	
Netherlands	31,073	41,891	49,260	135	117	12–18	
Portugal	12,000	12,223	19,457	100	162	11–18	
Scotland	53,573	78,086	93,536	144	120	12–18	
Spain	69,752	87,584	173,165	125	196	11–18	
Sweden	60,000	64,952	73,861	108	114	13–19	
Switzerland	26,578	34,407	36,723	127	106	12–18	
U S S R	564,613	710,431	1,982,972	126	279	8–18	Including Primary Department of Secondary School

On the other hand, England, France, Italy, Portugal and especially Spain and Russia, increased their rate during the second period In *England*, the period of economy stopped for a time the national increase, and the subsequent change of policy resulted in redoubled efforts on the part of local authorities In *France*, the introduction of free secondary education directly led to the increase in numbers of pupils In *Spain*, the rapid growth is the result of the Revolution and secularisation of secondary education In *Russia*, the sudden jump in the two last years is the result of the change of policy and the recognition of the necessity for general secondary education as a preparatory step to learned professions It is evident that this rapid growth is quickly approaching the saturation point, and that in a few years the second group of countries will experience difficulties met with in the first group

(iv) Vocational Schools

Apart from Higher Technical Schools, the first of which were founded at the end of the eighteenth century, vocational education was not developed by European States up to the end of the last century There were a few schools for various vocations started by private initiative, but there was no system and no State regulation The breakdown of old training of apprentices in the guilds, and the rapid growth of industry, compelled the governments to take definite steps and to create a State system of vocational education There are three different types of vocational schools, each of which has a history of its own

The earliest were the evening courses catering more for adult workmen than young people They were started in England by Birkbeck, in 1823 and became the main type of vocational institutions in Great Britain On the Continent, with the exception of Russia, they are not popular, and in many countries do not exist at all

The second type is a full-time post-primary school preparing for qualified labour These schools were started in Germany in the middle of the last century under the name of *Fachschulen*, and now are recognised as the mainstay of the vocational system

The third type is a part-time day school with a vocational bias preparing for the majority of manual occupations These schools grew out of the old German continuation schools and have become compulsory in many countries

The historical growth of all these types of vocational training was more or less haphazard, and the critical years of the war showed clearly the defects of the old system On the one hand, vocational schools existed in their own traditional atmosphere very often little connected with the new requirements and methods of modern industry On the other hand, they were not connected with the system of general education, and in their specialisation lacked a sound basis of general culture A thorough reform was needed which could only be realised by planned intervention of the State.

The post-war period witnessed attempts at such reorganisation in many European countries.

England

The first institutions for vocational training in England were the Evening Institutes Started by private initiative, they were later developed by local authorities, and at present cover the whole country, accommodating more than 800,000 students As a rule they offer vocational courses, both for adolescents and adults However valuable the work done by the Evening Institutes, it is not of the kind which is most needed If for adult workers they offer an opportunity for a change of vocation and promotion, they are not suited for adolescents occupied the whole day in a factory or an office Evening study, after a day's work, requires endurance and perseverance which few adolescents possess The full-time vocational schools and day courses have been developed only recently in England The first of the Day Trade Schools was opened in London in 1901 In 1913, the Board of Education issued regulations for this category of schools, known since as Junior Technical Schools Together with Commercial Schools and Day Courses, they provide a suitable avenue for post-primary pupils The most recent development is closely connected with the economic crisis. The courses for unemployed boys and girls since the passing of the Unemployment Insurance Act 1934, evidently will become a permanent branch of vocational training The enforcement of attendance for all unemployed juveniles will partly make good the failure of compulsory continuation education envisaged by the Act of 1918

Scotland

Since the 1901 Code, Scotland possesses a well-organised system of vocational education comprising Continuation Schools and Central Institutions In contrast to all other educational institutions, the Central Institutions of Scotland are directly subordinated to the central Scottish Departments (that of Education and Agriculture) and thus give an opportunity for national planning which is so difficult in English conditions.

Ireland

The Irish Free State introduced compulsory attendance at continuation classes for the ages 14–16 in 1930, and thus adopted the policy of Continental countries.

Germany

Germany has the oldest and the best-developed system of vocational education. The *Fachschulen* provide a full-time course based on intermediate general education for every recognised vocation. The compulsory *Berufsschulen* provide a part-time course

for ex-elementary school juveniles, preparing them for less qualified vocations. The reorganisation of old continuation schools into vocational schools was completed during the post-war period. At present, there is a movement to bring closer together the academic secondary schools and the special *Fachschulen*. Some experiments were started in the spring of 1935 by combining girls' secondary and vocational schools into a new type with a three-years' course The aim is to bridge the gulf between the secondary school, detached from practical life, and the *Fachschule*, too specialised and lacking somewhat in general culture

France

We have mentioned already that, since the war, France has paid special attention to the development of vocational education The law of 1919 introduced compulsory attendance at continuation courses for all adolescents in industrial occupations Since then, the growth of all vocational schools has been very rapid Thus the number of *Ecoles Pratiques et de Metiers* rose from 85 in 1919 to 255 in 1933, and the number *Cours Professionelles* from 250 in 1919 to 1,254 in 1933 The expenditure on technical education increased from 79 million francs in 1925 to 215 million in 1933 But as a result of previous neglect France will take many years to overtake Germany or Switzerland

Russia

The first vocational schools were founded at the end of the eighteenth century, but the attempt to establish an organised system was not made before 1884 At first the Soviet Government did not value the inherited system and transformed many schools into general secondary institutions Since 1920, however, the policy was changed, and the Soviet Government concentrated its efforts on vocational education Both the full-time and part-time institutions were developed A special feature of Soviet vocational education is the close connection of schools with respective branches of industry or agriculture, which can be done easily under the system of State monopoly.

Italy

The *riforma Gentile* reorganised all post-primary schools, with the exception of *ginnasi-licei*, into vocational schools But, whereas in other countries the age of vocational specialisation begins usually at 13 to 15 years, in Italy the break occurs at 11 years. Other countries also paid special attention to vocational education during the post-war period.

In *Sweden* a special law was passed on compulsory continuation education in 1918. In *Switzerland* a federal law was enacted in 1930 which extended the separate laws of different Cantons. In

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS NUMBER OF PUPILS

COUNTRY	1920	1932–3	1920	1932–3	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN 1933 PER 100 IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS		
	FULL TIME		PART TIME		IN VOCATIONAL	IN SECONDARY	TOTAL POST-PRIMARY
Austria	41,075	27,949	68,723	67,410	11	7	18
Belgium	95,433	91,314	included	51,078	16	3[1]	19
Bulgaria	14,821	25,261	included	1,134	3	4	7
Czechloslovakia	85,631	79,491	165,742	122,251	10	5	17
Denmark	20,000	25,028	20,000	31,217	12	12	24
Estonia	1,498	4,824	—	2,000	1	10	11
Finland	14,127	18,540	7,791	44,944	16	12	28
France	33,000	66,681	50,000	200,000	6	4[1]	10
Germany	345,948	220,522[1]	1,774,996	1,574,993	24	10	34
Greece	4,000	7,082	—	—	1	8	9
Hungary	?	52,667	75,705	89,447	14	6	20
Italy	188,752	260,702	included		5	4	9
Latvia	3,059	11,410	—	16,940	13	6	19
Lithuania	?	2,295	—	—	1	7	8
Netherlands	86,740	81,168	included	127,149	16	4	20
Norway	13,050	21,260	included		5	6	11
Poland	55,524	70,232	65,000	103,927	4	4	8
Portugal	20,000	20,114	included		5	5	10
Roumania	?	44,310	—	—	2	4	6
Spain	41,736	67,656	included		2	5	7
Sweden	19,431	38 980	79,585	153,956	25	11	36
Switzerland	24,000	27,093	94,002	161,079	35	7	42
U S S R	293,811	1,755,900	included		9	10	19
Yugoslavia	37,402	87,049	included		6	6	12
England	10,069	39,609	614,230	906,760	12	9	21
Scotland	—	5,124	—	154,931	26	15	41

[1] *In Public Schools only*

Belgium all technical schools were transferred to the Ministry of Public Instruction and a special Department was created in 1932. In *Portugal* the same measure was taken after the war The growth of vocational institutions was marked in all countries with the exception of *Austria*, *Czechoslovakia* and *Germany*

The drop in the number of pupils in compulsory part-time schools is connected with post-war fluctuations of population age-groups But the decrease in the full-time institutions is more important In Austria, it is evidently connected with the limited opportunities of industrial occupations in the new Republic In Czechoslovakia and Germany, the case is not so clear, as the figures for Germany are not exactly comparable

The table on page 124 shows the growth and the type of vocational education in European countries The most developed systems are in Switzerland (35 per 100 pupils in primary and intermediate schools), Scotland (26), Sweden (25) and Germany (24) In all these countries the continuation school is almost universal, and part-time attendance for ages 14–18 is compulsory (Scotland—voluntary) Evening schools are very little developed

The second group comprises Austria (11), Czechoslovakia (10), Finland (16), France (6), Hungary (14) and Latvia (13), where part-time continuation schools are compulsory for industrial juveniles only In Hungary, continuation schools are for the ages 12–15, in other countries, 14–16 or 18 Evening schools are also exceptional in this group

The third group includes Belgium (16), Denmark (12), England (12), Netherlands (16) and U S S R. (9), where part-time education is largely given in evening schools and includes students of all ages

In the remaining countries, vocational education is comparatively less developed and is usually given in full-time day institutions

(v) Universities and Higher Technical Schools

Higher education in Europe is organised in three different ways the British, the Russian and the Continental The British system tends to concentrate all higher studies in one institution—the University With the exception of Manchester College of Technology in England, and Glasgow Technical College in Scotland, all other special colleges are integral parts of British Universities and form Faculties of Engineering, Economics or Agriculture Students of these faculties receive university degrees of the same status as the degrees of older faculties inherited from the mediæval universities The Russian system is the exact opposite to the British. Old Imperial Universities and Higher Technical Schools were divided into separate special institutes for the preparation of qualified personnel and separate research institutes for the advancement of knowledge. At one time this disintegration of higher studies was pushed to such an extreme that the Soviet Government was compelled to stop it, and during the last years, some of the old univer-

sities were partially re-established. The principle of specialisation, however, remains, and the vast majority of Soviet Institutes are either Monotechnics or one-Faculty institutions The Continental system in contrast to the British and Russian systems has preserved the historical character of the University with its traditional faculties of Philosophy (Arts and Sciences), Law, Medicine and Theology Higher Technical, Agricultural or Economic education is usually imparted in special colleges, independent of the Universities Usually they do not award academical degrees, and if they do, as in Germany, the status is different

The relations between the Universities and the State are also different In Great Britain, Universities are independent in administration, and are only subject to Governmental supervision in connection with the expenditure of State grants, which form about 34 per cent of the total income of the Universities The appointment of University teachers and the arrangement of studies are entirely in the hands of academic bodies The historical dependence on the Church of England has disappeared, even before the war, and at present, with the exception of certain few colleges, there are no religious tests whatever This detached position of British Universities makes them quite independent of any political or religious doctrine, and among the teachers one may find the adherents of all political parties and religious denominations

The position of Continental Universities is quite different On the Continent, Universities are either State or Church institutions Such institutions as the free University of Brussels, free University of Sofia and free University of Warsaw are exceptions In Germany, U S S R, Spain, Austria, Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Roumania, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, the State has a monopoly in higher education Universities or Colleges dependent on the Church exist in France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden and Poland In both varieties, whether State or Church, independence of the academic bodies is limited In such democratic countries as France, Belgium, Netherlands and Scandinavia, the independence of teachers in State Universities almost equals the independence of British teachers Once appointed by the Government, the professors are free from any political supervision In the Roman Catholic Universities of France, Italy, Belgium and Netherlands, the supervision of the Church is much stricter, as it is obvious that the teachers should conform to the dogma of the Church.

In the remaining Continental countries, a certain political supervision exists in varied degrees The most narrow partisan supervision is applied only in Russia, Italy and Germany. In these countries, a new doctrine of higher education was enunciated Gentile, the Italian reformer, thus defined the relations of professors to the State · " The scientist is not compelled to teach ; he may at any moment cease to do so if the demands of his conscience are contrary to the orders of the Government " If he does not

resign of his free will he is dismissed by the Government. In accordance with these principles, only politically trustworthy teachers are appointed In Soviet Russia, all candidates have to pass a political examination and are obliged to expound their subjects from a definite Marxian point of view In Italy, the professors have to teach in conformity with the Fascist declared policy In Germany, in conformity with the Nazi point of view. In all three countries, the recalcitrant professors are not only summarily dismissed but often prosecuted

The *Expansion* of Higher education was a special feature of the post-war period In all the belligerent countries, the return of demobilised young men at once increased the number of students In Austria, Germany, Italy, Russia and Scotland the numbers were doubled, in Belgium, France and England they increased considerably. After this initial exceptional growth, the rate of progress was differentiated In Austria, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Switzerland, the number of students decreased considerably, and the subsequent increase during recent years has not attained the figures of the peak years In other countries, the increase was maintained and even accelerated In the neutral countries the growth was continuous (with the exception of Switzerland) and more regular. Great Britain, in comparison with other countries, had a small rate of increase (see the table)

The distribution of students by Faculties reflects not only the economic structure of the country, but also the prevalent traditions in higher education All European countries can be divided into four groups

In the first, comprising Great Britain, Finland, France, Portugal and Sweden, the Faculties of Arts and Science, preparing future teachers, attract the largest numbers of students In Great Britain and Sweden, Arts and Science students form more than 50 per cent of all students In France and Portugal, if we add students of independent institutions (mostly Theology and Arts) we shall get also about 45 per cent of all students. Side by side with this feature we notice comparatively small numbers in Technical Faculties, in England 10 per cent , France 11 per cent , Sweden 10 per cent and Portugal 8 per cent

In the second group we see an emphasis on legal and economic studies. To this group belong all new countries, Bulgaria, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia and also Italy. Approximately 40 per cent. of students in these countries pursue legal and economic studies

In the third group, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands and Spain, the medical students form the relative majority. In Spain, medical students comprise 44 per cent. of all students.

In the fourth group, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and U.S.S.R. technical studies occupy the first place, in Russia 64 per cent., in Belgium 59 per cent and in Czechoslovakia 32 per cent. It would be interesting to follow the causes of these variations which are

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS
IN RATE OF GROWTH IN PERCENTAGES

	1920	1926	1932-4	1920-6	1926-33
Austria	21,495	22,266	19,233	+ 4	— 21
Belgium	11,369	12,373	22,421	+ 9	+ 80
Bulgaria	4,899	5,022	11,131	+ 2	+ 123
Czechoslovakia	26,234	29,796	31,328	+ 14	+ 22
Denmark	4,600	5,600	6,876	+ 22	+ 23
Estonia	3,275	5,135	3,292	+ 57	— 35
Finland	3,681	4,647	7,606	+ 26	+ 63
France	44,938	58,507	84,159	+ 30	+ 44
Germany	130,000	102,002	111,955	— 20	+ 10
Greece	7,000	10,034	7,317	+ 43	— 27
Hungary	20,000	15,370	15,659	— 13	+ 2
Italy	62,456	43,481	54,673	— 30	+ 26
Latvia	5,421	6,766	8,584	+ 25	+ 27
Lithuania	800	3,580	4,812	+ 347	+ 34
Netherlands	8,854	9,782	13,641	+ 10	+ 39
Norway	2,225	4,286	4,726	+ 93	+ 10
Poland	30,290	41,399	48,981	+ 36	+ 18
Portugal	3,689	5,241	6,850	+ 42	+ 32
Roumania	(10,000)	(15,000)	37,348	+ 50	+ 149
Spain	25,156	29,650	35,333	+ 18	+ 19
Sweden	5,968	7,912	9,657	+ 32	+ 20
Switzerland	10,922	9,683	10,335	— 10	+ 6
U S S R	207,000	162,000	469,800	— 21	+ 189
Yugoslavia	12,225	12,775	15,389	+ 4	+ 20
England Scotland	55,497	56,296	61,500	+ 1	+ 9

quite evident in the case of Russia, but more obscure in other countries The exceptional development of legal and economic education in the new countries possibly is connected with increased political life and independence (see the table)

(vi) Adult Education and Politics

Adult education, as an organised movement, has developed in the majority of European countries only in the post-war period It was usually started by Churches, political parties and voluntary organisations , the State intervention in the majority of countries is very limited and amounts to subsidies regulated by few conditions In this survey, we shall limit our description to Adult Education proper The schools for adults aiming at the liquidation of illiteracy are only a temporary measure and really belong to the field of primary education They were developed on a large scale in Russia during the last decade, and still exist in Spain, Portugal and Yugoslavia The evening Gymnasia of the German type are a variety of secondary schools, and though educating adults, do not belong to Adult Education. The Evening Institutes of the English type are vocational schools and pursue aims different from those of Adult Education proper By Adult Education, we mean only

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS ACCORDING TO FACULTIES IN 1932-34

COUNTRY	ARTS AND SCIENCES	LAW, ECONOMICS AND COMMERCE	MEDICAL SCIENCES	TECHNICAL, AGRICULTURE	THEOLOGY	TOTAL	PER 1,000 IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS
Austria	5,087	4,600	5,040	3,293	1,215	19,233	22
Percentage	27	24	26	17	6	100	—
Belgium	4,228	2,500	2,388	13,191	114	22,421	25
Percentage	19	11	10	59	1	100	—
Bulgaria	3,035	6,285	1,067	491	253	11,131	12
Percentage	27	57	10	4	2	100	—
Czechoslovakia	5,172	9,140	7,181	10,200	635	31,328	14
Percentage	16	28	22	32	2	100	—
Denmark	1,577	1,657	1,917	1,148	577	6,876	15
Percentage	23	24	29	16	8	100	—
Estonia	798	1,301	533	552	108	3,292	27
Percentage	24	40	16	17	3	100	—
Finland	3,324	1,645	773	1,429	435	7,606	20
Percentage	44	22	10	18	6	100	—
France	34,940	24,325	24,894	10,000	—	94,159	20
Percentage	37	26	26	11	—	100	—
Germany	24,110	25,182	34,262	19,228	9,173	111,955	14
Percentage	21	23	31	17	8	100	—
Greece	1,040[1]	3,700[1]	1,800[1]	528	240[1]	7,317	9
Percentage	14	52	24	7	3	100	—
Hungary	2,480	6,750	2,334	2,529	1,656	15,659	15
Percentage	16	43	15	16	10	100	—
Italy	9,310	23,636	16,866	4,861	—	54,673	11
Percentage	17	43	31	9	—	100	—
Latvia			No data			8,584	41
Lithuania	—	—	—	—	—	4,812	18
Percentage[1]	29	31	17	13	10	100	—
Netherlands	3,779	2,143	3,833	2,994	892	13,641	10
Percentage	28	16	28	22	6	100	—
Norway	1,372	1,299	1,066	850	139	4,726	11
Percentage	29	28	23	17	3	100	—
Poland	14,276	17,966	6,483	9,305	951	48,981	13
Percentage	29	37	13	19	2	100	—
Portugal	2,978	1,387	1,942	543	—	6,850	16
Percentage	43	20	29	8	—	100	—
Roumania	10,315	14,043	4,555	6,445	1,990	37,348	18
Percentage	28	38	12	17	5	100	—
Spain	6,408	11,769	15,456	1,700	—	35,333	16
Percentage	18	33	44	5	—	100	—
Sweden	5,206	1,612	1,050	1,034	755	9,657	12
Percentage	53	17	11	11	8	100	—
Switzerland	2,963	2,404	2,579	1,780	709	10,335	19
Percentage	28	23	25	17	7	100	—
U S S R	73,500	25,100	69,000	296,900	—	464,200	23
Percentage	16	5	15	64	—	100	—
Yugoslavia	3,611	5,564	1,652	4,072	490	15,389	11
Percentage	24	36	11	26	3	100	—
England						49,695	9
Percentage[1]	57	10	22	10	1	100	—
Scotland						11,805	20
Percentage[1]			28	10		100	—

[1] *Approximate*

those institutions which aim at a general enlightenment of adults, giving them a certain philosophy of life which cannot be acquired by adolescents in regular schools Such enlightenment may be of general cultural character not tied to any partisan point of view, or it may be political or religious indoctrination for definite partisan or denominational ends The policy of the State towards Adult Education is usually dependent on the character of the Government A democratic Government will disregard the political or partisan bias, and will look favourably on any institution which raises the standard of citizenship and of general culture An autocratic or narrowly partisan Government will further only those institutions which propagate the particular point of view accepted by it Thus we have to divide European countries into those which afford free opportunity for every political or religious body in promoting their particular ends, and those which limit these opportunities, either by prohibitive legislation, or by establishing a State monopoly The first group again should be divided into two sub-groups, those countries which pursue a policy of strict non-interference, and those which, by legislation and State grants, promote Adult Education started by voluntary bodies

France can be taken as an example of the policy of non-interference The State takes no action in the field of Adult Education, but leaves it entirely to private initiative As a result, France has no organised movement which could be compared with nation-wide State movements in other countries The policy of State grants is adopted by Great Britain, Scandinavia, Belgium, Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Baltic countries, and Poland It was also pursued by Austria and Germany before the respective changes of the régime Each country has special features of its own. In *Great Britain*, the Government began to aid University Tutorial classes in 1907 In 1921, the Board of Education established the " Adult Education Committee " to bring together various national organisations and prevent the existing overlapping and waste of effort Special regulations were drafted in 1924 According to these, any body can receive grants on the following conditions : the course of instruction must be (*a*) designed for the liberal education of adults (over 18) , (*b*) of sufficient public interest , (*c*) so arranged as to offer to the students opportunity of making a continuous and progressive study , (*d*) so conducted in respect of methods of instruction as to demand individual effort on the part of the students ; (*e*) courses must be open to inspection by the Board The full grant on these conditions will be three-fourths of the fee paid to the teacher, or a fixed maximum sum prescribed for each type of course, whichever will be less These conditions are accepted by many religious bodies, and by the Workers' Educational Association , and the supervision of the Board does not interfere with the different points of view of these organisations The only organisation which prefers to stand aside is the association of Labour Colleges, which provides " independent working-class education " closely connected

with the Marxian doctrine In *Scandinavia* the same policy of freedom and State subsidy is prevalent. The Folk High School movement, so typical of Scandinavia, was started in Denmark by Grundtvig, a century ago, independently of the State, and only much later did the Government grant subsidies on certain conditions Any school applying for grant has to exist for two years and to be recommended by a State Inspector The instruction should be of general cultural value, vocational subjects may be added, but should not impair the instruction in general subjects, which should be not less than twenty-four hours per week The inspection of the Folk High Schools is carried out by State Inspectors acting solely in the capacity of an observer and casual adviser They do not interfere with the instruction itself The State grants a direct subsidy to each recognised school, graded in proportion to the salaries of the teachers, building expenses, etc , and also gives a certain number of scholarships to help students to pay for their board and tuition The State aid is given irrespective of the political or religious bias of the school Side by side with the Grundtvigian schools connected with the State Church, schools of the Inner Mission (a nonconformist body) and schools controlled by the Social-Democratic Party as the Esbjaerg High School in Copenhagen enjoy the privilege on an equal basis As in England, local authorities also maintain evening schools for adults, which are subsidised by the Government on a 50 per cent basis Similar conditions prevail in Finland, Norway, and Sweden In *Belgium* the same policy is pursued by the Government Since 1921, the Government began to grant subsidies to existing institutions for adult education calculated in accordance with the character of the activity and the number of students In 1930, a law was passed creating a special *Conseil Supérieure d'Education Populaire* under the Ministry of Education The work of the new Council is to co-ordinate the activities of the diverse organisations concerned with adult education, and to serve as a centre of financial control Beside the subsidies of the Government, the institutions since 1919 receive the grants from the provinces through the provincial organisations of the *Loisirs des Ouvriers* (Leisure of the Workers). It is characteristic of Belgium, as of other Latin countries, that all independent institutions are either closely connected with the Roman Catholic Church, or have a pronounced anti-clerical bias, usually under the auspices of the Socialist Party or other secularist body. Both branches of the Adult Education movement enjoy public support irrespective of their connection In *Holland*, the *Volksuniversiteiten* (People's Universities) receive grants from municipalities and provinces, and the central organisation of all institutions, the League of *Volksuniversiteiten*, receives a subvention from the Government since 1922 In *Czechoslovakia* and *Poland*, the State grants subsidies to voluntary agencies Special departments within the Ministry of Education were created, in both countries, for co-ordination of work In Poland, the supervision is on

stricter lines than in other countries and is more or less in conformity with the political ideas of the Government In *Austria*, since 1933, the Government has established a political supervision of existing institutions without, however, resorting to a State monopoly Old institutions continue to work, but they have lost their previous connection with the Social-Democratic Party Many of the old lecturers continue to work under the new conditions and thus a certain continuity is preserved

A different policy was adopted by the Governments of the three totalitarian States In Russia, Italy, and Germany, the whole movement was monopolised by the State and subjugated to the partisan aims of the ruling party In *Russia*, the Provisional Government of 1917 started the policy of grants to voluntary bodies, but with the advent of the Soviet Government it was changed at once into a policy of monopoly In 1920, a special Department of Political Education was created which took over the direction and maintenance of all institutions of adult education Its official aim is the " political education of adult Soviet citizens " The whole department is staffed exclusively with members of the Communist Party, and the instruction in all institutions is carried out on strictly partisan lines, taking the exposition of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as the basis of curriculum Besides special political schools for the members of the party, the department controls all Centres of Liquidation of Illiteracy and the Workers' Universities During the last decade, the centres for illiterates have taught the three R 's and elementary politics to many millions of peasants and workers, and to-day their task can be considered more or less completed The Workers' Universities, on the other hand, have lost during the last years their exclusive political character and include many courses of general cultural value

In *Italy*, the monopoly was established subsequent to the Fascist revolution The Fascist movement of Adult Education has passed through three stages of development During the initial period, 1920–3, the activities were limited to certain areas and small groups During the second stage, 1923–5, the organisation was extended and the principles formulated Since 1925, the monopoly was firmly established and the movement became nation-wide By Royal decrees of 1925 and 1926, *l'Opera Nazionale Dopolavore* was created as the central organ for the whole country The aim was " to promote the profitable employment of the leisure hours of workers by means of institutions designed to further the development of their physical, intellectual, and moral capacities " The instruction given includes general enlightenment, vocational and political training The whole movement is in the hands of the Fascist Party and has a public character. In 1926, there were 280,548 members, and in 1932, 1,775,570 Both the representatives of the workers and employers take part in the direction of the movement, but as all organisations are controlled by the Fascist Party, the character of the movement is entirely partisan.

In *Germany*, adult education was started on a large scale after the war Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, political parties, local authorities, and private bodies all vied with each other in founding new institutions for adult education Both the federal Government and the Lands enacted laws promoting adult education, and in many Lands, special departments were established for co-ordinating the multifarious activities and distributing the public grants Especially notable was the development of the *Volkshochschulen*, both residential and evening institutions The public grants were distributed equally to all organisations, whether Roman Catholic, Protestant, or Social-Democratic Only the Communist and Nazist organisations were debarred from public grants owing to their declared enmity towards the constitution With the establishment of the Nazi régime, however, the situation has changed At first, the Socialist institutions, and later, the religious organisations, were taken over by the State and subordinated to the Nazi's aims In 1933, the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, as the central corporation of all workers, was created, and was entrusted with all recreational activities of its members A special organisation, "*Kraft durch Freude*," was founded, which gradually monopolised adult education In its composition is a purely partisan Nazi institution, and all activities are imbued with the Nazi spirit

Political Schools A special feature of a totalitarian State is the creation of a purely political school for the members of the ruling party There were political partisan schools even before the war, but they never had a public or State character The German Social-Democracy had partisan schools since 1906, the Belgian Socialists have at present a net of partisan schools, and even in Great Britain the Labour Colleges are run on partisan lines, but they are all voluntary institutions In Russia, Italy, and Germany, the State, for the first time, established a system of special partisan schools for the training of partisan leaders In Soviet Russia, the system is best developed and includes boarding schools and Communist Universities for the ruling class In Italy, there are special Higher Institutions of university rank for training of the Fascist *élite* In Germany, there are at present fourteen special boarding schools for the young Nazis which enjoy a special carè of the Government The graduates of these schools have special privileges and are selected for the highest posts in State services

N. HANS.

SECTION II

Methods of Student Selection in Germany

CHAPTER ONE

A Saxon Experiment of Student Selection

Introduction

A QUESTION which is becoming increasingly acute in all countries is How are a number of young people to be properly graded for educational and professional purposes, according to their human values, without merely relying upon their scholastic accomplishments and performances ?

School examinations afford an insufficient and unreliable criterion in practice, although this method of elimination is the most usual Through the overcrowding of the higher grade schools, the examinations and certain professions, it has become necessary to raise continually the standards of examination and, correspondingly, increase the amount of subject-matter to be assimilated and memorised by the candidate No time remains for the repose necessary to the mental development of adolescents Spare time decreases in proportion to the increase of study in class as well as at home, with consequent overstrain and nervous debility The result does not justify the sacrifice entailed

The question therefore, extending far beyond the school sphere into the practical affairs of life, continually becomes more important Can any tests be found and applied which do not depend on mere knowledge and educational matter imparted by teaching in the schools ? No selection is possible without standards and grading If selection is based merely upon brain power, memory, full and rapid comprehension, and speedy reaction, the result will be a typical case of " selectio scholastica " This type of selection is gaining ground in both educational and commercial spheres

Serious educationists the world over are, however, seeking the form and substance of a " selectio humana " which will appraise the individual as a whole and not depend entirely upon his power of memory and capacity for assimilating knowledge

In Germany experiments have been made in this direction and the following contributions are examples thereof

Statistics

Since 1928, Germany has suffered from an acute overcrowding of its higher grade schools and universities [1]

[1] Cf. in this connection Reinhold Schairer *Die akademische Berufsnot* (Diedrichs, Jena, 1932) Also, Wilhelm Hartnacke *Bildungswahn-Volk stod.* (Lehmann, Munich, 1932)

Thirty years ago, there were 150,000 higher school pupils in Prussia and 50,000 university students in the whole of Germany, whereas to-day these figures have risen to 477,000 and 138,000 respectively [1] On a careful estimate these figures exceeded the requirements threefold.

In 1931, the number of pupils passing out of the higher grade schools had mounted to 40,000 of whom 32,400 proceeded to universities According to preliminary calculations this was also three times in excess of the requirements of the various professions

Assuming that the increase continued at its present rate, it can be estimated that in 1935 more than 100,000, but in 1940 more than 190,000 students and young academicians, would have no prospect whatsoever of professional employment. There is also no hope of employment for this number outside the academical professions if the unemployment figure continues on the five to six million level.

Attempts to regulate Entrants

This calamitous position called for a remedy Strict selection was the only way out of the difficulty , the remedy taking the form of limiting the number of entrants We are learning that it is easy to demand selection, but a very difficult matter to put into practice

(*a*) *More Rigorous Selection*

In the first stage a warning was issued and an appeal made to the common sense of the parents and scholars by various advisers and from official quarters, and school authorities were reminded of their duty in this connection The Ministries of Education, a Commission of Experts appointed by the Government of the Reich,[2] as well as numerous professional Associations pressed for a more rigorous selection

The attempt was fruitless It was bound to fail because standards were different and methods undefined

Inferior schools make poor selectors, because their standards are too low Growing complaints, of the insufficient knowledge of young students at college and in the professions, indicated that no method of elimination was in operation where it could have been most practically applied Mistaken ambition on the part of the school authorities, consideration given to the social standing of the parents, and sympathy with the pupils themselves, mitigated against success.

(*b*) *Two Kinds of Leaving Certificates*

The second stage took the form of regulation by administrative orders. The schools were enjoined to divide the matriculating

[1] In 1929, the number of pupils in the higher schools of Germany had increased to 764,000. Comparative figures for earlier years are lacking on account of no statistics being available

[2] Memorandum for the Reich Ministry of the Interior based on the deliberations of the Committee appointed to deal with the question of overcrowding in the universities and of accommodation for the young academicians. Berlin, 1932.

scholars into two groups, one of which was to be advised to go on to college, the other to enter a practical vocation Later on, an attempt was even made to issue two kinds of leaving certificates, one giving the holder the right to enter college, the other merely confirming the successful conclusion of his school career It was evident, however, that this would lead to results not altogether intended; particularly regarding the practical vocations when preference was still given to applicants holding certificates, entitling them to a university training Consequently, it was decided no longer to make a visible distinction between the two groups, the universities were merely to be confidentially advised This system, however, also proved ineffectual

(c) *State Regulation of Entrants*

The third stage took the form of stringent state regulations by the new National Socialist Government

The first step was taken by the Saxon Minister of Education, Dr Hartnacke, an expert on such problems In October 1933 he directed that only one-quarter to one-third of students matriculating in the following year should actually be admitted to the universities

Finally, in December 1933, regulations for the whole of Germany were issued by the Government of the Reich It was laid down that out of a total of 40,000 matriculating students in 1934, only 15,000 were permitted to continue their studies at the universities These were divided between the major states as follows

Prussia	8,984
Bavaria	1,670
Saxony	1,339
Wurttemberg	611
Baden	574

The remaining eleven states had to be content with smaller figures The proportion of females was not to exceed 10 per cent

For the rest it was left to the individual states to divide their quotas between the schools, according to the number of pupils in each establishment, with the right to make numerical adjustments as they saw fit

Revised Method of Examining

Here, then, the difficult problem of selection was first encountered. It was in Saxony that the best solution was found

This solution was based upon the recognition that equivalence between schools does not exist The curriculum in some schools is more difficult than in others; there are schools with old academical traditions and some, of more recent foundation, that are yet required to attain higher standards A purely mechanical division, according to the number of scholars, would be favourable to one and prejudicial to the other and thus be opposed to the idea of classification on the basis of real values

How, then, is it possible to classify these schools according to their merits?

By setting the same examination paper simultaneously before all eligible scholars, irrespective of school, with a central appraisement of all results This method, originally proposed by Dr Hartnacke, was now adopted It was by a stroke of good fortune that he found in the person of Dr Wohlfahrt an experienced psychologist who proceeded to link up his own well-tried method with the proposed procedure Assisted by the Rockefeller, Carnegie and, later, by the Abraham Lincoln Foundations, Dr Wohlfahrt had acquired, both in Germany and America, an unique knowledge of the most varied methods of psychological appraisement and observation He had also had many years of practical experience as Psychological Adviser to the German Student Foundation The result of the close co-operation between these two men was most satisfactory [1]

Wohlfahrt proceeds on the fundamental assumption that a genuine examination procedure must embrace the whole personality of the scholar Mere psychological tests, in his opinion, lack depth They tend to emphasise unduly such faculties as quick comprehension and speedy reaction, ability to memorise correctly, etc.

Definition of Wohlfahrt Method

Wohlfahrt formulates his method of examination thus A clear penetrating mind and true judgment are indispensable and irreplaceable attributes for an intellectual leader Over and above these, however, he must possess the courage of his convictions, a deep sense of responsibility for the task entrusted to him, incorruptible judgment and untiring self-criticism The character of any person striving for recognition should be distinguished by these qualities and he should derive his impulse thereto from his innermost will-power and inclinations A test which seeks to determine the selection for further university studies must take into consideration every manifestation of the candidate as an emanation of his whole personality Wohlfahrt is of the opinion that these characteristics can be determined by a multiplicity of questions being put to the pupil

These questions, however, must be so framed as not to postulate an extensive or specialised school knowledge They should be devised rather for the purpose of gauging the depth of knowledge independent of that acquired at school. Independent adaptation to an intellectual task, its clear performance, honest candour and the absence of any attempt to cover up lacunæ by resort to empty phrases—these are the qualities which Wohlfahrt desires to test.

A renunciation of all reliance upon mere school knowledge was necessary for another reason More than 3,000 pupils, of the highest form attainable before entering universities, came from schools of varied curricula

[1] This result is very clearly shown in the valuable and very scholarly work by Dr Erich Wohlfahrt, entitled *Geist u Torheit auf Primanerbaenken*, with a preface by Dr Wilhelm Hartnacke, Saxon Minister for Education, Dresden, 1934

The Function of Examination Questions

It was necessary to adapt the examination papers accordingly They must appeal to sound common sense on a higher level. Further, a " correct " answer should not be the decisive factor, but rather the method employed of arriving at a solution where school knowledge was lacking The questions and answers should, accordingly, not be an end in themselves, but should be primarily designed with the object of affording an " opportunity " and " pretext " for evoking a particular reaction

In contrast to other methods Wohlfahrt endeavours to put the questions as simply and clearly as possible Ample time should be given to the pupils to deal with the questions put before them Too rapid a grasp of complex questions is apt to be superficial The questions must, further, be so framed and distributed as to touch, and cover, the most variegated fields of interest and so as to offer a proper chance to each and every examinee to display his special aptitudes, the degree of his independence and his ability and honesty of thought

Finally, it is important that the reaction of a scholar should not be tested only on a single appointed day, but the task spread over a number of days, with considerable intervals, in order to exclude possible variations and diminished capacity of the scholars on certain days.

The Measure of Achievement

This whole procedure, however, merely helps Wohlfahrt to make a collective appraising of the school The individual estimation of the pupil in a class he leaves entirely and exclusively to the teacher The result of his procedure may constitute an important element of this individual estimation He does not presume, however, to appraise the whole personality from one such factor For that, a long-continued personal relationship between teacher and pupil is essential , also a careful observation of success and failure in performance In short, something that cannot be judged from a distance or be compressed within a short interval of time

Wohlfahrt is, nevertheless, convinced that by these means it is possible to draw comparisons between the order of merit, based upon the standing and level of performance, of a class or school and that of another school He believes that, at the very least, it could be regarded as a proper method of investigation and as, presumptively, and even probably, affording a true estimate

The reason for classification into a particular grade is thereby not explained, however Social origin of the pupil, good or bad methods of imparting instruction, curricula based on old traditions, but also on new untried hypotheses, may be responsible, together with the tutorial ability of present or former teachers

Wohlfahrt does not make the least attempt to decide any of these questions, though the grading may impart a stimulus to scholars and teachers alike, which every appreciation, for instance in sport,

evokes Educational authorities can learn a great deal in that way. More especially, however, can a standard be set for an estimate of the final educational effect in cases of this nature

The Construction of the Wohlfahrt Method

Wohlfahrt's method is constructed on a question and answers basis, which he himself divides into three groups of concepts These again are divided into fourteen different subject groups The concept groups are

A Clarity and precision of thought
B Abundance and vivacity of imagination
C Perception and capacity for appraisement

The following is an enumeration of the subject groups, with their respective concept groups indicated by letters .

I (B) *Simple Definition* e g what is an Ornament, Vessel, Document ?
II (B) *Complicated Definitions* e g Dexterity, Science, Personality
III (A) *Sophism and Fallacies* (the error must be demonstrated) . e g Existence with the position of the head and feet reversed is incompatible with the conditions of human life

Dwellers in the Antipodes (Gegenfuessler), however, would have to carry on in such positions There can consequently be no Antipodians

IV (A) *Technical Problems* e g The barrel of a military rifle has not a smooth bore, but grooved spiral lines cut into its inner surface What are the advantages of the rifled barrel as compared with the smooth bore, which might be supposed to offer much less resistance to the passage of the bullet ?

V (C) *Preference for a Particular Profession* What considerations prompted you to take up the particular profession you have chosen ? What do you know about the profession , about the qualities a person should possess for practising such profession , about the training required and about professional prospects therein ?

Which profession would you choose on the supposition that you would not be restricted in any way by financial or other considerations ?

VI (A) *Interpretation of a Statistical Table* e g Of the development of the overcrowding of higher schools and universities

Classification into groups of the names of twenty-five articles of domestic utility

VII (C) *Formulation, Artistic Interpretation* An involved and ill-formulated report from a daily newspaper should be rendered more simply and clearly

The sound characteristics of six musical instruments should be described

VIII (B) *Social and Ethical Problems* e g Advantages and disadvantages of Prohibition, also of various trades

IX (C) *Philosophical Problems* A detailed, difficult and intricate philosophical lecture of Fichte should be clearly and concisely reformulated

X (C) *Didactic Exercises* e g How would you, without resorting to evasions, reply to a 6-year-old child if it asked you why God allowed weeds to grow ? Or try to make it clear to a 12-year-old schoolboy that in certain circumstances, it might be advisable to do something, even though one is not keen on doing it (Sense of Duty)

XI (A). *Technical Knowledge, Sense of Arrangement* e g The construction of a submarine.

What measures and means would you resort to, if called upon to erect a mast, 20 metres high, in a meadow in which a fête was to be held ?

XII (B) *Utopian Questions* e g Assume that a medicine is found which would render everyone taking it insensible to all bodily pain for the rest of their lives What would be the result of such a discovery ?

XIII (B) *Rhetorical Exercises* A speech on the progress of humanity, also a relative speech on the significance of the movement for the protection of animals should be prepared

XIV (C) *Self-analysis* e g Special interests, favourite pursuits, attitude to fellow beings

The Analysis of Examination Papers

These questions, which were handed to each scholar on printed forms, were divided into three parts, which were separately dispatched at intervals of several weeks The parts comprised questions I–V, VI–X, XI–XIV The time allowed for answering the questions was 100 minutes on each occasion The completed forms could not be handed in before the given time had elapsed

The tests were made under strict supervision, simultaneously in all Saxon schools The answer forms were forwarded immediately to a Central Bureau for scrutiny

This Central Bureau consisted of ten young teachers, under the direction of Dr Wohlfahrt They were previously instructed by him for fourteen days in psychological laws and their connection with the system

Each type of question was dealt with by a separate examiner, thus, each of these had to deal with 3,243 answers (the number of examinees) to that particular question [1]

The standard of examination was arrived at in the following way each examiner chose at random from 150 to 300 answers to the question allotted to him These answers were graded into five groups of merit

The middle grade was taken as the average, those above and below representing ascending and descending degrees of merit The method of grading into five groups sufficed in most cases Occasionally, however, two additional grades, representing outstanding merit, or gross inefficiency, were necessary

This method of classification proved very successful

Indeed, it became evident shortly afterwards that this division closely followed the law of average , the percentage of the various grades being as follows

Very good	7 per cent
Good	24 per cent
Average	38 per cent
Bad	24 per cent
Very bad	7 per cent

[1] The Central Bureau had simultaneously to undertake a parallel examination of the class still three years from matriculation The total number of scholars to be examined was, thus, 4,519 of the lower, and 3,243 of the higher standards Each pupil handed in three papers, thus the total to be examined amounted to 22,000

Each paper was marked, according to its merit, with a number between 1 and 5 by the examiner, who passed it on to the next examiner

As there were altogether thirty-six questions, in three examination groups, each paper came at least once into the hands of every examiner, thus ensuring fair and unbiased judgment of all papers

The grade numbers of each candidate were totalled on the completion of the three examination papers

The highest number of total points attained was then found to be 280 and the lowest 20

The Allocation of University Seats

Each scholar was listed according to his total number of marks

The next task was the allotting of the available university seats—1,069 for male and 127 for female scholars—to the listed examinees

First of all, the Ministry reserved 150 seats for special allotment in case of hardship or alleged unfair treatment

A simple count showed that males who had attained 158 marks, and females 168 marks, could be admitted to the universities

The seats, however, were not allotted to the individual, but merely to the school, which was credited with so many seats according to the number of its scholars who had attained more than 158 points (females 168 points) The selection of the scholars themselves, within this quota, was purely a matter for the school

An Analysis of Results

A number of comparisons proved convincingly the efficacy of this system

Among the scholars, who were a year younger than the total average,[1] viz , those who at some time or other had jumped a class, the highest performance was 73 per cent ; among the normal average 47 per cent , among scholars who were a year older than the average (viz , those who had to repeat a class) 37 per cent , and among scholars who were two years older, 21 per cent

After the school had chosen the scholars to be nominated for the seats allotted, these lists of names were compared with the result of the Wohlfahrt examination method, the result of which had not been divulged to the schools It was discovered that in only 23 per cent. of the cases did the results not tally A surprisingly favourable percentage. Analysed, it shows that the higher the grade number of the Wohlfahrt method, the more favourable becomes this percentage In the highest grade its conformity amounts to 96 per cent. That is to say, in the highest grading the scholars recognised by the Wohlfahrt method as the best correspond in 96 per cent. of the cases to those chosen by the schools as the most suitable for further studies.

[1] The average age was 19½ years.

Another surprising corroboration of the value of this method · The Ministry had reserved 150 seats for special allotment in case of hardship or alleged unfair treatment Of the total number of those not admitted to university training (3,243, less 1,339) 1,904, not more than 191 applied for the vacancies reserved by the Ministry This result shows that the desire for further study within the non-accepted group existed indeed in only one-tenth of these cases The remainder realised that it would be better for them to adopt a non-professional career

Intellectual Inferiority of Examinees

The analysis also yielded, as it were, a surprising by-product For a number of years university lecturers and heads of professions had complained of the growing lack of school knowledge, logic and power of expression among young people leaving the higher schools, even their orthography was considered to be below average From this the conclusion was drawn that, either the methods of teaching, or the curricula of the schools, no longer guaranteed the former high level of performance, or that conditions under which pupils were admitted to the higher grade schools were too easy and permitted their entrance without sufficient preparatory schooling

The schools generally vehemently denied this allegation Among the 3,243 by 36 or 116,748 answers to the Wohlfahrt questions there was indisputable proof of this distressing state of affairs This caused the Saxon Minister of Education, Dr Hartnacke, to state, in his book mentioned previously, that, apart from proofs of astonishing powers of comprehension, crystal-clear thought and excellent rhetorical expression, there were also signs of intellectual inferiority among the scholars of the top forms of higher grade schools, which " caused deepest concern to the Ministry, inadequacy alone may be forgiven, but it is distressing to find it coupled with thoughtlessness, dishonesty and boastfulness " He believes this to be due to the " unfortunate insistence by employers that intending employees should possess a matriculation certificate which has led ill-advised parents " to send children to a higher school who really had no place there

Evidence of Gaps in Knowledge

The examples quoted by Dr Wohlfahrt are truly startling, but in comparison he also cites extracts from the work of other scholars, which prove that the old standard of efficiency of the German schools is not extinct, but merely in danger of deterioration, caused by the appalling congestion of the higher schools

As an example, cited from Dr Wohlfahrt's book, may be mentioned various answers to the question on Antipodes (see above), under III : Sophism and Fallacies. It is true, this question in particular seemed to have greatly perplexed the examinees. Answers such as these were received ·

(1) " There are no Antipodes, consequently, there can't be any."
(2) " Standing on one's head is only a question of habit "
(3) " This, however, is not according to the conditions of human existence, but of human decadence It is necessary to be confident and to keep one's head up, not down "
(4) " Those who don't carry their head high will never progress, but sometimes they have to look at the ground to find the hidden treasures "
(5) " There also exist people who walk on their hands "
(6) " It is true there are Antipodes but what are described as feet in this connection aren't really feet "
(7) " The Antipodes are merely back to front "
(8) " The Antipode does not live with his feet up and his head down, but walks in the opposite direction to the head "
(9) " There are no Antipodes found in humans for they would perish within three hours by violent hæmorrhage "
(10) " The feet of the Antipodes are attached to the other end of the trunk, therefore they don't have to walk with their heads downwards "
(11) " Antipodes are one-celled animals which live in the water The feet of these are tiny hairs which they use for propelling themselves through the water Furthermore, the Antipodes are not subject to the laws of gravity in the water as are humans upon earth "
(12) " Antipodes must, to protect themselves, assume a terrifying posture, thus, by stretching out their feet they appear to be lifeless "
(13) " To healthy life walking and bodily exercises are essential Such people (Antipodes) would immediately become ill and die, all the same, there may be a few, but they don't live very long "
(14) " I could imagine Antipodes Only, the functions of the body would then change altogether I am convinced that the legs would be no longer wanted and, thus, soon become atrophied and the head would assume different form and functions "
(15) " The fact that humans always walk with their heads up is only a matter of habit, by long years of experiment it would be possible to breed men who walk on their hands instead of their feet The word Antipodes may also originate from the position of the feet of humans in the habit of walking with their toes turned in "

These answers show that the young people, accustomed as they were as pupils to give a quick reply to every question, lacked, in many cases, the courage to admit the gap in their knowledge They resorted to subterfuge, which seriously reflected upon their characters. Many have, as Wohlfahrt points out in this case, carelessly formed a vague idea of the meaning of the word " Antipodes " and, from biological knowledge of microbes, mimicry, adaptation and breeding, created a terrible medley of new organisms, existing only in their own imagination.

Ignorance of Worldly Affairs

Wohlfahrt gives in his book many other instances of appalling ignorance of the ways of the world, the inability to combine the practical with the theoretical, and boastfulness paired with emptiness. He repeatedly finds cause to mention the devastating effect of mechanical methods of teaching and learning as soon as these are brought into contact with reality. Thus a 19- to 20-year-old pupil, after twelve years of higher grade study, defined the difference in the specific gravity of metals by stating that balls of steel sink when thrown into water, whilst similar balls of brass float. There

is unintentional pathos in the remark of an 18-year-old that science is a sphere, reserved for " superior individuals " The use of the expression " superior individuals " shows a state of deep depression in the mind of this young man, due to his own sense of inferiority

The Danger of Half-education

The pages of the Wohlfahrt method of examination furnish documentary evidence of an assertion made over a period of more than sixty years, and beginning with Friedrich Nietzsche, by numerous unbiased critics of our Western culture Namely, that the mass expansion of the higher schools in all countries tends to produce not true culture, but a half-educated type, which is quite new to our public life, and which in many countries is even gaining a decisive influence over public opinion and affairs

When reading the many definitions and answers to Wohlfahrt's questions, one is involuntarily tempted to make comparisons with the growing number of dissensions and misunderstandings which increasingly rupture relations between classes and nations, and cannot help but perceive a causal connection If young people no longer learn to think simply, clearly and honestly, they become an easy prey to corruption The method by which they are instructed does not give them power to form their own judgment

Social Origin and Social Goal

A second by-product of Wohlfahrt's investigations deserves mention Wohlfahrt has endeavoured to arrange into two separate scales, not only the social origin and social goal of the examined scholar, but also the ultimate profession desired by him and the station in life of his parents For instance, of the 3,243 scholars examined, he singled out all those who were the children of clergymen and calculated the average number of marks obtained by them A similar calculation was made with all scholars who intended to adopt the career of a veterinary surgeon

Classification of Parents

He investigated in the same manner the main professional groups of the parents and also groups of the various professions desired by the scholars These results he again arranged into a scale. The highest point of merit obtained in the examinations, which was 280, he entered on the scale with a value of 100. The lowest (20) became zero

A surprising result was obtained In this scale of social origin lead—

at point 84 the children of clergymen , there follow
at point 70 the children of university teachers,
at point 65 the children of teachers of higher grade schools,
at point 62 the children of people in free academic professions,
at point 60 the children of high officials,
at point 58 the children of elementary school teachers,
at point 54 the children of business executives.

Wohlfahrt remarks that this group as a whole comprises the academic professions There follow in their order between point 52 and 42 the 1,480 children of families in practical professions, business and trade, higher clerks, officers, lesser clerks, farmers, artisans, small tradesmen, lesser officials and workmen The children of lesser officials and workmen, totalling 470, are placed between points 42 and 43

The lowest group is formed by 220 children of the families of low officials who reach point 38 in this scale

Classification of Students' Ambitions

The scale of desired professions also shows a peculiar result Whilst in the scale of social origin the children of clergymen led, theology only takes seventh place and only reaches point 66 in this scale

Natural science takes first place at point 84 Everyone familiar with the professional desires of higher grade scholars knows that the most gifted are usually interested in this form of study and, particularly, in fields bordering on mathematics and physics

The second group, at point 82, comprises purely philosophical subjects of study There follow (points 81 to 77) the professions of teacher in higher grade schools and journalists At point 71 the medical specialists, at 69 the higher legal professions, at 66 the theologists, at 64 medical practitioners, at 63 engineers, at 58 lawyers, at 56 architects, at 53 elementary and trade school teachers, at 51 farmers, at 47 veterinary surgeons, at 45 army careers, at 42 business men, at 39 banking and insurance, at 38 police officers, at 35 civil servants, at 32 soldiers and policemen

The large group of low officials which supplied 220 children is not included at all in this scale

These scales created the strongest interest in Germany. They cannot, however, in any way give a final estimation They only point the way to further research, not only in Germany, but in other countries as well, for the purpose of proving the existence of natural laws governing selection

Conclusion

One fact seems to be firmly established. The result disproves the theory of the equal distribution of scholastic talent among all classes of the population and professions. It is easy to conjecture that, not only social injustice, but also the measure of family talent is an important factor in the arrangement of professional stratification, perhaps even more than has hitherto been supposed. Just as self-estimation of one's abilities plays a similar part in the choice of a career Again, an experience, known to everyone familiar with problems of selection of higher grade students, seems to have been confirmed.

If this is so, there must result, among other things, an objection

to the theory that higher school education can be extended at will into the masses of population without serious consequences.

Of course, such a theory can in no way presume to assess the value of a human group ; it merely points to a method of examining, in a strictly scientific sense, the capabilities of the schools to teach abstract thinking.

A changed method of training which combines theoretical knowledge with practical experience and technical schooling would certainly have developed into sound and valuable members of the community many of these young people, who now, by reason of wrong schooling, journey in a state of mental instability and filled with unassimilated knowledge towards a confused and uncertain future

REINHOLD SCHAIRER

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD OF RECRUITMENT FOR THE REICHSWEHR

Introduction

A METHOD of selection which can show that its results, closely observed over a number of following years, have proved successful in 95 to 98 per cent of the cases deserves on this ground alone serious consideration And this is the verdict passed upon its results by the Psychological Institute of the German Army, which discharges the major part of the work of selecting young officers In comparison with the methods of similar institutions, those adopted by this Institution must be given priority, for the following reasons

(*a*) It has replaced the customary mass selection by a thoroughgoing testing and rating of individual merit

(*b*) To the process of selection are devoted as many days as it has been customary in the past to devote hours (two and a half days for each case)

(*c*) The selection is conducted by an unprecedented number of expert examiners, as compared with the number of candidates (six examiners for every five to eight candidates)

(*d*) The procedure is based upon the best elements of methods already proven, upon modern psychological methods of testing, and upon that wider and deeper knowledge of human nature which men of experience accumulate in the course of years

(*e*) The process is not complete when the men are chosen. The subsequent career of each individual is watched for as long a period as possible, and the information collected is used to secure a progressive improvement in the system.

The Difficulty of selecting Officers

The selection of young officers presents peculiar difficulties under present-day conditions In earlier centuries wars continued almost uninterruptedly; peace intervals were brief Any method of selection, therefore, was always subject to revision and correction by the practical testing of active warfare. No common soldier of Napoleon's, but might be carrying a field-marshal's baton in his knapsack: he had but to distinguish himself in a battle, and he was already on his way to becoming a full-blown officer. Longer intervals of peace have removed the possibility of this supplementary test. And yet, as long as there are armies, their success must always depend upon the quality of their officers. Officers' training courses, military academies, cadet corps and training camps form only a few of the solutions practised. And no one who collects the opinions of different countries could say that there was complete satisfaction with the results

The conditions of the Versailles Treaty made the position yet more difficult in the case of Germany. The number of men and

officers was strictly limited Any failure, therefore, to fill the positions of command with the right men became the more apparent and the more fatal, more especially if they were not merely failures in individual choices, but failures due to the methods of choice employed The utmost care had to be exercised so as to secure absolutely the right young men for the career Means had to be designed of testing for a very high degree of quality And an examination of the methods adopted, and their results, compels us to admit that the problem has been solved in Germany as fully as our present state of knowledge permits [1]

An apocryphal account of its origin claims that the new method of selection is the result of a lecture at the Berlin University on Plato's Republic The Lecturer, Prof Rieffert, was asked at the close whether a selection after the manner of Plato's Republic could be made at the present day Prof Rieffert is said to have explained forthwith how it could be done The historical fact is, that Prof Rieffert, the originator of the special methods of selection, himself introduced and built up this system during its first years

The Procedure of Selection

The procedure is based upon the premise that a personality consists of various integral parts It cannot, therefore, be tried and judged by any method which has reference only to one part, say the intelligence Each independent region of the personality demands a procedure that observes the laws peculiar to that region

The method assumes as axiomatic that there can be no genuine testing and no reliable result unless the candidate is himself collaborating without reserve, with the wholeness of his being Examiner and candidate must be working together with a single aim, in partnership To achieve this is the fine art developed by the procedure it must also become the fine art of every examiner As an art it has been perfected and it does achieve its object in an astonishing degree Every trace of " exam-complex " seems to vanish, as the young men fling themselves wholeheartedly into the several tasks and enterprises set before them (and later described), as though they were games or competitions They have all grasped

[1] The results of many years' experimenting have now been published Special mention may be made of the periodical *Soldatentum*, published by the War Ministry and edited by Colonel von Voss and Dr Simoneit, which deals with military training, psychology and the selection of " leaders " Also of the series *Die Lehre von der praktischen Menschenkenntnis* (character-study), appearing in twenty-eight parts and published by the Psychological Institute of the Reichswehr Ministry Very important in certain respects are *Wehr Psychologie*, by Max Simoneit, *Die Bedeutung von der praktischen Menschenkenntnis* (volume I of the above-mentioned series of twenty-eight volumes), *Gesicht und Seele*, by Philipp Lersch, and *Analyse des Gebahrens*, by Hermann Stochle (published as volume II of the above series)

The above-mentioned authors are all collaborators in the Psychological Institute of the Reichswehr Colonel Voss, its Director, was elected an Hon. Member of the Psychological Society, in recognition of the scientific work done by the Institute

the fundamental idea that, at the close of the two and a half days of testing, there will remain no question of one having gained and the others lost, that, in fact, all will have "gained," in that they will all have taken part in something of itself vital and important, and all have profited by gaining a better knowledge of themselves In the process, many of the screens behind which young men seek to hide their weaknesses—and too often also conceal their merits—will have been thrown down For many, it will have proved the beginning of a new self-knowledge, and the beginning will have been assisted by direct indications and advice—indications as to individual weaknesses or advantages, advice as to how to correct or develop them.

Modern knowledge of human nature is ready now with answers for many human questionings, and solutions for many individual puzzles, and of these the road to self-knowledge is one But most young men will only ask for the knowledge, or seek the adviser, after failure and break-down have already become a danger to health or a weakening to character This procedure affords an example of how the information acquired and the laws established by modern investigation can be used, if it be only through the modest medium of a single examination-process, so as to assist individuals in general

Principal External Features of Examination

The following are the principal external features of the examination Five to eight young men, between 18 and 19 years of age, who, in the year before they take their school-leaving examination have been recommended by any of the regiments as suitable to become officers, are formed for two and a half days into a probationary group During these days they live entirely with their group, to which are also attached six examiners Of these last, two are experienced senior officers, one is an army doctor, and three are psychologists, each of them an expert in some special branch

It should be noted, further, that all the examiners stationed in any single military division of Germany are associated as members of a unit, which is permanently engaged upon the illumination of its psychological problems by comparison of experiences, by experiment and by consultation

Attention must be drawn again to the point of how widely this procedure departs from precedent, in the close and daily intimacy which it produces between examiners and candidates. This principle is emphasised further at two stages in the collective examination Firstly towards the end of the probationary time examiner and candidate meet for an undisturbed confidential talk, generally alone (the "exploration").[1] In the course of this the candidate is drawn into a "free and open" discussion of his own past and future, to state his ideas and beliefs, to justify them, and

[1] Quotations, the substance of the above, are based upon the full description of the procedure, given by the present scientific Director of the Psychological Institute, Dr Max Simoneit, in his book *Wehr Psychologie*, pages 43 *et seq.*

to pass his own criticisms upon them The most natural starting-point for such an inward exploration is usually questions as to the candidate's views of his own experiences and conduct during the probationary days just concluding. From his answers it is easy for the examiner to guide the talk towards those points about which it is important that he himself should be further informed, or about which it may be useful to the candidate to be given advice.

Conferences between Examiners and Candidates

The period of examination is concluded by a conference, in which examiners and candidates together discuss some current topic The former start the discussion going , but as soon as possible leave it to follow its own course Differences of opinion lead on to opposition and contradiction, and before long a full-dress debate is under way, and the men have ranged themselves upon opposing sides in an eager conflict of views and temperaments The result is a yet further discovery of individual characteristic, less consciously emerging at the challenge of contemporaries But it is significant of the real nature of the whole procedure that the examination period does not end upon this note The final impression must be left as one of harmony and comradeship So the examiners " take the floor " again, smooth out the differences, reconcile the antagonists, and the candidates go back to their schools in a general atmosphere of accord and cordiality

During the two and a half days, while the actual tests are being conducted, the five to eight candidates take them sometimes singly, sometimes altogether, and at times in groups intentionally constituted The examiners unite or divide

The Review of Each Candidate

After the candidates have gone, the examiners enter upon a minute consideration and discussion of each case, until an unanimous decision upon every candidate has been reached

As a general guide for the method to be followed, Dr Simoneit has formulated the following principles [1]

(1) The methods of Character-Study, not those of psycho-technique, are to be followed " Character-Study " is to be interpreted as the " Study of the whole psycho-physical personality, together with the nature of the values to which it subscribes " The tests must follow these lines They must be of a kind to probe individual capabilities in their co-ordinated action , estimates of them in isolation lead nowhere

(2) Principal attention is to be paid, not to the measure of success of a candidate in *accomplishing* tests, but to that which has transpired during the *progress* of a sequence of tests, arranged in a significant order by the examiner Thus, not what a candidate has *achieved*, physically or mentally, is to form the basis of observation and judgment, but the degree and the measure of success with which he has employed his whole powers in the *attempt* to achieve it

[1] *Wehr Psychologie*, pages 44 *et seq*

This observation must take into account all other information obtainable about the life of the candidate, including his conduct at other times than during the test Throughout, it is the *capacity* that is to be tested, the capacity and the comparative degree of success with which strength, will, intelligence or character are at command, to be called upon

(3) It will be seen that this method implies that the examiner is to be guided rather by his subjective standard of valuation, than by objective standards The danger this involves—that of a subjective bias exercising an influence—can only be avoided by taking the following precautions . by having a number of different tests , by having a number of different examiners, some of them personally unconcerned , by distinguishing between symptoms and characteristics , by insisting that a symptom identified subjectively by one examiner must be made also appreciable by the others , by the elimination of evidences as fortuitous when they are not supported by other stages of the test or by the observations of all the examiners

(4) The forming of an impression as to the personality of a candidate is to be made absolutely independently of any judgment as to his suitability for any particular career The first is to be arrived at as a totally unbiased estimate The second is a matter to be judged solely by those members of the examination board who are themselves officers, and who, by virtue of their own experience, are familiar with the demands to which the professional valuation must correspond

(4) All preconceived notions as to definite types, to which this or that individual may be adjudged to belong, must be abandoned Every candidate is to be considered as though he were a new and original type of his own Allowance is always to be made for the tensions, and inhibitions peculiar to periods of change in young lives

The Examination Stages

The Examination Stages are as follows An analysis of the candidate's career so far An analysis of his modes of expression An analysis of his mental processes An analysis of his behaviour

The Analysis of the Candidate's Life

This is made, in part, at various stages in the examination : in part, it is expressly dealt with during a conversation held for the purpose It covers the whole ground, of his home environment, of his schooling, of his intercourse with his contemporaries, of his contacts with especially good influences, or with their counter-part, of any mental or spiritual experiences in his past

The military Institute of Psychology is in process of collecting most valuable material, as it bears upon the significance of environment; but the time is not yet ripe for its scientific employment. A member of this institute reports that, in the groups examining, the psychologists are inclined to attach more weight to the congenital tendencies of the personality, the realists, on the other hand, to stress the environmental factor [1] This may be taken as an instance of the importance of combining the two elements in the examining body.

[1] *Soldatentum*, 1st Year, No 3, page 145 The report shows the diversity of the material investigated nature of birthplace and domicile, size of community, size of family, origin and occupation of parents. But it must be some years before any certain conclusions can be based upon the evidences

Analysis of the Modes of Expression

The modes used in mimicry and panto-mimicry, in speech-control, and in fashions of speaking and writing are thoroughly investigated During the speaking test, for instance, pitch, melody, tonality, articulation, accentuation, rate of speaking and pauses are observed At the analysis of the handwriting the system of the interpretation of graphological symbols has been abandoned as " no longer scientifically justifiable " An attempt is made to assess on the basis of experience and symptomatically the movements which have led to the forming of the characters Motion, progress, strength of style, reliability and clarity of the lines, spacing and joining, are counted as the most important elements

The two existing scientific works which are exclusively based on the experience of the Institute show with what thoroughness the work is carried out These are *Gebaerden-Deutung* by Strehle, and *Gesicht und Seele* by Lersch Both works are based upon an abundance of material They contain a large number of photographs, which, taken unremarked or unobtrusively, furnish an unusually rich material for the study of these two important aspects of expression These books have a general significance beyond the sphere of the military profession Further books on subjects of speech expression and style of writing are in course of preparation

In order to procure natural and spontaneous expression from men of reserve or resistant self-control, a number of special methods are employed

Analysis of Mental Processes

A number of experiments are made such as are already known to users of intelligence tests But the results are judged according to the principle already described they are considered in their relation to the whole personality, and less attention is paid to the results themselves than to the behaviour during the process The scope of the examination and the variety of tests, written, mechanical, etc , give to every type its opportunity

Analysis of the Behaviour or Action-method

In this group of tests all the previous groups became associated, linking up in the testing of the will and the capacity to act quickly and with decision Involuntary reactions are neglected, the will becomes the centre of observation The questions to be answered are How does he use his will-power ? What reserves has he to call upon ? What place has the will in his general make-up ? The analysis begins with the use of special apparatus for testing reactions, momentary reaction and prolonged reaction being distinguished. Physical capacity and endurance are ascertained by athletic tests.

One of the stages most characteristic of the examination is the forty-five-minute comprehensive action test, known as the " Befehls-reihe" (Command-sequence). The candidate has to execute a number

of orders, involving actions often unconnected, and demanding an always increasing output of energy. For the most part the orders cannot be executed mechanically, demanding individual formulation and leaving freedom of interpretation. The fashion, also, in which the orders are given makes an additional test of the candidate's will-power and concentration

The Test of Power of Command

Without preparation the candidate is called upon to instruct a body of soldiers in the nature or use of some ordinary object, or to explain to them and then conduct them through some combined action Here we are told " the characterological method of testing reaches its highest point, for here not only the will but the whole force of the personality must be employed, to secure success."

The Process of Final Selection

The Psychological Institute differs in other ways also from other examining bodies For the group of examiners themselves exercise no final decision Their function is limited to the production of a complete report upon every aspect of the young candidate's personality This is passed on to the regiment, which decides to reject or to accept Experience having revealed that acceptances made against the recommendations of the Institute resulted in a high percentage of failures, the judgment of the Institute and its reports are now highly respected in those quarters where they were most suspect at first

This division of responsibility is of great advantage It relieves the examining body, and protects it against external pressures of many kinds, against social or society or family influences Further, the Institute is not concerned with the impartial examination of candidates alone it studies every bearing of psychology upon military problems, in war time or in peace time This wider function gives the Institute a valuable relationship with the whole army organisation Its selections have the greater importance, as the outcome of a multiple connection and collaboration with the army.

A yet further lesson can be drawn from the practice of the Institute. Whereas in methods of selection connected with schools and universities the attempt is made to select the " best," the " ablest " and so on, such a method of selection for the army might serve to fill all the higher commands, but could not fill the middle and lower positions at all satisfactorily, or with the right men The selectors, therefore, form an estimate of the demand as it actually exists, and accommodate their selective standards to it ; so as to admit also a considerable number of those whose ability and temperament will be suited by, and content with, the posts of lesser responsibility.

Conclusion

The example of the Institute in this is one that should be more often followed by selecting bodies. At present, the ambition to

belong to the " white-collar " professions has the effect of drawing into them from our schools all the cleverest and most promising boys. With the result that they become overcrowded with discontented men, who find that in no position can they attain any real exercise for their measure of ability or intelligence Conversely, such a procedure drains practical and technical professions of all that material which they need most, to lead, direct and set an example in them Most countries are now complaining of a deterioration in the quality of skilled workers and artisans This is due to the retention of the " absolute " standard—aiming at " skimming off the best " only—by selective methods

The selection of German army officers proceeds otherwise Capacity, reliability, will-power, these are assessed absolutely; other qualities relatively. Effort is measured, rather than achievement The Institute keeps the precise purpose of each of its selections always before it It makes a study of all that will be needed of future officers, not only quantitatively but qualitatively It works out even details of the balances of qualities required It maps out a theme of characteristics One such " theme " [1] enumerates:

Characteristics of the Mind—fullest conscious concentration, clear apperception, attention and retention, trained purposeful reflection, ordered presentation of simple thoughts, logical thinking, practical intelligence and awareness, faculty of adjustment, disposition towards forming a Weltanschauung.

Of the Will—will-power, firmness of character, self-knowledge, perseverance, endurance, delight in action, agility and joy in motion

Of the Emotions—warmth of heart, sympathy, frankness, a social sense, unselfishness, response to ideal values, such as leader, people, country

This is a suggested " standard " for the selection of soldiers for a professional army.

And upon this basis also is being built up the ideal officer of the future: these are the qualities to be sought from him, no less than from his men. For only by a correspondence of characteristic can the army be welded into unity

The criteria, in fact, are not those usually included in school selection systems of most countries The Institute indeed has frequently expressed the view that " Proficiency standards at school and those of the army have little in common Young people of natural capacity can, if they so determine, make up the ground lost at school." [2] And the same would be said in other spheres of work. This is not intended as a reflection upon school standards. It is directed against the false assumption that scholastic standards determine the actual values of work, or progress, in the social order.

REINHOLD SCHAIRER.

[1] Col Schimrigk's " Die psychologische Beurtheilung von Jugendlichen in Gesicht auf die Militarische Erziehung," *Soldatentum*, vol 1, page 142.
[2] *Soldatentum*, vol. 1, page 111.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION

Introduction

PATRONAGE and endowment of the arts and the humanities show signs of a revival, and even of extending their former scope. A hundred and fifty years ago the support was vigorous, encouraging ever wider spheres of activity, scientific no less than humane, and more particularly the work of individual pioneers, artists, research workers or social reformers. But during the past hundred years there has been a conspicuous modification, and an imaginary chart would show a progressive simplification, a lessening curve, reduced, during the latter half of the century, to something equivalent to a straight line—the single promotion of science and its leaders and workers

Claims of the Scientist

In this respect the curve would only be showing agreement with a far more general trend, obeying that mysterious force for progress which is referred to under different names, the " spirit of the age," or the " Zeitgeist " In accordance with its impulse, the claims of the artist, the reformer, the discoverer, had to give way before the demands of the man of pure science, who claimed to hold in his grasp the key to the secrets of the universe Science, its methods and its aims, alone held the field Even social pioneers and reformers were required to give a " scientific " veneer to their conclusions, if they were to receive serious consideration Any warning that the progress of the world is controlled and directed perhaps even more by the a-logical elements in human nature, rather than by logic and the laws of science, went unheeded The scientist alone was acclaimed, and it is little wonder that, influenced by the general conviction, philanthropists, donors, trusts and foundations restricted their support increasingly to men, and to activities, of this order Wealth, so often and so generously devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, was left, or shared, upon the express stipulation that it should be used to benefit men of science and their disciples Rockefeller followed this course. In Denmark, Jacobsen the elder gave his entire fortune of more than forty million crowns to the Academy of Science, for the assistance of its future students.

The Influence of Alfred Nobel

But, since the turn of the century, a marked change has become apparent; and it would seem to be a symptom of a more general alteration of opinion, signifying a new curve of development. An

instance, typical of the change, would be the testament of Alfred Nobel, forming the basis of the Nobel Foundation Alfred Nobel lays it down that a portion of his fortune should be devoted to the exact sciences, of Physics, Chemistry and Medicine But he further stipulates that a second portion should be reserved for eminence in literature of an original or imaginative character, and yet a third for conspicuous service in forwarding the brotherhood of nations or the cause of peace A closer examination of Nobel's testament shows even more clearly what was the underlying purpose of his bequest, and how far it reflected a more general change of opinion For, had Nobel been as able a jurist as he was inventor, and known how to employ the technical terms of modern educational sociology, the Nobel Foundation would to-day present a different character to our eyes Nobel's actual desire was to help promise rather than accomplishment, to assist towards the discovery and effective release of great gifts, rather than to reward those whose genius was already recognised and their contribution already made He defined his purpose as follows

" To enable those whose work is adjudged to be of great future promise to enjoy such independence as will enable them to devote themselves entirely to that work "[1]

Upon numerous occasions he formulated his idea unmistakably

" I wish to bequeath nothing to a man of productive ' activity ' he might be tempted to stop working On the other hand, I desire to be of help to the ' dreamers,' those who find it difficult to assert themselves, as things are "

And the authorised biography explains further

" ' dreamers,' men who have the poetic gift, but who remain unknown to the multitude young scientists, men of ideas, on the threshold of some medical, chemical or physical discovery, but who are unable to progress owing to their lack of means "

These were the men whom, above all others, Nobel desired to help And to discover such men, to make an estimate of their potential value to the world, or even to find the right description for their variety, has proved an all but insoluble problem to many a more reflective and more exact mind than Nobel's

His intention was clear That his testament only succeeded in giving partial expression to it does not alter the fact. As the result of an experience world-wide in its range had come to him the realisation that other types than that of the pure scientist were equally essential to the progress of humanity That peace in the world should be prepared for and promoted was a design especially dear to him But it affords only one example of his more general purpose To the category of activities that would contribute to it belong to-day the efforts to solve innumerable social and educational problems, questions that concern the inward creative power and the

[1] " Nobel, Dynamite, Petroleum, Pacifism," authorised biography of the Nobel Foundation. Schueck & Sohlmann Germ transl , page 244

whole external relationships of man To these, pure science unaided cannot give the answer

The Cecil Rhodes Fund

Cecil Rhodes, yet another famous pioneer and man of action, was of the same mind For him, the visionary—the man who could " dream by day "—had a value upon which he often insisted The Cecil Rhodes Fund has for its object the assistance of no single scientific type, but of all young personalities in whom high mental qualifications are found to be associated with a sense of social responsibility, with capacity for leadership and with eager vitality Certain of the numerous Carnegie foundations show a like bias to that which can serve the common weal more directly, the same importance is attached as to the furthering of more purely scientific objects Recently we have been given yet another example, illustrative of the new trend In 1932, in Denmark—the land of great national endowments—Lauritz Andersen created a fund of more than six million crowns for the express purpose of aiding men of practical ability, inventors, craftsmen and original minds [1]

In short, simultaneously with the change in public opinion, with the development of a different assignment of values, the ideas of benefactors and founders have changed in the like ratio their interest is now in qualities which are not the exclusive possession of the scientific mind The change has been taking place at different rates in our different countries , and, as might have been expected, it has become apparent first in those lands and cultural spheres where the cult of science has held longest sway, and has suggested itself as inadequate, and in those lands whose practical or political genius has soonest perceived its limitations

Creation of the Abraham Lincoln Foundation

A very noteworthy example, a concrete expression of the change proceeding, is to be studied in the creation and subsequent history of the Abraham Lincoln Foundation

In 1926, Mr Geoffrey Winthrop Young, its founder-to-be, was entrusted by the Laura Spelman division of the Rockefeller Foundation with the formidable task of traversing Europe, and of establishing by wide research where, and how, help should be given that might yield the same special encouragement to the humanities and the " humane " mind as the Rockefeller Foundation and its like had been giving in the more immediate past to the studies of science and medicine. The aim was to discover and assist men and types of men qualified for effective influence and leadership in their generation ; and it was inspired by the thought that an original and vital percentage of the human race was being relatively neglected in its opportunity.

[1] Alfred Nobel, Cecil Rhodes and Lauritz Andersen were all three men of a restless spirit, wanderers and pioneers, at home in many lands. Their experience no less than their temperament may have taught them to value intuition above learning, and personal initiative above all else.

The Original Aim of the Foundation

To quote the first report upon the course of the investigation [1]

> " All ways were to be explored (*a*) of discovering the type of individual intended by nature to exercise an influence upon his own or succeeding generations, (*b*) of developing, in the case of the still immature, these natural characteristics, so that they should be used beneficially and in the interests of a better humanity, (*c*) of setting free, in the case of mature minds already productive, but hampered by circumstances, the individual power, so as to exercise the inspiring influence for which natural endowment fitted them No exact definition of the nature of ' influence ' was or could be attempted It might be exercised through the agency of learning, of action, of example in conduct, or in the way of purely temperamental contagion It must, however, clearly connote the quality to be described as ' capacity for leadership,' and further, have given some proof of capacity for *successful* leadership and for *effective* influence "

This report, in the course of an admirable analysis of educational situations and methods, continues

> " Among the ever-increasing masses of present-day scholars two attributes are becoming noticeable by their absence—productive originality and forceful individuality Their absence is the cause of crises in many spheres It must be assumed that modern educational methods, directed as they are towards a scientific and an intensified intellectual training, a training which is based upon a fixed idea and looks forward to an immediate realisation, are as unfavourable for the right production of these qualities as are, also, the conditions of our daily modern life What then is the remedy ? The obvious cure might seem to be to bring to their former prominence those humanistic studies which in the past were the first and the main fertilisers of productive initiative and outstanding originality "

A Re-statement of the Aim

Nevertheless, after exhaustive study in many countries, Mr Winthrop Young realised the fallacy of this principle He came to the conclusion that it is impossible fundamentally to distinguish the effects upon human nature of a classic or humanistic education, from those of a purely scientific training Neither classical philosophy, languages and the arts, nor yet the study of the sciences, can claim any precedence or security in producing the pure gold of genuine culture, the humane personality The tempering of essential character and the furnace of living experience are indispensable, for either to have effect And moreover .

> " In the course of my investigations I have found the most sympathetic and understanding of our advisers among the ' strict ' scientists of America, Germany and England "

In determining that the values of temperament and character were more important matters for discrimination than those of the respective trainings undergone or studies pursued—whether humanistic

[1] " A summary of impressions received during an enquiry made on behalf of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, with a Recommendation " Camb , Oct 1926 (M S.)

or scientific—Mr Winthrop Young saw that his problem could not be solved upon any institutional lines already existing : such as, for instance, a partial reform of existing school or examination or university methods

To find, and to assist, the individuals and the types he was seeking, his first concern must be with a new method of discovery and selection To create the " jury," establish a body of really qualified selectors—which is the crux of every system of testing—formed his first task, as soon as the completion of his investigations in England, Ireland, America, Germany, France and Italy had made it clear to him that a concrete experiment must be made if his theory was to be tested and his ideas given shape

Germany presented itself to him, for many reasons, as the best field of operation In Germany, individualism and a high degree of intellectual ability had always been combined, ideas had a critical but a sympathetic reception, existing institutional schools and methods kept a high standard of efficiency It had suffered, however, from the collapse of an old regime After a " mild " revolution institutions and ideas alike were shaken to their foundation, new movements were everywhere springing up, showing through the older or decapitated growth The dispersed younger energy was all the more observable, in every sphere of life and work The " live wires " could be brought into contact, positive schemes could be examined from a dozen different angles of experience. Among others, Mr Winthrop Young paid close attention to the innumerable activities of the Youth Movement , and he insisted that the example of the largest historical group of this movement, the Wandervogel, should be taken as a warning its reforming power had deteriorated into scattered individualism, its high ideals into sentimentality, it had renounced true community of life, social and family ties, and lost itself in a nebulous negation But he was impressed by the significance of the fact that, in his constant journeyings to and fro through Germany and in the countless conversations with its leading personalities, most of the younger generation who had achieved prominence in any sphere had been members of this movement. There was, clearly, a moving spirit of unrest and of new purpose contained in it, which was calling for new forms to be given to youthful training and new outlets to the human spirit, and which almost suggested of itself the mould which he later adopted in the Lincoln Foundation

A New Method of Selection

He decided therefore, as the result of discussions with groups and individuals of every class of activity, that a new method of selection must be followed, and a new order of procedure instituted for dealing with those selected. The principles must be personal observation, the consideration of whole records of a life, and personal guidance. Those to be sought were men or women who combined outstanding qualities with personal initiative, and who had

given evidence of their power to influence or direct others, in their daily lives. For various reasons a lower age limit of 25 was taken as a rough line ; but there was occasion very soon to depart from it

To discover these personalities, many of whom he had reason to believe would be found outside the run of ordinary professions, having missed the foot or some later rung of the institutional ladder, a widespread web of " advisers " must be formed, over the whole face of the country men and women, in every sphere of life, whose own attainment of leading position had not lost them their sympathetic contact with the oncoming generation Active advisers would again be certain to form their own further circle of reliable informants The advisers themselves would be brought into informal contact The whole was to be controlled by a small central executive, exercising absolute discretion in the final choices, and protected from outside interference by a powerful committee, which itself should take no part in the selection

Owing to the complete avoidance of bureaucratic method and of publicity, and the goodwill of all those who took part, it proved in practice possible to work with a very minimum of machinery and with practically no administrative expenses other than the payment of journeys Every case was carefully investigated, the adviser who recommended making himself personally responsible, and having to meet the criticisms of an " advocatus diaboli " When the merits of the case had been decided upon, the method of treatment of the individual became a matter of even greater concern to the executives, and the personal interest and guidance, the relief or the stimulus, were often continued over a number of years

The maturer group of the beneficiaries received primary consideration But Mr Winthrop Young was of opinion that the scheme could not be considered complete unless the records of cases of promise, too young still for conclusions to be formed as to their ultimate capacity and effectiveness, should also be collected, and the individuals be kept under observation, and advised or assisted when the right moment came

The financial assistance to be given under the endowment it was hoped would form only one part of its benefit And experience proved this to be the case, by far the highest percentage of those benefiting under it receiving no money at all Once the case, or its " crisis," was known, advice, guidance, the creation of an opportunity or an introduction in the right quarter, provided the solution and the only real help needed

Mr Winthrop Young recognised that such an organisation must be left very elastic in its early stages of experiment, and that the details of organisation must be developed in accordance with the experience of its practical working in a particular country. He selected Germany because of the occasion it offered for a fair testing of the scheme. But he proposed, when the necessary preliminary experience had been gained, to extend operations to a number of other countries, in like manner suffering from the wastage and mis-

guidance of much ability and original talent, not provided for or unheeded by institutional methods of selection or cultivation.

In each country, he laid down that the selection must be made by nationals of that country, as alone able to take into account all the considerations preliminary to forming a judgment upon such cases Each foundation also must have its own national corporate-personality, independent of the source of its financial support.

Personal contact was to be maintained among all those concerned in the organisation ; and it was to be established as between the beneficiaries Mr Winthrop Young foresaw that a personal co-operation between younger men of varied ability and career, and between them and their sponsors, would form in time valuable consultant groups for many departments of Government ; and this hope was actually in process of realisation before the foundation was dissolved in Germany He also looked to its establishing a community of thought and experience between similar cultural groups selected and maintained in different countries , with, as a final goal, the production of an increasing sympathy and understanding as between all Western lands

This spirit of community, between country and country and race and race, which the majority of those whom he consulted regarded as a pre-condition essential to the success of his experiment, he held, from the outset, to be its proper aim, and ultimate effect

Every impartial mind must admire the profound knowledge of humanity revealed in such a conception It embodied, in more modern form, many of the elements which have shaped the destiny of England, through the medium of such traditional institutions as the public schools and ancient universities In English education, fundamentally humanistic principles—the predominance of personal contact or of local or collective need, over bureaucracy and regulation, the assurance of security for an adequate number of years, the confidence reposed in the individual rather than in the institutional system, finally the growth of a community spirit—have played a leading part

Whether these principles could be transplanted with success to other countries, of a different educational tradition, could only be tested by a practical experiment And if the experiment was to be undertaken, then Mr Winthrop Young's scheme presented itself as the best, and perhaps as the only proposal possible of fulfilment.

The Finance of the Scheme

His enthusiasm and his careful preparation of the ground brought the scheme into being The trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York saw in it the method they were seeking, of balancing their generous assistance to science and medicine by an experiment of a " humane " character. They held at Mr. Winthrop Young's disposal a sum of $10,000 for each of the first three years ; continuing it, after the successful working during these three years, up to a total amount of $45,000. The initial grant was made upon the

condition of anonymity But during the later period, when Lincoln Foundation had established its credit in Germany, t Rockefeller Foundation allowed its name to be openly associat with its activities

Secure in the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr W throp Young returned to Germany, to make all the practi dispositions for the establishment of the organisation The annu amount at his disposal fell far short of the amount anticipated in t original conception Its principal limitation lay in the absence increment Since any real assistance must connote at least sor years of " secure " maintenance, there was risk that, with a fix grant guaranteed for only three years, the first year's commitmer might go a long way towards pledging the whole fund at dispos He found, however, that even with such restricted means, a numb of prominent personalities in the educational and economic life Germany were unshaken in their conviction that the attempt shou be made

It is evidence of the farsightedness of the founder, acting with t agreement of his financial sponsors, that the first condition was t formation of a purely German presidential Committee, who shou administer the scheme not as the trustees of a foreign enterprise, b as the guardians of a national undertaking The Foundation w given a legal German personality The Prussian Minister Education, Dr Becker, as President, and the Deputy Secretar General of the League of Nations, Mr Dufour-Feronce, as Trea urer, took charge Leaders of industry, such as Dr Robert Bos of Stuttgart and the President of the I G Farbenindustrie, D Carl Duisberg, lent the Committee their active support, ar prominent men in other spheres, such as the publisher Euge Diedrichs of Jena and Dr Heinrich Simon of the Frankfurt Zeitung, extended its circle of influence Finally, the Germ Government emphasised the importance it attached to the proje by placing RM 20,000 at the disposal of the Committee, at a tir of no great national prosperity

The Inaugural Session of the Foundation

At its inaugural session the full Committee pledged itself to t immediate realisation of Mr Winthrop Young's scheme. associated itself warmly with the principle that personal guidan and individual discretion, and not any bureaucratic or institution method, should determine its procedure and policy. To this en it appointed as sole executives and principal selectors Dr Reinho Schairer, at that time director of the " Deutsche Studentenwerk (the organisation for the granting of scholarships and bursaries, ar the relief of students in general), of the students' central loan-ban and of similar activities, also Dr Hans Simmons, director at t time of the Academy of Political Science By reason of the occupations both were closely in touch with all younger German and with its manifold problems. They volunteered to discharg

the responsibility without remuneration As an appreciation of the American generosity, the name of " Abraham Lincoln " was chosen for the Foundation, the title bearing, further, a significance symbolical of the purpose of the fund The decision was recorded as follows ·

> " The Committee has intentionally refrained from formulating policy or dictating methods It has preferred to indicate its attitude by adopting the designation of ' The Abraham Lincoln Foundation ' It is the name of an American who, uneducated himself, yet attained an eminence that secured the respect and support of all enlightened men , who never wavered in his own sense of duty or lost sight of his ultimate goal, and who demonstrated in his own life the power of a high ideal and a pure heart by the abolition of slavery and the unification of his people
>
> " The Committee feels that the high purpose of the Foundation could not be better indicated than by the adoption of such a name "

The executives, Drs Schairer and Simmons, proceeded at once to form an advisory circle , approaching about one hundred prominent personalities in every station of life throughout Germany, and requesting them to submit recommendations of the " exceptionally promising " of whom they might know, or learn, whose development was frustrated for lack of economic security

A beginning was thus made which observed faithfully the true spirit of Mr Winthrop Young's conception

The First Investigation of Cases

During the following two years, the central office of the Lincoln Foundation investigated more than a hundred cases recommended, ranging between the ages of 18 and 40 The selectors, Drs Schairer and Simmons, by travels continued during many months, endeavoured to make personal contact with all the individuals recommended and with their proposers In this they had the constant collaboration of Mr Winthrop Young

Soon it became evident that among those first proposed a considerable number needed only to be brought within the cognisance of scholarship funds and kindred organisations already existing, in order to receive the type of help best suited to them In all these cases the Abraham Lincoln Foundation intervened actively ; it advised them and mediated for them, and achieved its purpose without any call upon its own fund In certain cases also the financial obligation was shared between the Abraham Lincoln Foundation and other institutions jointly. All the early experience went to show that what may be called the advisory and mediatory function of the Foundation, its guidance, sympathy and considered introductions to the right quarters, was likely to prove of primary and almost unexpected importance No statistics, and no report could hope to give even an approximate idea of the number and character of the consultations and correspondences which this advisory side of the work involved. The deep human purpose which animated Mr. Winthrop Young's scheme, and these practica

applications of it to actual problems, have their more permanent record in the altered lives and realised hopes of a large number of the younger generation A member of the Foundation writes as follows ·

> " That such an undertaking should exist among us to-day is a matter of joyous congratulation, provoking profound gratitude Sooner or later we shall see its fruits We are confident that its full purpose will be achieved , and that what has been begun among us as the work of a great organisation will endure as a living inspiration among ourselves "

The number of those thus assisted by advice alone and by the opening of new contacts and opportunities amounted to several hundreds Unless judged to be absolutely essential, financial aid was not given, or held in reserve. The individuals were encouraged in every way to meet and overcome their own hindrances The new impulse imparted proved in the large majority of such cases successful. In the course of the six years those receiving actual financial assistance amounted to some seventy , and the majority of these were given economic security for a space of two to three years at least

Investigation of First Results

After the first three years' working, the selectors submitted their results to an impartial and critical investigation The definite " successes " and the very small percentage which had to be written off as " failures " were noted, for future guidance This joint investigation suggested that among cases recommended and cases adopted there was a relatively high proportion of " intellectuals " In agreement with the founder and his financial sponsors, the effort was therefore made during the remaining years to guard against this inevitable bias, and show preference to a larger variety of qualified personality No case of an " intellectual " was, however, at any time included unless there was evidence to show that the intellectual distinction was reinforced by a humane temperament and a force of character which could make such mental quality an effective influence The advisory circles were thoroughly sympathetic with this stipulation, and recommended only persons of this type.

It would be impossible to enumerate the variety of profoundly interesting cases, and crises, which were dealt with On occasion the help arrived too late A melancholy instance was a case proposed by Prof Einstein That of a very young workman, an extraordinarily gifted mathematician, who in an evening club had discussed the Einstein theories with " the ablest criticism they have yet received " The relief of his immediate needs by the Foundation and the sudden change into an atmosphere of sympathetic advice and understanding, following upon a life of bodily and spiritual starvation, led to a nervous collapse, and a tragic death Had the Foundation been able to intervene earlier, not only a great mathematical genius, but an attractive and most gifted human being

might have enriched the world. Not unlike was the fate of a very brilliant young theoriser in music and philosophy, and that of an exceptionally talented young painter. Conditions of life too hard, too narrow or too prospectless to give outlet for genius or guidance in its complications, not unusually result in dangerous emotional states To get information in time, to ease the relationship with life for such productive ability, became an always more insistent object with the Foundation

General Review of the Beneficiaries

A general review of the beneficiaries, about seventy in number, reveals four distinct groups

(*a*) Persons who actively or intellectually had given early proof of their capacity, and had become known To enable them to realise their effective promise, they could best be assisted by their release, during a few years, from economic pressure, in order that they might complete their training or carry through some creative work already begun Nietzsche's most important works, for instance, were conceived during some such care-free period But history tells us of many and many more, of the highest promise, who succumbed to financial need or occupational demands, and never brought their productive ability to fruition

In these cases the Foundation undertook to maintain them until the creative work already undertaken should be brought to completion, and to guarantee them a further period of rest The profit to be obtained from a " creative interval " is now everywhere recognised

(*b*) Younger promise not to be judged as yet by actual production, but already demonstrating in various ways the presence of great original talent

For them the treatment was a period of release and quiet, that they might have freedom for accomplishment

(*c*) At a yet earlier stage, such talent when discovered could best be assisted by giving freedom and guidance in study, and the opportunity of educational travel, to enlarge the experience and the outlook

(*d*) The last group comprised those judged to possess unusual capacity for production or for leadership, but whose abilities had not been directed into the right channels In them the special capacity often still lay dormant They were the most difficult cases, and the most doubtful in their promise of successful result The consciousness of great gifts unused, or of a strong creative urge frustrated, induced great perplexity of spirit and mental suffering

By its financial relief, and by its guidance, the Foundation often succeeded in enabling them to recover their right orientation ; and by its encouragement restored their belief in themselves and gave them back courage and energy

In every case the effort was made to place the individual in friendly contact with some suitable " mentor," who could maintain a personal relationship, win confidence and come to act as " guide, philosopher and friend "

A Re-grouping of Beneficiaries

Regarded from another angle, those assisted might be re-grouped under the following general types

(1) Those concerned with *Thought* —Outside the recognised lines of philosophic study there are always a number of independent thinkers, who receive their strongest impulse to thought from their antagonism to that which is established or accepted They construct their own systems or interpretations, which are often insufficiently understood by their contemporaries They have, on the other hand, their devoted disciples, eagerly assimilating and disseminating the new doctrine This form of thought has its great contribution to make, taking often as its task the solution of universal problems, the reconstruction of society, the readjustment of values, moral and intellectual, and the inclusion of all other values in a new logical structure For this type there is small opening, in career or profession, and little financial support [1]

(2) Those concerned with *Character* —Under this heading fell, among others, those using methods of psychology and psychoanalysis to secure a better understanding of human character and its laws Experimental work of a practical and valuable nature came into their province They were attempting to solve problems of education and of self-discipline, to resolve the inner conflicts and complexes hampering human development Problems, also, once belonging only to the domain of theology formed part of their field of exploration

(3) Those concerned with the *Young* —The new world desires to find new ways of education, and the old ways move out of sympathy The Foundation sought those who wrestled with the problems as they exist, the new relationship between teacher and pupil, the supersession of purely mental training, the moulding of personality, the right application of psychology, the study of the development of the civic and the community spirit

(4) Those concerned with *Politics* and the *Leading of Peoples* — Another new world of exploration, where the students of world-politic, of forces and counter-forces, are working upon lines of discovery, in the light of the new knowledge of the principles of activism, discipline and leadership

(5) Those concerned with the *Social Structure* —This proved a very active sphere of work Men of all classes and occupations were found, who, associating their work with one of the subsequent stages of education, were endeavouring to form, outside any normal curriculum, a working community of life . such as would provide a new and human educational process As an instance, Labour Camps, the meeting-place of students, workers and peasants in an atmosphere of common activity, as a basis of mutual understanding, were vigorously promoted by the Foundation , which devoted especial attention to the problem of the method of finding and training the right " leaders " A congress of several days' duration was held in Berlin, attended by twelve members of the Foundation, by

[1] The philosopher Husserl spent nine years in obscurity and poverty while producing the new philosophy for which he has become famous. The devotion of his wife alone enabled its production.

its founder and by the presidential committee and Dr. Becker The Reichsminister des Innern also took informal part, and made use of the members for consultation In the result four members took an active share in the formation of the Camps, and by their leadership and writings did much to develop their educational value, and to clarify the problem of the kind of preparation needed for those entrusted with their direction

(6) Those concerned with the release of the *Creative Impulse* — Many and unexpected circles were found to be occupied with the designing of manual occupation and craft-training, as a corrective for the evils produced by a one-sided or purely academic training of the mind The Foundation assisted towards a number of practical experiments, made chiefly among groups of the unemployed, the result of which demonstrated the presence of creative and artistic ability in an extraordinarily high percentage of individuals

(7) Those concerned with *Art —Drama, literature, painting and sculpture*, they all provided outstanding examples of the new phase, where men are endeavouring to find expression for the deepest human problems, and to interpret the life and personal experience of the artist more closely in his work social misery, the crises of youth, the failure of institutionalism receiving new forms, as they are brought into relation with the more fundamental problems of human existence

(8) *The Versatile* —A typical product of the age Usually only alike in their choice of a simplified fashion of living, their varied activities included the writing of drama, fiction and poetry, the exploration of scientific fields, the investigation of political problems and the invention of expedients Prompted by an irresistible inner urge, with every fresh undertaking presenting itself as a vital mission, they exemplified at once the fertility and the unrest of our times When left to their own devices such men all too often effect nothing commensurate with their talents or their initial energy

Specific Examples of Successes

A typical example chosen is that of a remarkable organ-builder, an experimenter in the production and reproduction of sound, who was also a sociologist and a gifted writer of fiction and drama The professions destroyed one another, and he was in the direst necessity, when he was set free to pursue his scientific researches, and so guided that they should allow him to combine satisfyingly his two principal bents Another, his exceptional but irregular talents better directed, has become a notable recorder of bird life Another, with an uncanny gift for combating the diseases of domestic fowls, was helped to a position in which he could combine fowl-breeders into experimental groups, and, in the end, greatly increase egg-production Another, a workman, with great influence over his contemporaries, was released from hand-work to educate himself, and to form a basis of knowledge for his increasing influence. Yet another, an

undisciplined musical genius, discovered as a boy, was sent to the right quarter for tuition, and later his symphonies were acclaimed with enthusiasm at Dresden and Munich Hopes of many whose energy for reform had been steered successfully into paths leading to positions of political or economic influence, or of industrial mediation, had to remain hopes

The Social Potentialities of the Foundation

If the Foundation had survived long enough to secure, not only government support, but the sympathetic co-operation of almost all influential circles, it would be privileged to appreciate, not only the success of its intervention in individual cases, but the growing spirit of community and common purpose developing among its members, and often forming beneficial centres of advice

It had the advantage of observing, from an almost unique position, the " coming spirit of the age " as it manifested itself in the temperament and manifold activities of the youth of the country It could watch the unappeasable restlessness which a relentless fate imposed upon an entire population, as the prospects of individual opportunity diminished alarmingly in an ever more and more overcrowded community No observer so placed could have remained blind long to the signs of the approaching crisis

It is indicative of Mr Winthrop Young's exceptional foresight that he drew attention to this danger as far back as 1926 In his first report, above cited, he notes how the post-war conditions have contributed to the blocking of suitable outlets for the natural energy of the people. " It is repeatedly asked," he continues, " what is the use of advanced education, with so few leading positions available, and so long a waiting-list before everyone desiring to rise above the average ? " Geographical restrictions and in particular the Peace conditions are, in his opinion, everywhere barring the road for the younger generation The Foundation, he advises, should keep this problem always before it, and the beneficiaries ought to be selected and guided upon lines that should enable them later, from a higher plane, to create new opportunity for the gifted of the oncoming generation But, later, his observations have led him to the conclusion that it is already all but too late, the danger being so imminent. " This ideal, of educational mass production, and the consequent tendency to cultivate the ' average ' mind at the expense of original intellect, is at present predominant An independent spirit sees before it no possibility of enlarging its experience, no outlet for its energies One day it may seek its own salvation in implacability and revolt If no preventive measures are taken, such as are contained in this plan, if we fail to produce and to further a type in which high intelligence is coupled with constructive ability, if we leave youth incapable of forging stronger links between individual idealism and practical common sense, if all this is left undone, then—the reaction may be a sudden, warlike nationalism "

From 1931 onward, this prophecy was being fulfilled · the tide of restlessness among the younger generation was rising ominously increasing lack of employment, and the despair that attends upon its continuance, left no alternative, to hundreds and to thousands, but to shape a course for themselves as best they might

Conclusion

In 1933, the subvention of the Foundation from America ceased In 1934, the executives used the small sum remaining for the most urgent cases still outstanding As an organisation in Germany the Abraham Lincoln Foundation then came to an end—for the time As a movement it survives, and will survive It survives most strongly as an inspiration in the lives of a number of the younger generation The testimony continues to accumulate of how many of them recognise that their association with the Foundation transformed their lives Not only its practical help, but its sustained personal sympathy and advice, and their contact with the personality of its originator, reassured them of themselves and made them first aware of the reality and value of the spirit they felt stirring within them—" it felt like spring after a long winter "

Even as an organisation the Foundation shows signs of reviving Mutual help, under the ægis of its name, is being given, and taken Already an early beneficiary, now prospering, has enabled the trustees to secure a younger member against distress for some time to come Yet others are reassociating themselves in valuable working groups

The experience of the Foundation enables us to form the following conclusions

(1) In spite of its short duration, and the relatively small funds at its disposal, the success it achieved far exceeded all expectation

(2) Organisations of a similar character are essential in every country at the present day, if the invaluable productive element of its native genius is not to be disregarded In the fields of ideas, of creative art and of active leadership it is alike called for The greater the pressure of economic crises, the greater the need for such a Foundation, to supplement institutionalism and as a guide to private philanthropy

(3) The principle laid down, of personal selection and personal handling of the cases, proved itself to be of primary importance. The actual character of the organisation itself is unimportant Most of the " rules " initially adopted for their own guidance by the trustees had later to be abandoned in the face of their experience It was the atmosphere in which the work was done, the knowledge that that work represented the uniform method chosen by a number of national personalities, themselves experienced and eminent, to assist the younger generation, which earned its confidence and gave it its strength.

(4) One lesson can be drawn from it. Such help and guidance

are most needed, and can be most effectively used, at the age when schooling is ended and the individuals have already several years of working life behind them School and university tests are, in this respect, fallacious guides Only at the later stage can a safe judgment be formed as to which talent is likely to be productive, and which not At this stage also the best reassurance can be given to individuals that the temperament which often goes with such original endowment is not " abnormal," or " diseased," and its possessors can be led to discover that they are not " erratics " or " cranks," but only unusual variations upon the human stock, with whom in fact may lie the intellectual and spiritual progress of a people

(5) Another would be that, in each country, the organisation should be carefully and considerately prepared and adapted It should be given also sufficient means an infinitesimal fraction of the amount spent annually upon mass-educational schemes would have far more enduring educational effect if devoted to this purpose

(6) The full significance of Mr Winthrop Young's idea will only be realised, and its purpose attained, when similar organisations have been created in all Western countries , and when the communities of talent and personality thus brought together and continued in sympathetic collaboration in each separate country shall pass inevitably into a like collaboration with each other, and begin to exercise their wholesome effect upon European opinion

REINHOLD SCHAIRER

SECTION III

Juvenile Unemployment and Vocational Guidance

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION AND THE VOCATIONAL CRISIS

Introduction

EDUCATION is not a branch of life complete in itself, but must be regarded as an integral part of the whole body politic, and while it is important to consider problems connected with school life, it is also equally necessary to consider its influence on life as a whole, and to study the results the training of school should exercise upon the actual realities of life beyond its precincts

Education may be regarded as a sun that sheds its rays upon all other branches of human life To examine the temperature, the composition and structure of this sun is a noble science Where the sun's rays come into contact with the earth, fertile fields and meadows burst into life under their influence, flowers blossom and forests grow, but also deserts and barren wastes may be formed

Using this simile as an example, one is driven to the conclusion that if in those countries where a high standard of Western education and culture prevails there are more than six million young people hopelessly out of work, deserts and wastes have been created where the sun-rays of school education should have brought forth fertile spots

The scientific study of educational processes and their adaptation to life is still in its infancy It must disregard the earlier lines of demarcation drawn between the provinces proper only to scientific investigation and those of the teachings of practical life, whether of labour administration, of social service, of economic planning or of hygienic reform The specialisation peculiar to our modern complexity of living contributes to an administrative insufficiency: it renders it possible for any one of these compartments to lay the responsibility for the contentment or discontent of the oncoming generation upon yet another compartment But this happiness or its opposite knows of no such artificial boundaries · it belongs alike to all, and is the result of the work of all alike If, however, our educators shift the responsibility for the younger generation upon other social compartments, this reveals, not a state of administrative, but of human insufficiency. For education is at the centre of the circle of life which embraces all youth as a single indivisible unit.

all other provinces are but its sectors From this hub the generation radiates ; and whatever fortune may attend its later life, to this beginning again will it be, with justice, attributed Education must present on a reduced scale all that the future in life contains, and it must allow for all the external circumstances which will help to fashion that life To enable young people to adapt themselves to such circumstances beforehand and, as may be, to work for their ultimate betterment, is for educators one of their principal tasks

The examination of these inter-related problems in their entirety must not be limited to a short fixed period If we judge by such restricted results, we may feel pride at the product of our institutions, our syllabuses, our examining methods But if we look back at the centuries whence everything comes, and forward to the decades which we are forming with our every action, our feeling of further responsibility grows Then we acknowledge how much we have still to accomplish, how much still remains to be done before we have fulfilled our duty

Our estimates must not be based upon the experiences of one country Western civilisation has become more of a unit than is generally realised to-day It grows out of common roots, and is a uniform attempt to humanise future life Failures as well as successes are all inscribed upon a common account If it finally closes with a deficit, then it means liquidation of the whole enterprise. The credit on which we are now living is short-termed In this, as in all else at present, we are drawing upon our reserves.

The task of education is to augment these reserves He who only increases knowledge may be a good school teacher, but only he who has this wider aim before his eyes is an educator For the real education and benefit of youth, an educator—in spite of all administrative, temporal and spacial limitations—must be thoroughly familiar with all branches that constitute the life of youth That which youth suffers passively he must comprehend in himself actively Past and future must meet in him as the rays of the daylight meet in a crystal He must be as able to make comparisons and to forecast

He must measure the " What is " with the " What was," or with other parts of our Western civilisation. His enlightened purpose must serve to illuminate the future

Such an interpretation of education demands, at the present time, that we should make a close comparison between that which is happening to our youth in general, outside our school systems, and that which it is intended should happen, and is being prepared for, in the schools themselves.

To-day, no educator in any country can ignore the question of juvenile unemployment or pass it by as a matter of small importance. The schoolmaster may think that the solution of this problem is the task of the social or economic systems, but the true educator cannot rest content with this. He wants to know the facts, the reason for the existence of such facts, their effects, why " more than six million

young people between the age of 14 and 25 are unemployed to-day while others, probably numbering double this figure, are only temporarily employed and, therefore, experience, more or less severely, the dangerous consequences of such unemployment." [1]

The Philosophy of Rousseau

Comparison suggests a counter-example out of the past In the year 1762, Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote in his *Emile*.[1] " He who consumes in inactivity that which he has not earned himself steals it And a *rentier* who is paid by the State and who does not work differs in my eyes in nothing from a brigand."

" Work is the indispensable duty of the social man. Rich or poor, powerful or weak, every idle citizen is a ' rascal ' "

On the other hand, Rousseau highly praises the skilled artisan. He is " the really free man " He holds a position which he will never lose, and which will honour him for all time

" You enter the nearest workshop—' Master, I am looking for work ' ' Take your place, my friend ' Before the luncheon hour arrives you have earned your meal. If you are diligent, before eight days have passed, you have the means to live another eight days, and you will live free, healthy, diligent and just " [2]

That, in 1762, was not idealistic or Utopian fancy, but reality and fact

To-day these two conceptions have changed for millions of our youth In those days the skilled artisan was always sure of finding work. To-day millions of young men are seeking in vain for it, and many are driven to that manner of life which Rousseau calls that of a brigand or a rascal That they become this, in many cases unwillingly, driven to it by sheer desperation, does not make the situation easier Liberty, once guaranteed by their handiwork, has been taken away from them, and, to quote Rousseau's words in an opposite sense, " they live as captives in an unreal and unjust existence "

How would Rousseau write his *Emile* to-day ? How would he construct his system of education, with this essential element of useful activity in the early stage of life missing ? Could he still recommend as the most important book the story of *Robinson Crusoe*—the man who by his own initiative, and unaided, remade a whole new world, out of his island ?

These questions concern the disciples of Rousseau—they are for them to answer ; but we all have laid upon us the duty of knowing the real facts of to-day They lie before us in countless documents, from the official reports of the International Labour Office to the numerous writings and appeals in which our suffering youth seeks to express itself.

[1] Quoted by Henri Fuss, the Director of the International Labour Office for questions of unemployment, in the *Revue Internationale du Travail*, for May 1935, vol xxx (No 5), page 692

[2] Jean Jacques Rousseau *Emile*, Book III.

The Extent of Juvenile Unemployment

When we start to examine into the extent of juvenile unemployment, we may have every reason to be ashamed There is more exact information about the number of pigs and calves in a country than about the number of juveniles unemployed [1] But there are enough statistics at least to justify the International Labour Office in reporting that approximately one-fourth of all unemployed are under 25 years of age [2] With about twenty-five million unemployed in the year 1935, it can be accepted that the number of unemployed juveniles is about six millions The percentage of unemployed female juveniles is decidedly higher than that of the male

Let us consider the position in different countries [3]

Germany

From the official statistics issued in June 1933, we find that among the workmen, 1,122,353 juveniles [4] under the age of 25 were unemployed the percentage among them being females 33 2, males 23·4, and in all 25·2 per cent of the whole unemployed

Among clerks, the number of unemployed under 25 years of age was 195,000, or 32 1 per cent of all unemployed, (males 22 6 per cent , females 50 5 per cent) The total number of juvenile workmen and clerks unemployed, therefore, amounts to 1,317,353

In June 1934, the number of juvenile unemployed workmen and employees sank to 507,864, the percentage being 18 8 of all the unemployed

Among the young people who found work are included about 220,000 who were enrolled in the " Labour Corps "

Belgium

The juvenile unemployed are estimated to be between 70,000 and 80,000

Denmark

The number of juvenile unemployed between 18 and 25 is about 36,372 , or 28 1 per cent of the total unemployed

The United States

In 1930, the total number of juvenile unemployed was 681,929, equal to 28 1 per cent of the total unemployed, 41·5 per cent. of

[1] Compare John Jewkes and Allan Winterbottom *Juvenile Unemployment*, pages 16 and 17. (London, 1933)

[2] See *Rapport III Conférence Internationale du Travail*, Dix-neuvième Session, Genève, 1935, Chômage des Jeunes Gens

[3] The extracts follow *Rapport III*

[4] The age at which juvenile unemployment is separated from general unemployment is usually fixed at 25 years This article follows this rule, but it may be noted that this does not apply to all cases When Mussolini, for instance, distinguishes between early youth and a so-called " second youth," between the ages of 20 and 30, we may infer that there are important reasons for such a distinction In comparison, the method usual in England and officially employed, of classifying juvenile unemployment as up to the age of 19, seems to set too low a limit.

these being females Later statistics from America are not yet to hand, but in *Rapport Supplémentaire* the International Labour Office reports an interesting position in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts In Pennsylvania, out of 745,296 juvenile workmen between the ages of 18 and 24, 312,323 (41·9 per cent) were out of work In Massachusetts, out of a total of 358,346 juvenile workmen of the same age, 124,827 (34 8 per cent) were without work.

This would mean an extraordinary increase in the number of juvenile unemployed An official commission, in the second half of 1934, also estimated the number of juvenile unemployed to be about two millions

Great Britain

The juveniles between 18 and 24 in 1931 constituted 24 8 per cent of all unemployed over 14 years of age (males 21 6 per cent , females 34 2 per cent)

30 2 per cent of the total number of unemployed were between the ages of 14 and 24 (males 25 4 per cent , females 44 2 per cent.), the total number of those classed under the heading juvenile unemployed being 683,781 (males 441,853, females 241,928)

Hungary

The number of unemployed juveniles under the age of 25 years is 92,654, or 41·3 per cent of the total number of the unemployed

Italy

In 1932, the total number of assisted juvenile unemployed—between the ages of 15 and 25—was 386,656 (males 197,084, females 189,572), which represents a percentage of 41 5 of the total of the unemployed (males 32 73 per cent , females 57 58 per cent)

Japan

The number of juvenile unemployed between the ages of 14 and 19 was

In 1930	131,622 (12 7	per cent	of	the	unemployed	total)
,, 1931	212,854 (18 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	)
,, 1932	270,911 (21 9	,,	,,	,,	,,	)

Norway

Of the total number of unemployed, 20,000, 27 per cent are juveniles between the ages of 18 and 24, of whom 7,000 have never had a permanent job

Holland

Out of a total of 202,636 unemployed of all ages, 56,163 (27·8 per cent) are juveniles under 25 years of age

Sweden

The juveniles unemployed from 16 to 25 years number 57,412, i e 33·7 per cent.

Switzerland

Of the total unemployed, 15 per cent are under 24 years of age

Czechoslovakia

Juveniles, under the age of 24, total 22 8 per cent of the unemployed.

Other Countries

Reports from other countries giving official figures of the unemployed between the ages of 14 and 25 are not obtainable

The figures quoted above may be taken as merely rough estimates, for as soon as one gets into touch with the juvenile unemployed themselves, or with people who are engaged in work on their behalf, one generally hears that the official returns are much below the actual number of those unemployed [1]

One hears the same also from those countries which do not as yet publish statistics of juvenile unemployment The figure of the juvenile unemployed in France, for example, is stated as 500,000 [2]

The Crisis of Unemployment

Inside the juvenile unemployed groups various phenomena may be noticed

The main fact is that the demand for labour throughout the world does not at the moment supply full work for all seeking it , and of those seeking, a greater or lesser number remains always superfluous Youth has its share, of variable extent, in this catastrophe

In most countries those leaving school each year between the ages of 14 and 16 are the least affected Occasional work, messenger jobs and such like, as well as apprenticeships, supply occupation for a great part of the juveniles upon leaving school, but this is principally only of a temporary nature The real crises begin later—the first of these after the ages of 17 or 18, and the second after the age of 20 or 21 Upon reaching the first of these, messengers, a number of occasional workers and many apprentices are thrown out of employment. Many of these go into the reserve army of the unemployed instead of into the labour army

The second crisis, owing to the rise of the wage-scale, is reached at the age of 20, when again many are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed.

Tragedy begins here in many professions, because young men at 21 are already regarded as being " too old " The shadow of this danger hangs threateningly over innumerable young men who, statistically, are not classified as " unemployed "

[1] See article issued by the Swiss Appeal Committee for Unemployed Juveniles (Publication No 10, page 13, 19th Session of the International Labour Conference)

[2] See report of the Committee of the " Young Unemployed Workers of France," *19th Session of the International Labour Conference*, page 10

Therefore it will be recognised that the most difficult period of juvenile employment is that between the ages of 18 and 20

The school is usually quite satisfied in seeing that the pupil who is leaving has found work for the time being It hardly ever concerns itself with the careers of pupils four or five years after leaving school

This later form of juvenile unemployment is therefore the more tragic because the human interest of the school in the first start cannot be looked for again Of this fact the young are well aware In their last years of school life they hear tales of the vocational fate of those who are five or ten years their seniors They realise that they have themselves to face the same uncertainty within a very short while, and the uncertainty and fear of this undermine their confidence

Effects of Technical Developments

But it is not only the rise of the wage-scale that works thus disastrously That which is called " Technological Unemployment " increases the same tendency

Technical development and rationalisation make those activities and manual occupations which are still left to man simpler and easier The work can be done as well by young and inexperienced workers and, where the technical machinery is suitable, employers prefer these, and the younger the better , because they are easier to work with, especially in those countries where they leave school well disciplined and diligent

The clearest expression of the change created by the ever-increasing growth of mechanical power can be found in the words of Henry Ford, that his workmen do not require for the making of a motor-car more intelligence than one needs to hang up a hat on a peg

The more the process of replacing manual work by machinery progresses, the greater will be the number of highly skilled and qualified workmen who will be thrown out of employment with the exception of the small number of tool makers and mechanical experts

International Labour Conference Recommendations

As a result of the International Labour Conference, proposals for the abolition of this unsatisfactory state of affairs have been classified under the following headings [1] .

(1) Raising of the school-leaving age, and of the age of admission to work The lowest age for the compulsory termination of school life should be increased to 15 years as soon as the circumstances permit

All young people who have passed this age without having found proper work should continue as full-time scholars at school until they are found satisfactory employment Close collaboration between the school authorities and the labour offices is necessary

[1] Compare *Bureau International du Travail, Bulletin Officiel*, vol xx, No. 3, August 15th, 1935

(ii) In case the parents are in a condition of poverty, they should be granted financial assistance during the prolongation of their children's school careers The instructional course should specially include general cultural subjects, and at the same time serve as a general preparation for future careers

(iii) Measures should be taken to encourage these young people, even after they have finished school, to visit the Higher Schools or the Technical Institutes

(iv) After the completion of the full school period, the young people should be encouraged, until the age of 18, to take supplementary courses of general and vocational instruction

When such courses are not possible for all juveniles, they should at least be open to the juvenile unemployed Juvenile unemployed who, without valid reasons, refuse to avail themselves of such courses should forfeit the whole or part of their right to the dole For those between the ages of 18 and 25, centres for vocational preparation or for general education should be established These centres should include practical courses, and a general teaching of professional and cultural work

(v) The persons who direct these courses should be adequately paid , should be chosen with special care and, wherever possible, should be from the ranks of the juvenile unemployed who possess the necessary ability

(vi) Young men who at the end of their higher scientific and technical studies remain still without work should be helped as follows

(*a*) To complete their theoretical preparation for industrial, commercial or other careers, or for public administration

(*b*) To attend advanced lectures in those institutions in which they have completed their studies The matriculation fees should be abolished and scholarships should be given

(*c*) They should be instructed about the conditions of those professions which are overcrowded, and should be helped to overcome their objections to taking up other professions

(vii) Special measures should be taken to secure the right material for the centres which are formed for the education, the pleasure or the social help and occupation of the young unemployed

Apart from this, the juvenile unemployed should be enabled to fill their spare time usefully and agreeably, e g by the creation of centres for recreation and gymnastics, and facilities for reading

These centres should not only be for the young unemployed, but should be open to all young workmen, and should be under the supervision of qualified persons They should be conducted as much as possible in collaboration with the young unemployed themselves

Where it is possible, work centres should be created for those between the ages of 18 and 24 The work of such centres should not be for specialisation for future careers, but for the execution of general enterprises under different conditions from those under which normal work is performed

The attendance at these centres should be strictly voluntary, and all care should be taken to prevent them becoming institutions for military training

Medical examinations before entrance, also strict hygienic conditions, should be insisted upon, special attention should be devoted to life and discipline, and, by preference, they should be self-administrating These centres should be erected as near as possible to the parents' homes to facilitate regular contact between the juveniles and their parents Their work should not enter into competition with the regular employment of the workers They should be adapted, as far as possible, to the age and sex, the ability and the profession of those attending

The young should receive financial help, besides food, clothing and housing, and should participate in the benefits of institutions for social insurance.

The time devoted to productive work should be considerably under forty hours weekly, to give the opportunity for games, sport and free intercourse The centres should contain libraries

Special care should be taken in the choice of the persons who are to supervise these centres They should have a thorough knowledge of social questions in general, and in particular of the special problems of youth

A general Committee of Supervision comprising both sexes should exercise control over these centres, and should consist of representatives of the Employees' and the Employers' Organisations, Public Administration, Agriculture, Hygiene, Teaching Bodies, etc Close collaboration with the Labour Offices is necessary

The group spirit, through the creation of co-operative work schemes, should be encouraged

Special public work schemes to help the juvenile unemployed should be organised

The Labour Offices should take special care of the juveniles and find proper work for them, the results being carefully examined

Close connection with other institutions, especially school authorities, should be established

(viii) Where great industries have come to a permanent standstill, there should be a transferring of displaced labour into other more favourable districts

The Governments should make pacts to assure the international exchange of young men who wish to enlarge their professional abilities by the knowledge of the customs of other countries

(ix) The effort to shorten the general working time should be encouraged, especially in those professional categories which are filled by young workmen

(x) As far as statistics are concerned, there should be special institutions to control constantly the number of juveniles who are unemployed The statistics should contain the number of those school children who during the year have occupation outside their school hours Besides this, special investigations should be carried out

A New Type of Educator

The above proposals form an unique document, since they represent the first attempt to establish a Charter for the new educational area which has suddenly presented itself between school life and practical life, which includes millions of young lives and which can prove for tens of thousands the opening for a new career an educational career in which it is to be noted that the title is no longer that of " teacher," but of " leader," " instructor," or " camp director "

These leaders will have a much deeper educational influence than that of the normal teacher. They are chosen by fate, and sometimes without great preparation, to guide men in their difficult transitional age, and to help them to overcome the effects of the first conflict between school thinking and life's reality They have no longer to deal with purely intellectual ideas Action and doctrine, doing and thinking, are everywhere combining

The self-responsibility of the group and the authority of the leader must always contribute to a state of tension, of its nature both productive and corrective

The task is all the more difficult because it has to do with people in whom the optimistic conception of the school is broken, and in

whom many of the Utopian ideas which school life breeds have fallen to pieces But therein lies, at the same time, also, a great new possibility Scepticism, resignation and embitterment have taken the place of the school belief that one has only to learn much and diligently to be successful in life This belief dominated up to now, not only the whole intellectual school atmosphere, but also the whole professional school body [1]

What makes it more difficult is that these new course and camp leaders' professions are only in the initial stage , which means that they have no tradition yet in support behind them Moreover, the conditions essential to make of them careers secure financially or administratively, are lacking They are professions as uncertain as the economic crisis itself They depend on it If it ceases, then the life basis of these professions will disappear No educator who examines these grave conditions will refuse his sympathy to the leaders of these manifold undertakings in all Western countries

But we should seriously consider whether we have here in reality a new field of activity, for a new type of educator, to be treated as separate from the old groups Further, it seems doubtful whether it could be right to allow the employment in this insecure and unformulated field of precisely those young men who have been for many years unemployed themselves and who, in most cases, have had no training in a serious vocation An alternative would be to appeal to the ablest young teachers in other educational departments, to place themselves at the disposal of this service for one or two years Their places could be taken by their hitherto unemployed colleagues Such a service would mean for these young teachers, especially in the external forms of life, an adaptation to the—in most cases—very hard and primitive conditions of life which prevail in those new educational categories But this sacrifice would have a twofold effect In the teaching body there would be born a clearer understanding of how tragic life is to hundreds and thousands of old scholars a few years after leaving school, and of how the hopeful optimism of the school atmosphere is changed to its exact opposite Such contact with reality would make school life more real One cannot too early introduce into the little paradise of school some recognition of the bitter actualities of the world to-day. Only by this method can the strong moral impulses which exist in the teaching bodies of all countries be directed more towards realities, remain less enchained by abstract ideas alone

Again, there would be brought into these new branches of educational life men who, with a new courage, could use their own educational experiences for the solution of this new and unusual task.

[1] That the belief is collapsing, even during school life, every expert knows In an excellent central agency for vocational guidance and employment, there hangs a large notice which said . " Learn a profession it is the safest basis for good fortune in life " A boyish hand has altered this notice with a pencil It says to-day " Learn no profession it is the unsafest basis for good fortune in life." One may easily rub out such outbursts of youthful despair , but one cannot similarly wipe out the facts

For there is no question that this new educational field lies before us still unexplored and somewhat chaotic It resembles in many respects that other great problem which faces educationists throughout the world—that of preparation for leisure Only the latter is still regarded as a problem for the future Whereas, in the field of juvenile unemployment, we stand in the midst of realities and decisions which do not permit postponement

If one recalls how many decades, or even centuries, other educational departments, e g the primary school or the secondary school, needed for their development, it is understandable that no definte policy has been evolved or effective machinery set up to deal with this comparatively new problem, which even ten years ago was hardly discernible as of immediate importance

Methods for Dealing with Juvenile Unemployed

We notice in every country, during the past ten years, the development of three different tendencies, centred round either the school, the vocational training, or the military service

Each of these spheres shows also a tendency towards expansion, visible principally in a confidence that what has been created by necessity must result in a permanent institution They can be roughly defined as .

(*a*) The extension of the school age to 15 years with the eventual aim of prolonging it to 18 years

(*b*) The extension of vocational schooling

(*c*) The extension of semi-military educational groups

Raising the School Age

The extension of the compulsory school age is a subject with which the teaching body in most countries is familiar. As a profession, teachers stand almost unanimously for this demand In this an old pedagogic ideal joins hands with the modern psychological recognition that the period of the passage through puberty calls for especial care and treatment Since any failure at this stage involves damage to the human soul, and is bitterly avenged in later years, there is essential need of a consistent educational influence.

Formerly such influence became active in the natural environment that followed after the school years, in the home of the employer, if not in the family business

But nowadays these natural sources of educational influence have ceased to function The raising of the school age is urged as a substitute, and the present crisis of juvenile unemployment offers a convenient occasion

Another form of social pressure demands the same solution.

The great aspiring groups of the middle classes in the towns through the extension of secondary education have attained for their children entrance to every kind of higher profession, together with the social amenities associated with those professions. Now the

working classes in town and country demand the same privileges They do not want to see their children, owing to a lower standard of education, condemned from the very beginning to remain in a lower stratum of social life They are fighting to give them the opportunity of measuring their intelligence and ability, under equal conditions, against those of the children who by accident belong to middle-class families They wish to obtain for their class the same great privileges which the middle classes have wrested from the upper classes during the last fifty years

Every prolongation of the school period brings the children of the working classes—educated in a hard life and often exceptionally gifted—nearer to this aim The age of 15 is only a beginning The object of the struggle is openly proclaimed to be the raising of the age to 18, with the possibility of proceeding direct to the universities

This pressure, however, overlooks the law of " selectivity," which must always regulate the higher intellectual professions

If the number of applicants for the higher positions increases greatly, the standards of selection must be raised simultaneously in the same degree But we are not far enough advanced to ascertain the effect and the nature of such standards of selection In fact, in many countries, there is a growing reluctance to place confidence in the hope that mechanical or psychological tests will evolve the infallible standard of selection For, if one increases the school standards of pure mnemonics too much, one produces an exhaustion of juvenile nerves and brains, which will cause much injury Again, the disappointment of those who are not accepted owing to the ever-increasing standards may easily develop an inferiority complex, and do injury to their self-respect

These considerations, however, imply no reflection upon the effort of the individual to achieve the best possible for himself through school But all the more do they constitute a warning to those who, as school experts, should know of the difficulties which such a plan implies

Arguments against Raising School Age

Against the general prolongation of the school age there are many arguments brought forward

It is generally said that juvenile unemployment can only be very slowly affected by the prolonging of the school age, and that it would take ten years before the effect, up to the age of 25, could be felt This objection is a sound one, but one should not hesitate in an attempt just because the effect can only be attained slowly and step by step.

Whether, on the other hand, the progress of mechanisation would not offset any success by the fact that more juveniles will in any case be crowded out of the working process, is a question for argument A definite or absolute objection cannot be found in it

It is objected that those parents who to-day depend upon the earnings of the children who have left school to augment the family

income would consequently lose part of this income This objection is a just one, especially if the hope that the young may later advance into positions of higher remuneration does not materialise That all children should enjoy a longer schooling cannot be considered as giving any security that the family income, in individual cases, will be greater And it would be wrong not to admit that it is in just those middle-class professions to which children would gain admission by a higher school education, that the overcrowding and consequent unemployment are, in most countries, conspicuous

For this reason, in the case of poor families, it would be only just to compensate for the prolongation of the school age by supplementing the parents' resources by the amount of the possible income of the 14-year-old during the extended school period But every expert knows what difficulties arise when an attempt is made to differentiate between " poor " and " not poor " in respective families To grant compensation to all parents would be unprecedented in the history of education , it would mean the whole population being subsidised because its children were receiving more education

The main objection, however, comes from two very different quarters

Particularly during the transitional age, exaggerated one-sided brain work can produce a serious crisis Every young being is then filled with a desire to prove himself, and to establish and increase his self-confidence by means of successful action Intellectual school work gives this satisfaction only to those especially gifted Success in such work, however, is often thwarted through the overburdening of the teaching curriculum and the overcrowding of classes The purely mental training given in the primary schools of most countries produces, further, an acute form of " schoolbench-boredom " This boredom poisons what has been learned, dulls the capacity to learn or attend, and is responsible among the young for an antipathy towards thinking and books, such as can already be observed among the growing generation in many Western countries

Boredom and a dulled satiety can most easily become a dangerous habit at the age of 14–15 It is at this age that the general view of life formed by large groups of the young can be permanently prejudiced In result, learning, serious reading, criticism of events and ideas are alike rejected ; the older generation, with its tradition of weighing emotions against actual experience, becomes suspect ; " slogans," sentiment, the film-world, detective stories and all the corresponding superficialities of daily life, take their place

Practically every Western land bears the evidences of this change Educators themselves, if they are to speak honestly, must admit that their 14-year-olds leave school with no very unsatisfiable desire for more knowledge or more study With 15-year-olds we can hardly look for a change for the better

We are therefore faced with the question as to whether the schools

of the old style, with their overcrowded classes, academic curricula and teachers overloaded with work, are the right agencies to undertake this new task, that of providing a suitable training for a prolongation of the school age

Danger of Overcrowded Professions

The opposite view might be maintained, that the school as it is could only be handicapped further by such an attempt

Again, the conception of prolonging the period of learning, not only for one year, but late into life, is far too important to be risked in a premature and ill-considered experiment

The matter, however, stands on an entirely different footing in schools which have altered the character of their instruction well before the fourteenth year Where the training of hand and brain is producing an even and harmonious development, the lengthening of school life has good prospects of really beneficial results The English Central School which follows the Hadow Report is an admirable example Here it is clearly demonstrated that the refashioning of the school (not only of the rooms, workshops and gardens, but most of all of the *teachers* themselves) must be achieved before the prolongation of the school age can have any success

By such a change yet another danger is avoided, namely that of more and more children forcing themselves into the narrow channels which lead away from manual labour, and towards the already overcrowded professions

This overcrowding of the professional groups is not only a tragedy for individuals, it is menacing the stability of the State in many countries Space does not permit of further elaboration here [1], but it must be pointed out that every prolongation of the school age can but add to it, and its disadvantages outweigh any possible advantage [2]

The Atelier Ecole

The second main objection comes from those connected with vocational instruction In all countries they show a growing tendency to reject the prolongation of the old type of primary school education. Their daily experience proves again and again the disadvantages which come—especially for their vocational instruction—from long-continued and, at the same time, superficial and general

[1] For a fuller discussion of this problem, see YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935, pages 644–64

[2] Amongst the numerous signs of this danger, a recent report may be pointed out The Education Adviser to the Malay States—Mr F S Morton—deals with it in his yearly report He notices that there is a considerable " over-application " from clerks with a Cambridge certificate, and he continues as follows: " With the spread of English education a knowledge of that language will cease to be the ' open sesame ' to fortune, even to livelihood This presents one of the gravest problems of to-day There is no doubt that the bulk of the inhabitants must turn to agriculture Any ideal education unadjusted to local needs must lead to economic dislocation and social unrest "—*The Observer*, September 22nd, 1935

school education. This conviction is expressed very emphatically by one who is connected with one of the most interesting new school enterprises on the Continent, viz the Atelier Ecole, which has been founded by the Parisian Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with great educationists like MM Labbé and Lomont The President of the Administrative Committee of this school, Mr Henri Harley, at the World Congress for Technical Teaching held in Barcelona in May 1934,[1] pointed out with regard to juvenile unemployment

> " To increase the school age and keep the children attending as long as possible is an idle effort at solving the problem The pupil only repeats during the additional year or two and in a similar manner the same school exercises he already knows And afterwards what happens ? How can the future be prepared for in a manner like this ? How can such knowledge serve, or be turned to account ? "

In direct contrast to this he defines the task of an Atelier Ecole :

> " It should be a reservoir of activity, into which those children are taken who have finished their general school education and cannot immediately find a place in industry or commerce, but whom it will be possible to transfer again into economic life as soon as the circumstances become once more favourable "

The Atelier Ecole provides, from the age of 12, for the future young workmen, artisans and employees a programme of education which is composed of purely practical as well as of theoretical subjects

The purely practical ones are carried out in special great workshops, directed by experts, in such a manner as may have a direct bearing on economic realities This practical work does not serve directly as vocational preparation, but rather remains a " learnt at school " subject like the others Only at the end of this period is the choice of vocation decided

The experience of these schools shows that, in spite of the great shortening of the mental training period, intellectual quality often appears at them later like a stroke of magic In these cases, " benchboredom " and the over-exhaustion of brain-work had simply kept the lines blocked But the handiwork cleared them again, the children became free, self-assured and confident, and every branch of study profited, particularly theoretical subjects

Other Types of Vocational Schools

One can find the same evidence wherever the new line of education has displaced the old type of school This is emphasised by Prof. Palazzo, director of the excellent school " Umanitaria " in Milan, as well as by the teachers in the new area schools in east Suffolk, which, in one-third of the time usually devoted to the subject, have achieved the same success in mathematics as other schools organised on traditional lines

The same favourable results are noted in the system of compulsory

[1] *Rapports déposés, Congrès international de l'Enseignement Technique*, Barcelona, 17–19 mai, 1934, deuxième volume, page 472

continuation schools now popular upon the Continent At the age of 14 the children enter their practical profession, but they have six to ten hours' supplementary theoretical teaching weekly, either during the evening or on a day set apart The success of these schools is the greater, the more their teaching is related to the practical experience of the young men in their professional occupation

Of course, the objection is always taken by the real craftsmen, to these schools where manual work is taught, that they can never reach the high standard of technique achieved by a training in the shops and works themselves But the opportunities for such training in practice become always rarer, as mechanisation, rationalisation and dying craftsmanship leave always greater gaps in the preparation for technical accomplishment Schools which combine practical and intellectual work are at least doing something to fill the gap They can certainly in the course of time develop into a valuable substitute

In the meantime, however, vocational education in varying forms is given throughout the whole of the Western world to the juvenile unemployed, either exclusively or combined with other forms of education The process of readaptation takes the unemployed workmen and instructs them in the profession nearest their own, e g office work, typewriting book-keeping , or, alternatively, young men are given an intensive educational training in manual vocations They are taught handiwork, most of all farming, in the hope that some will return to the simpler vocations Unemployed engineers are made into specialists by continued courses, or they are taught in the factories or workshops to become ordinary workmen again

The hope is always held out to them that they may have better prospects in the alternative vocation But in most cases this hope proves to be an illusion Similarly the young men are encouraged to maintain and improve their technical efficiency But when, at the end of these courses, they return into the barren waste of unemployment, their disappointment is all the more bitter

Most of these enterprises, in fact, in which excellent professional teachers invest so much goodwill and understanding, prove to be the very centres of our tragedy They increase by training the mass of competent workers But this quantity of ability the economic system cannot absorb Numerous carpenters, locksmiths and mechanics are trained , but in the meantime improved and more effective machinery produces mountains of surplus goods for the market, the buying power of which shrinks Artificial limitation of production has to be adopted. But the artificial limitation of the human factor in production is called unemployment

When this artificial restriction, unemployment, is imposed upon the young workers, it kills even the desire to learn The thought, " The whole thing is useless ! " blocks every other ambition A symptom of this changed current is the fact that in most countries the regular vocational training institutions are decreasing numerically The Conseil Supérieure de l'Enseignement Technique in France

ated in December 1933 that the number of pupils at the regular ocational courses from 1932 to 1933 within one year had decreased om 172,000 to 152,000 [1]

In the courses created for the unemployed, and which they join iore or less under compulsion, the workshops and school-rooms are, f course, still crowded, but the fire of interest and enthusiasm is on ie decline, and in many places dead This inner and tragic ollapse cannot be checked by the ablest instructors, even where—as i New Zealand—they quite openly propose to turn these emergency ieasures into permanent institutions [2]

Very few young men are capable of study simply for " its own ike," or for their own inward profit such an attitude belongs to ter experience For youth, and increasingly after the age of 12, the nly question is has it a useful purpose ? [3] But only life and work in give this assurance of a useful purpose served ; and they are fusing that assurance more and more Even if education can sist the inevitable for a short while by its suggestive optimism, and ius, as in so many other departments of life, lay its burden upon ie future, yet all these moral credits will have to be met one day

Labour Camps and Centres

The third method of dealing with the problem is one that receives eadily increasing support it is that of the Labour Camps and entres and similar temporary groupings of workers They stand ell outside the economic structure, and of intent Technically iey are described as doing " supplementary work " , but it is work useful " in itself, and contributory to the general welfare

In the formation of these communities semi-military forms have roved the most effective Experiments of a purely collectivist iaracter, with introductions of parliamentary camp councils, have roved less effective This external form has contributed much to ie arousing of resistance to them among large circles of workmen ut the Boy Scout movement, which had its origin in England, has iown that this semi-military form need not necessarily imply a ilitaristic tendency

At the International Conference on Juvenile Unemployment these ars were, however, strongly affirmed Every militaristic tendency, was felt, must be avoided During the Conference, in fact, the ew received increasing support that, for this reason alone, all abour Camps ought to be excluded from the proposals of the Inter- ational Labour Conference.

[1] See *Rapport III de la Conférence Internationale du Travail*, 19th Session, 935, page 98

[2] See *Rapport III de la Conférence Internationale du Travail*, 19th Session, 935, page 108

[3] See Rousseau, *Emile*, Book III " 'What's the good of it ? '—this is om now onwards the word, the word that between myself and him (12- ar-old Emile) is to be the deciding factor in all our actions."

The Irish employers' representatives even held the view that such a proposition was equivalent to a demand to Governments to institute camps which, under the pretext of work, could be misused for military purposes The Canadian representative said further that there was a danger that the employees would be subjected by this scheme to a class of compulsory work such as would rob them of their rights and their freedom

Most surprisingly a change of view was first initiated by the attitude of the United States workmen's unions They mentioned that at the beginning the employees of the United States had viewed these Labour Camps with mistrust, but the result achieved had convinced them that these institutions could be a real help to the unemployed juveniles without producing the evil consequences predicted by their critics The success of the American attempt was so great that they were thinking of introducing the Labour Service into the permanent educational system of the States President Roosevelt had only recently decided to enlarge the Labour Camps so that up to 600,000 juveniles would be able to find admission. In addition, the age-limit was to be extended from 25 to 28 For the present, at any rate, the employees of the United States had been completely won over to the idea of the Labour Camps

The employees' representative of Holland also held the view that the Labour Camps were good things for the juvenile unemployed ; as well as the government representatives of Switzerland, Sweden and Spain

This attitude of the employees' representatives had the effect of securing the final incorporation of the idea of Labour Camps into the official proposals of the International Labour Office This represents an important and progressive change in a discussion which has been prolonged over a period of eight years

History of the Labour Camp Movement

Distinct from the Bulgarian Labour Service created in 1920, which, right from the beginning, had a purely military form, there arose simultaneously in 1925 the first free Labour Camps out of the German Youth Movement in Germany (especially in Silesia and in the Luneburger plain) and in Switzerland

The German Labour Camps were from the very beginning composed of young workmen, peasants, clerks and students. They worked out the principles of guidance for such camps, which lasted for several weeks, and the costs of which were covered by four hours' daily work in forest and field

The Swiss Labour Camps were, until recently, composed only of students They had the task of repairing by eight hours' daily labour, during the holidays, the damages caused in the Swiss valleys by floods and like catastrophes

The German example developed so successfully, that in 1929 it was liberally supported by the Government, and was made in 1931 the official Voluntary Labour Service. In 1932, about 260,000

juvenile unemployed, mixed with voluntary employed, took part in the camps The collaboration of the students was everywhere sought, because of the good effect on the whole camp. Moreover, even at this date, the scheme was being strongly pressed that every student should at least for six months interrupt his studies by doing manual work, in order to counteract the one-sidedness of a purely intellectual education [1]

In 1933, the number of Camp Service participants in Germany decreased a little , the camps of to-day contain about 220,000 young men In America the first camp attempts upon a large scale began in 1932 To-day, the American work camps have surpassed the German, and comprise about 300,000 young unemployed, who for the main part are employed in forestry

Institutions which are run more or less on the lines of Labour Camps exist to-day in

	PARTICIPANTS
United States	300,000
Germany	220,000
Austria	16,000
Bulgaria	20,000
Canada (of all ages)	20,000
Denmark	500
Dantzig	1,000
Norway	500
New Zealand	3,800
Holland	5,000
Poland	9,000
Sweden	5,000
Switzerland	1,400
Total	600,400

In this list a few important countries are omitted, because of the difficulty in distinguishing the work of their Labour Camps from other enterprises already in existence, or for other reasons, and because in two countries the number of participants includes also the older unemployed But it may be concluded that at the moment at least 600,000 young men and women every year spend a shorter or longer period in Labour Service Camps

The Value of Labour Camps

There can be no doubt that these Labour Camps represent the most interesting attempt yet made to remedy the unemployment of juveniles by a period of intensive occupation ; and that occupation work in the open air, such as road-building, road repairing, forestry and the like

The reports from the different countries show that this occupation, so long as it does not exceed a period of from six to twelve months, is warmly welcomed by the majority of the unemployed ; because it takes these young men out of their unemployment, and

[1] Compare Reinhold Schairer *Die Akademische Berufsnot*, Jena, 1932. This book contains, on page 97, the first proposal of the practical " work-year " for all students, to be devoted to manual labour

gives them the possibility of healthy physical work, with good fo
As already stated, the essential condition for the success of th
attempts is that the work should, on the one hand, not entrench up
the region of open competition, and should, on the other hand, be
some sense useful and profitable for the community

Without doubt the Boy Scout Movement has indirectly, no l
than the German Youth Movement directly, contributed largely
the success of this attempt Both movements, different as they n
be from one other, have the same aim For the first time they br
the intellectual youth of the town, and youth which is physica
unfit, again into the life in the open air with hard and simple for
of living in tent and camp, and hiking, and with manual wo
They have both tried to discover and to perfect the laws un
which a group is led to develop its self-responsibility, its sense
service and obedience, and its capacity for leadership With
their example these attempts might have proved impossible

It is impossible yet to say whether the Labour Camp will w
everywhere with such success (as the American employees' rep
sentative pointed out at Geneva) as to become a permanent part
the educational system of the several States

The selection of the leaders and assistant leaders of the Camp
of the first importance, no less the method of their training Up
the spirit and capacity with which they learn to discharge this n
type of responsibility must rest the success or failure of any one
the enterprises There are many situations which cannot
solved by a simple tightening up of discipline

The Sociological Structure of Labour Camps

The sociological structure of these Labour Camps is unique

The young people are voluntarily giving up part of their time
devote themselves to hard manual work in order to serve
common weal By so doing, they are sacrificing a greater or les
portion of their wages, and it is only by this means that these can
can be maintained

Apart from the special characteristics of each particular count
this scheme is generally a kind of willing co-operation in labour
the common good and makes demands on one of the most preci
things a man has—his energy

The welfare of the community takes precedence over that of
individual In these groups all classes come together There
no intellectuals, farmers, artisans, factory workers or merchar
but only young people who have voluntarily devoted themselves
the solution of this one problem—a solution which involves, in m
cases, heavy manual work on the land and in the forests In th
groups class distinctions automatically cease, and their place
taken by an equal acceptance of the law of service. Willingness
serve and a sense of comradeship are the dominating notes; a
many of the ideals of which thousands of young people h
dreamed during the past three decades find here their realisation

There are, of course, certain points to be kept in mind.

Over and above the requirements of labour, every group harbours within itself the danger of limiting individual freedom in moral and spiritual matters. Where the group rules, innate propensities and the deeper qualities of personality are easily stifled.

In many countries youth does not at present value these individual qualities rightly During the period of materialism through which we are passing, youth continues to appropriate exaggerated ideas from the phenomena of the masses and from their external characteristics It may be that even the youth of to-day will learn to know that moral freedom is the preliminary condition of all great developments and discoveries, and that a transition period, like the present one, is in exceptional need of this freedom, if it is not to sacrifice innate quality to external conformity

But in most countries there are already signs that, in the robust and vigorous comradeship of the labour groups, the appreciation of this inner freedom of the individual is establishing itself We may prophesy of youth in the future, that it will cherish the spirit of brotherhood in all social questions, closely associated with individual liberty in all moral and spiritual matters This is the goal towards which the desire of youth is pointing, even where it has not yet found the courage to admit it

In fine, among the organisations formed to carry on the struggle against unemployment, these Labour Camps take first place for their moral and educational value

Danger of Reaction after leaving Labour Camps

The greatest difficulty comes at the moment when the young man leaves the Labour Camp From a schooling in strenuous activity and serious devotion to duty he ought to pass on to an occupation which demands these qualities But he frequently returns again to a world of unemployment, now even more unbearable, because his self-respect is strengthened, his energy is disciplined and he knows what work is Idleness and isolation have become his enemies . he knows how the evils of inactivity can sap the individual purpose His better qualities have been awakened , but all the time employment recedes from him, to use the words of a former French Minister of Education, de Monzie, " like an ebbing tide "

How then is he to make use of these newly acquired qualities ? They cannot be maintained through will-power or moral resolution alone : they need daily exercise and activity

The hope has often been entertained that these young people would, at the conclusion of the period of their camp life, leave their homes in the towns to work on the land They should have become so accustomed to the sun, the wind and the rain, and, above all, the land, that these things would have become indispensable to them.

This hope has proved to a great extent a delusion. The land conditions did not offer an environment suitable to ensure the building up of family life. And even though the man could have

endured and mastered the primitive conditions, too often the would have proved too severe for the strength or nervous organisation of a woman

As a *permanent* future mode of living, the artificial form of Labour Camps and other such institutions does not provide a solution Their temporary character rules them out

If these primitive modes of living and diminished rates of income were stabilised as a permanent form of existence, then, notwithstanding all humaner ideals, we should be back at the time when numbers of people were compelled to live like serfs Theoretically conceded freedom would prove illusory if people were compelled to renounce it in the face of extreme necessity History presents many examples of what revolts from servitude may mean Should they occur among the rising generation of our own native peoples, equipped with modern ideas and educated in the best methods of our Western schools, the effects of such a rising would be incalculable

It is rarely appreciated by those who are not in close contact with the problem that within the circles of unemployed youth there are already feelings and outbursts of desperation and revolt These outbursts can but become more violent and more menacing for every year that our millions are deprived of any prospect of living a decent life

The Dangers of Militarisation

Another serious problem is the following To what extent can strongly organised, militarily disciplined group introduce their methods into the callings of industrial life ? Everyone who is acquainted with the internal structure of military units knows that stern mass discipline is indeed effective for the carrying out of military duties, but in everyday life it may easily develop into a semblance of the performance of duty behind which individuals may indulge their comfort, and even conceal neglect

The processes of industrial labour demand first-rate service If a false standard of labour should creep in, which functions only while being watched, this would cause enormous damage Only a individual with a sense of freedom and responsibility is capable of the maximum degree of efficiency in any scheme of production This relationship between moral freedom and maximum output has been characteristic of the organisation and development of all Western countries during the past century

The question for us is, briefly, how far are military and semi-military forms of education likely to prove the best outside the military sphere ? One is often inclined to believe that the possibilities of all forms of education, including those military forms, are greatly exaggerated, and that in ten years' time their limits will be better recognised Then the contradictory tendencies towards expansion in school, vocational and semi-military training may be united in a real co-operation The experience gained from a study of the problem of unemployed youth should do much to hasten this process.

Other Institutions for Unemployed Youth

In some countries there are other institutions for unemployed youth besides the group and camp systems These are also characterised by hard practical work for a limited period. They can be epitomised under the title of a practical "intermediate" occupation.

Young unemployed men are sent away from the towns to act as assistants to farmers or as agricultural labourers, and the women to domestic service This is being done in several countries. In Germany, in particular, this system has grown immensely. It is regulated by special laws, whereby for every young person given employment on the land or in the household, the State assists the farmer or the household by at least some relief from taxation. In one year, 270,000 young men and women were transferred from the towns to the land by the German "Landhilfe"

Another institution, more closely associated with the German educational system, is the "Landjahr" Children from the large towns are organised into groups and sent into the country from the spring until the autumn There they live together under the supervision of a leader The daily routine consists of participation in agricultural work, physical exercises and instruction During 1934 some 22,000 children took advantage of this "Landjahr" institution

On a smaller scale, a so-called agricultural "intermediate year" has been adopted in Switzerland Here it was found that children of 14 years of age were physically unfit for certain strenuous activities, so they were sent from Zurich to farmers in western Switzerland, to the neighbourhoods between Neuchâtel and Geneva According to reports from the authorities in Zurich, the results of this agricultural intermediate year have been exceptionally favourable The children return mentally refreshed and physically fit and are in a better condition to begin a year's study than they were at the age of 14

In the sphere of academical professions in Germany a practice, which has now taken legal form, has been established ; between the high school and the university a period of six to twelve months' practical work is introduced

This "student-labour" movement ("Werkstudent") was founded immediately after the war. It began purely as an emergency measure, but soon gained additional importance It constituted a counterbalance to one-sided intellectual culture and created possibilities of real social experience.

Between 1921 and 1925, more than 100,000 German students worked in every conceivable kind of handicraft for from three to twelve months After 1925, owing to the increase in unemployment, the "student-labour" movement gave place increasingly to the newly founded Labour Camps. To-day, every student is obliged to work for six months in a Labour Camp before he goes to the university.

In addition to institutions provided for general education, there are numerous other organisations for unemployed youth, which " should afford protection to the unemployed against the demoralising influence of prolonged unemployment " These youth clubs, hostels, social and occupational centres, or whatever they may be called, are to be found in every country, but the best of them in England For the most part they are organised by religious or other bodies, which, like the Y M C A , the Catholic or the Socialist Youth institutions, have been the means of occupying beneficially the spare time of young people In certain countries there are official bodies for carrying out these tasks

Formerly such organisations were intended chiefly for the evenings. Now that these young people have time free not only in the evenings, but for days, weeks, months and even years, it has become necessary for these institutions to adapt themselves to the new conditions

From the human standpoint, everything which eases the position of unemployed youth must be welcomed, but we must remember that these institutions do not provide any solution for the problem They correspond to that which charity has always done to alleviate misery, but they are not in a position to remove the sources of misery

From the educator's point of view, a warning against the overcrowding of activities at these centres must be given We cannot combine professional training, physical exercises, acting, debating, voluntary manual labour, general education and the social and domestic interests of such a life without damaging and exhausting youthful enthusiasm

An example of this is to be found in the experience of the " Emergency Work for German Youth " (" Notwerk der Deutschen Jugend "), which dealt with more than 400,000 young people in 1931–2

> " It is generally admitted that the fact of unemployment alone has no unifying power Comradeship only develops in a community whose relationships are based upon something more vital than economic collaboration Further, the results of our Emergency Work suggest that the goal has obviously been too wide To attempt to combine professional instruction, general education, sport, social and other services in a daily programme of four hours has resulted in one or the other of these being neglected Youth would have been better served had the goal been narrower "

This judgment, contained in the official report of the International Labour Bureau, may be generally applicable [1]

Vocational Guidance

Not only are educational systems severely taxed by the crisis, but the same thing applies to vocational guidance

This new form of activity has been developing as an invaluable connecting link between the vocational and educational spheres dur-

[1] International Labour Conference, 19th Sitting, Geneva, 1935, Report No III, German Edition, page 89

ing the last thirty years and was just beginning to prove itself most useful when the crisis broke out Many problems had been elucidated already Difficulties inherent in bureaucracy and institutionalism were on the point of being solved The advisers had begun to rate the overestimated professional tests of a mechanical and psychological type at their proper value, as no more than aids in a more general process of selection

Psycho-technical examinations of various kinds were becoming universal ; but they, too, were being denied their claim to a final decision Their function was becoming recognised as a complement to the school report and the vocational adviser's personal impressions of the candidate A very real co-operation was thus taking the place of the former conflicts between the opinions held by the school authorities, by the official vocational advisers and by the employment agencies

The school, in this partnership, had the duty of providing the psychological preparation for a readiness to undertake a sound vocation in general, also for a recognition of the importance of making a sensible choice in the case of each individual It was also charged with providing the school vocational adviser, no less than the school doctor, with all necessary data about each school career The adviser, upon his side, abandoned any attempt to form an opinion of a candidate *de novo*, based upon his own special methods of testing his capacity Vocational advice, no less than the employment agencies, were expected to keep to the special departments created for them , since it was recognised that their particular knowledge enabled them to judge more exactly the varying demand in the several occupations as well as to estimate the suitability of particular types of candidate for such demand.

Special courses served to inform the teaching profession as to the more general principles guiding vocational advice The advisers, or in cases chosen experts from the professions, explained to the scholars themselves the possibilities that lay before them On parents' evenings, teachers and advisers acted in concert Educational films, illustrative of the various occupations, and school visits to the factories, etc , were coming more and more into use. A large literature, in monographs and encyclopædias, giving information to the same end, was already accumulating

Everything appeared favourable to the regulation of all this new " borderland " according to a sensible scheme, when the outbreak of the vocational crisis struck a severe blow in many countries at the whole structure of vocational guidance

It then appeared that the hypothesis of permanent harmony between supply and demand, so far as youthful vocations were concerned, was, in many countries, a mistaken one To use a theological expression, it had been assumed that there exists a " pre-ordained harmony " between the positions available on the one hand, and number and suitability of applicants on the other.

The amount of youthful unemployment destroyed this illusion.

Pupils and parents alike acquired a deep mistrust, almost a resigned despair, in all questions affecting careers What was the use of professional guidance if there were no vacancies ? It was robbed of its *raison d'être.*

It must be recognised that in certain sorts of profession the supply of applicants had become often five or six times greater than the openings This was particularly the case with municipal occupations, higher grade clerks and the like, academic positions and certain sought-after professions, such as cabinet makers, mechanics, saleswomen and secretaries. There was an ever-increasing lack of demand for other occupations, such as domestic service and work on the land, on the part of those seeking work , and this although the storm clouds of general unemployment were gathering in ever-increasing intensity over the heads of the young generation

Before this it had always been claimed in educational circles that " scientific methods of vocational guidance " were the best But when the basis of the assumed harmony collapsed, the learned fiction perished also Out of a hundred applicants the scientific method might still be able to select the best ten or twenty for the higher positions, but it found itself helpless in dealing with the large remainder. Vocational advisers learned the common truth that in the general disorganisation of our world even knowledge and high endeavour can lead nowhere

Value of the Human Element

This fact need not discourage the vocational adviser His help is to-day more essential than ever and will gradually become more necessary He is learning, if we may make use of a now hardworked phrase, to work " dynamically " rather than " statically," " humanely " rather than " scientifically." The contribution made by a sound adviser, neither over-bureaucratic nor over-prone to systematise, but guided by this principle, can only prove of increasing value

An example may make this clear

In all countries there are certain schools whose pupils always find permanent employment. Unemployment is unknown to them What is the secret ? Employers know that the pupils of this or that school possess qualities which no school certificate and no psycho-technical examination can guarantee, qualities which appear rather to be personal characteristics derived from the " atmosphere " surrounding the education of these pupils These young people possess a reliability, a willingness and a readiness for service, and a suitability, which make them employable at once in this or that situation Compared with this, the fine distinctions attempted by any vocational-testing process are valueless The confidence the pupils create over-rides all the scientifically erected partitions between attested suitability for this or that profession. Employers will take young people from such schools at almost any price, and give them exceptional opportunities, possibilities of advancement.

What is the reason for this preference ?

It is partly founded on the methods of instruction, but for the eater part it rests upon the human and vitalising influence exercised / the personality of the teaching staff

It is noticeable that it is precisely teachers of this order who do not nsider that their job is finished when they have made out the ipils' leaving certificates or helped them to their first choice of a uation They remain in touch with their former pupils for years ter, and these latter are continually coming back to consult them would seem that the confidence of the employers in these young ople has its counterpart in the relationship between pupil and acher

A competent vocational adviser knows these facts and appreciates eir full significance He knows that he himself can create at least nilar elementary incentives in a few hours' talk They appear, fact, wherever genuine human feeling dominates system and ficialdom And where by good fortune such a vocational adviser d such a teacher are associated, their effect upon younger personali- s is almost incalculable Characters can be so strengthened as to thstand confidently even the catastrophes of unemployment

The effect must be, that in time the schools will accept from cational advice this new standard of values, which rates the trinsic human worth above school learning or examination results is a quality of personality for which all modern psychology has no act or final name , but every student of human nature knows how ective is its presence, and how disastrous can be its lack

This crisis in vocational guidance is an example of how necessity n again open up many ancient but buried springs of humanity. In e same way it will exterminate many wrong and mistaken ideas nch classrooms, auditions and vocational advisory interviews ve inculcated into the minds of young people Utopianism will sappear. Realities will alone remain.

pplication of International Labour Conference Scheme

The conclusions of the International Labour Conference present, we have seen, a true picture of what is happening among young employed and of what has been proposed as remedy

If we attempt to determine how far these resolutions can correct e evils of unemployment, our judgment may be as follows ·

If all States were immediately to ratify the resolutions and trans- e them into action, much would be done to alleviate the crisis, but le to remove it

Prolongation of school hours, labour camps, occupational and ial centres, preparation and instruction by the creation of special- d artificial work schemes, increase of employment exchange and cational guidance are all commendable devices. They will all be lcomed by unemployed youth But when, after an interval spent such manner, they may look to see their unemployment problem

finally solved by the return of normal conditions of labour, they will be disappointed

We must look at the problem as a whole All educational, charitable and artificial expedients are excellent means of assisting unemployed youth to survive a crisis, if the end of that crisis can be foreseen and is substantially close

If, however, this is not the case, such expedients may carry within themselves the danger that youth and adults, and, above all, the responsible authorities themselves, may become accustomed to these artificial methods and lose the driving impulse to do everything in their power to banish the evil itself They may find it too easy to say, and to believe, that everything that can be done has been done But the standard of that which is possible is relative Over-activity in small remedial measures is dangerous, if it lowers this standard and dissipates down lesser channels the impulse that should be directed against the evil as a whole Every palliative, every remedy, involves this risk In our case the danger is specially acute

Where an ideal is to be carried through, the educators of the world form one of its greatest forces With the means at their disposal, they have but to use their combined influence, and no evil, the solution of which is in human hands, can continue permanently to exist

The Part that Teachers must Play

But a temptation lies in their path In the pleasure of seeing their own sphere of activity enlarged, they may lose sight of the gravity of the whole position It is right that they should be proud that their work is not only appreciated, but urgently demanded, and over a greater area · they can see a goal towards which they have striven for years, in every educational province, draw steadily nearer But we must be bold to warn them of their danger this is not all—it is not even much

The response of the young to educational measures does not increase with the increase in the number of those measures Much learning and knowledge do not make people more clever, more efficient, more human The contrary is unfortunately often the case This fact is hard, painful, disillusioning But educators should be the first to learn from reality

It is especially dangerous to reckon as satisfactory the growing numbers of those taking part in prolonged school hours, in the more extended professional courses, in labour camps and in social centres Humanly this satisfaction is comprehensible, but objectively it is not justifiable If all the six million unemployed young people were assembled into courses of professional instruction, labour camps, social centres for eight hours daily, schooling activities would have achieved a record, but the solution of the problem would not be one step nearer In fact, one is tempted to say that it would be farther off. The world might take comfort from such a state of affairs. An institutional camouflage might be mistaken for progress,

and the attempt to find solutions for the social and economic problems would thereby have been shelved

A further danger lies in the fact that youth has an extraordinarily fine perception of that which is real and that which is unreal, of that which is necessary and of that which is superfluous, especially in the matter of education All cramming, if undesirable and unprepared for as learning, only does harm Already among unemployed youth there is a marked reaction against excessive schooling Opinions are expressed to the effect that these institutions are very useful to the managers, to the officials and to the employees who earn their living by them, but give nothing effective for life to unemployed youth and do not alleviate their position to any appreciable extent Opinions, too, are heard that this everlasting instruction leads to a dislike of the whole method of these organisations These feelings, if they continue to grow, might lead to a dangerous reaction against all true learning School staleness can lead to a general disinclination for all schooling of every kind And these dangers are accentuated by the fact that unemployment is not the only form in which our vocational crisis is expressed

Hundreds of thousands of young people to-day find themselves in situations which they accepted because no better offered In their schooldays they dreamed that their qualifications would earn them better opportunities of employment, and better incomes They are asking themselves continually why they have learned so many things, if their work now only consists of an everlasting repetition of one and the same movement Moreover, the fact that they can be replaced any day without any trouble compels them to accept smaller salaries Many know that any request at the age of 21 for higher pay will be followed by their discharge

No less serious is the danger of the monotony which eats into the soul of numerous employees It is as though a deathly frost had followed upon their springtime of learning at school, when innumerable interests had been awakened and their mental powers stimulated and developed

These illustrations, of further aspects of the vocational crisis, must be kept before our minds if we would understand the full extent of the tragedy They form a background accentuating the gloom of the picture

Our educators would be well advised to declare clearly and unmistakably that the solution of these problems is impossible within the compass of any educational measures Education should decline to be saddled with the odium which may be called forth by the breakdown of impossible experiments Every plan for the increase of teaching institutions should be accompanied by a second, more important scheme, opening for youth the ways into occupations and professions. And this more important scheme could only be formulated in the social or economic sphere. It lies with those two spheres to solve the main problems

As soon as such a scheme has been formulated, let the teachers of

the world decide to co-operate by every possible means, and to develop their educational institutions in such manner as may best assist it. Fundamental to such a scheme must be the recognition that an increase in education, if not accompanied by an increase in economic opportunity and by an accordance established with social actualities, can lead only to further catastrophe. Where a heightened education is to discharge young folk upon the world with their human standard of values heightened and deepened, society and economic opportunity must be, likewise, prepared to receive and employ them at those values

Among the many organisations which stressed the seriousness of the situation before the International Labour Conference, the Liaison Committee of Major International Organisations called especial attention to the close connection between the economic problem and the problem of the young unemployed, and emphasised the peril to. civilisation should they remain unsolved This memorandum deserves the fullest consideration.[1] It is reassuring to note that on this committee a number of the most important educational organisations were represented

The educators of the world should take this appeal to heart ; and not only justify their work, but defend it against future attack by insisting upon the fact that it can be only auxiliary work, and that its success must depend upon the measures taken in the economic and social spheres

It would of course be an advantage, were the educators of the world to agree upon a common programme, and, as a single organisation, keep watch over the formulation and progress of the measures undertaken

Under the very able leadership of the World Federation of Education Associations, the World Congress of Education, held at Oxford in August 1935, has already attempted to establish this union ; but, for the time being, an effective combination has not been achieved

One of the tasks of such an active international unity of educationists would have been to map out a line of policy in the sphere of juvenile unemployment

Such a union of educators, however, would be in the best position to promote a scheme by which young people should be, preferentially, employed, and the necessary vacancies created by a shortening of the hours of old employees, without prejudice to the present standard of living They could point to the truth that, before the age of 25, intensive employment is far more than work for profit : it is the completion of the educational period, and without it the education must remain crippled. The assurance of an intensive employment up to the age of 25 can alone enable the increasing demand for higher education of the present day to realise its object—the advancement of humanity both materially and spiritually.

[1] Compare *Conférence Internationale du Travail*, 1935, Compte Rendue, Provisoire No 2, pages i–xv.

Inefficacy of Present-day Methods

Up to the present, indeed, there has been no sign of an approach to any such decision, and no attempt has been made to lay even the foundations for such a course of action Nevertheless, in my view, no solution is possible that does not involve the shortening of the working hours

Among the resolutions of the International Labour Bureau the only one indicating any acceptance of the idea is the following. The attempts hitherto made to relieve unemployment by a shortening of the hours of labour should be carefully watched, with particular regard to the labour categories selected by the young workmen But anyone who may prefer to pay particular regard to the long and weary efforts undertaken to restore 25 millions of workless and hopeless human beings to a life worth living, by this method of shorter hours, may be justified in doubting whether this colourless expression of opinion could ever lead to anything.

One is forced to the conclusion, by all these considerations, that the majority of our educators remain unaware of the full gravity of our position It is a gravity to which the innumerable documents, petitions and appeals which were placed before the International Labour Conference at the request of unemployed youth give vehement and agitated expression There is no international organisation which has to do with young people which did not participate in these petitions Most of them were from the young people themselves Representatives from all countries, all creeds, and all political parties appealed to the conference in unison. Several hundred young unemployed went personally to Geneva to lend emphasis to their petitions and appeals. Hundreds of thousands of signatures were collected, all demanding one and the same thing—work.

In reply, all they have received are exhortations and advices, about the increase of educational institutions or of other artificial work schemes

The wideness and faith contained in these documents emphasised forcibly the seriousness of the position. Anyone, also, who has been in touch with the young unemployed of different countries knows that these widenesses are not exaggerated, but understate the facts

The Italian employers' representative, Signor Landi, in the final sitting of the International Labour Conference, made the following statement :

> " A system in which youth no longer believes is condemned to failure The young people of almost all countries have lost faith in the capitalist system, which condemns them to unemployment. We must adopt concrete proposals if we do not wish to be overwhelmed by the events . " [1]

[1] Chapter XVIII, *19th Sitting of the International Labour Conference*, page 358.

These are words that should be listened to Above all, our educators should understand their significance

Italy, itself, to-day, affords a tragic example of what an increase in educational activities which disregards economic and social realities may lead to [1] The world knows little more than the fact that Italy needs more room for her increased population But an important aspect of her problem is forgotten. When water is turned into steam by the action of fire, it has a multiple power of expansion Education, kindling as it does in young people greater hopes, higher aspirations, and expectations of responsible work and position, is a fire which turns water to steam And the steam is demanding always more space for its energy

During the last fifteen years, Italy, by means of its ordinary school system, its vocational schooling and its political youth organisations, has been effecting a great educational expansion As a result tens of thousands of the younger generation are no longer content with the simple life that satisfied their fathers New energies, latent and incalculable, have been summoned into being The desire for dominance, for responsible participation in important enterprises or key professions, can no longer be held in check and the consequences no one can foresee

During the next few years the world may come to recognise that these problems are still capable of solution in their primary stage, by educational, social and economic measures If these are not taken, they pass to their second phase, and become political or party questions of the first order in each country If, as such, they still remain unsolved, then, as a third stage, they become perilous factors in international relationships

There is still time for the responsible authorities in our educational and social spheres to take the lesson to heart, and initiate measures for a fundamental dealing with the crisis

REINHOLD SCHAIRER

[1] This part of the report was written under the tension of the expected decisions regarding the Italo-Abyssinian dispute

CHAPTER TWO

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES SINCE 1901

Introduction

THE problems associated with the employment of boys and girls under the age of 18 have recently been receiving special consideration in Great Britain This is partly due to the effects of the world economic depression on the demand for juvenile labour, and partly to the arrival at the age of entry into industry of the abnormally large age-group of boys and girls who were born in the early post-war years Juvenile unemployment has increased, and appears likely to increase still further in many parts of the country during the next two years This has attracted a good deal of public attention and has led to the discussion of a whole range of problems relating to juvenile employment and welfare It is important, however, to recognise that these problems are by no means new and that our present concern at their temporary aggravation is largely due to a keener realisation of our social responsibilities In the present survey some account will be given of the trend of juvenile employment and unemployment since the beginning of the century and of the methods which have been adopted to deal with the social problems associated with it

Changes in the Employment of Juveniles

The relative importance of juvenile labour has diminished very considerably since the opening of the present century Thus it will be seen in Table I that (i) the proportion of " gainfully occupied " persons in England and Wales who were under the age of 18 fell from 13 8 per cent in 1901 to 9 9 per cent in 1931 , and (ii) the actual number of boys and girls who were " gainfully occupied " fell from 2,053,000 in 1911 to 1,870,287 in 1931,[1] although the total number of " gainfully occupied " persons of all ages increased considerably during the same period It will also be seen that the relative importance of boy labour declined very much more than that of girl labour and that there were actually rather more girls " gainfully occupied " in 1931 than in 1911

The decline in the relative importance of juvenile labour is due to two causes In the first place, there has been a change in the

[1] Owing to the effect of the high birth-rates in 1920 and 1921, following the low birth-rates of the war years, the number of boys and girls available for employment in England and Wales is now rather more than two million. This number will increase by another two hundred thousand by 1937, after which it will decline (reflecting the declining birth-rate after 1921) to the 1931 level in 1944. (See Table XIII.)

TABLE I

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF JUVENILE LABOUR IN 1901, 1911, 1921, AND 1931

(England and Wales)

YEAR	"GAINFULLY OCCUPIED" POPULATION ALL AGES	"GAINFULLY OCCUPIED" JUVENILE POPULATION									PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL "GAINFULLY OCCUPIED" POPULATION UNDER 18
		UNDER 14			14 AND UNDER 18			TOTAL UNDER 18			
		BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	
1901	14,329,000	138,000	70,000	208,000	1,105,000	662,000	1,767,000	1,243,000	732,000	1,975,000	13 8
1911	16,284,000	98,000	49,000	147,000	1,113,000	793,000	1,906,000	1,211,000	842,000	2,053,000	12 6
1921	17,178,000	43,000	29,000	72,000	1,111,000	828,000	1,939,000	1,154,000	857,000	2,011,000	11 7
1931	18,853,000	—	—	—	1,021,740	848,527	1,870,267	1,021,740	848,527	1,870,267	9 9

age-distribution of the population Thus Table II shows that the proportion of the population between the ages of 12 and 18 fell from 12 2 per cent in 1901 to 9 4 per cent. in 1931. In the second

TABLE II

THE NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE JUVENILE POPULATION IN 1901, 1911, 1921 AND 1931

(England and Wales)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION ALL AGES	JUVENILE POPULATION OVER 12 AND UNDER 18	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION OVER 12 AND UNDER 18
1901	32,528,000	3,973,000	12 2
1911	36,070,000	4,095,000	11 3
1921	37,887,000	4,341,000	11 5
1931	39,952,000	3,717,000	9 4

TABLE III

PROPORTION OF JUVENILE POPULATION "GAINFULLY OCCUPIED" IN 1901, 1911, 1921 AND 1931

(England and Wales)

YEAR	BOYS			GIRLS		
	12 AND 13 PERCENTAGE	14 AND 15 PERCENTAGE	16 AND 17 PERCENTAGE	12 AND 13 PERCENTAGE	14 AND 15 PERCENTAGE	16 AND 17 PERCENTAGE
1901	20 7	84 0		10 4	49 9	
1911	13 4	74 0	92 0	7 0	48 0	69 3
1921	5 8	65 4	91 4	3 9	44 8	70 9
1931	—	63 9	88 7	—	50 8	76 0

place, the number of boys and girls available for employment has been progressively restricted by changes in the law relating to the employment of children and to school attendance, and by the increase in voluntary attendance at educational institutions after the statutory school-leaving age. The effects of these changes are reflected in Table III. It will be observed that the proportion of boys of all ages under 18 who were "gainfully occupied" declined between 1901 and 1931, and that the proportion of girls under 16 who were "gainfully occupied" declined, though not so markedly. On the other hand, it will be seen that the proportion of girls between 16 and 18 who were "gainfully occupied" increased during each inter-censal period This was due to the increasing number of girls who entered "gainful" occupations instead of working at home.

School Attendance and the Employment of Children

At the end of the nineteenth century the statutory school-leaving age in England and Wales was 13, but exemptions were frequently made and a large number of boys and girls between the ages of 12 (in agricultural districts, 11) and 13 only attended school part-time Moreover, in 1899 over 144,000 children who were attending school full-time were employed for wages out of school hours [1] The Education Act, 1900, empowered local authorities to compel attendance at school up to the age of 14, and a large number of them took advantage of this power (with numerous qualifications) during the following eighteen years Meanwhile, the Employment of Children Act, 1903, gave local authorities power to make bye-laws regulating the employment of children under 16 years of age and to fix a minimum age of entry into certain occupations

The position on the eve of the war was that only 40 per cent of the children in the elementary schools left before reaching the age of 14 [2] But the development of secondary and technical education following the Education Act, 1902, had resulted in an increase in the number of those who remained at school voluntarily after the statutory school-leaving age The adoption of bye-laws regulating the employment of school children had led to an improvement in the conditions under which they were employed in many parts of the country, but it is doubtful whether there was any reduction in the number of children who were employed while attending school full-time The number of children who were partially exempted from school attendance (" half-timers "), which had increased during the early years of the century [3] to nearly 85,000 in 1908, had declined to 71,437 by 1914

The Education Act, 1918, raised the statutory school-leaving age to the end of the term in which the child's fourteenth birthday occurred and abolished all existing forms of exemption from school attendance below the age of 14 This Act also empowered local education authorities to make bye-laws requiring attendance at school either of all children or of " children other than those employed in certain specified occupations " up to the age of 15 Between July 1st, 1922 (the appointed day for the operation of this section of the Act), and the present time eight local authorities have used these powers [4] But there has been a considerable increase in the number of boys and girls voluntarily continuing their education

[1] *Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children*, 1901

[2] Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the war, 1917

[3] Inter-departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School, 1909

[4] The administrative counties of Cornwall, Caernarvon, and east Suffolk, the county boroughs of Bath and Plymouth, and the municipal boroughs of Chesterfield and Lowestoft Gloucester and Penzance have published their intention of making bye-laws with the concurrence of the Board of Education.

after the age of 14, not only in secondary, technical, commercial, domestic science and art schools, but also in the senior classes of schools in the elementary school system The Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act, 1920, fixed the minimum age of entry into " industrial undertakings," mines and some occupations at 14 , and the Education Act, 1921 (Section 18), absolutely prohibited the employment of any child under 12 years of age and empowered local authorities to make bye-laws regulating the employment of school children between the ages of 12 and 14 [1] The effect of this legislation has been both to improve the conditions under which school children are employed and to reduce the number of boys and girls working out of school hours [2]

Changes in the Occupational Distribution of Boys and Girls under 18

Owing to a change in the method of classification, it is not possible to make a direct comparison between the occupational distribution of boys and girls under 18 in 1901 and 1931 In the table on page 208, however, a rough comparison is made between the occupational distribution of juveniles in 1911 and 1931 The table also shows the percentage change in the total number of persons of all ages in each occupational group between the two census years

In the case of boys under 18 there was a decline of 15·6 per cent in the total number " gainfully occupied " compared with an increase of 16 6 per cent in the total number of males of all ages There was an increase in the number of boys engaged in six occupational groups—distribution, building and allied trades, road transport, printing and allied trades, the metals and engineering trades, and personal services other than domestic service In the case of building and allied trades and distribution the number of boys increased at a proportionately greater rate than the total number of males In the other four groups, however, the increase in the number of boys was relatively very much smaller than in the total number of males of all ages The number of boys declined by over 50 per cent in three industries—cotton, wool and railway transport There was a contraction in the total number of males of all ages in the two textile industries—but the abolition of the half-time system, the prolongation of school life in the textile areas, and the effect of trade depression on recruitment resulted in a much larger contraction in the number of boys attached to these industries. The decline in the importance of boy labour on the railways is even more marked, for there was a small net expansion in the total number of males attached to industry between 1911 and 1931. But

[1] The Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, superseded the child labour provision of the Education Act, 1921, and provided for much more stringent regulation of the employment of boys and girls still at school

[2] It is estimated that there were about 65,000 children under 14 employed out of school hours in England and Wales in 1932.

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS OF JUVENILES, 1911 AND 1931

(England and Wales)

MALES

	THOUSANDS		PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (−)	PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN NUMBERS OCCUPIED AT ALL AGES
	1911	1931		
Agriculture	138 0	82 8	− 41	− 15
Coal Mining	122 2	83 6	− 32	+ 6
Metals, Engineering, etc	138 5	147 6	+ 7	+ 28
Cotton	55 2	19 0	− 66	− 16
Wool	22 0	9 6	− 56	− 5
Clothing	41 7	30 8	− 26	− 7
Printing, Stationery, etc	26 7	30 0	+ 12	+ 48
Building, etc	41 4	54 2	+ 31	+ 23
Railway Transport	26 0	11 2	− 57	+ 7
Road Transport	17 2	21 2	+ 23	+ 53
Distribution [1]	179 7	243 0	+ 35	+ 55
Domestic Service	24 0	18 7	− 22	+ 6
Other Personal Services	28 1	29 6	+ 5	+ 22
Others .	349 7	240 4	− 31	—
All Occupied Males	1,210 4	1,021 7	− 15 6	+ 16 6

FEMALES

Agriculture . .	13 9	6 6	− 53	− 84
Metals, Engineering, etc	32 7	62 4	+ 91	+ 146
Cotton	94 4	41 6	− 56	− 5
Wool	31 7	16 4	− 48	0
Hosiery	11 4	16 1	+ 41	+ 93
Other Textiles	28 4	23 1	− 19	− 2
Clothing	150 5	101 0	− 33	− 25
Printing, Stationery, etc	26 9	47 2	+ 75	+ 37
Distribution [1]	60 8	135 8	+ 123	+ 81
Domestic Service	238 6	181 7	− 24	− 5
Other Personal Services	50 1	62 7	+ 25	− 11
Others .	103 7	153 9	+ 49	+ 39
All Occupied Females	843 1	848 6	+ 0 7	+ 16 1

[1] *Includes small numbers engaged in finance and insurance From Census Reports, 1911 and 1931, and London and Cambridge Economic Service Special Memorandum,* No 18

this situation is very largely explained by the recruitment policy of the railway companies since the war Very few boys under 18 are now taken on The reduction in the number of boys engaged in agriculture was proportionately greater than the decline in the total number of male agricultural workers. This was probably due

partly to the abolition of the system of exemption from school attendances in the agricultural areas and partly to the reluctance of boys to enter an industry which appears to have both economic and, in spite of modern transport, social disadvantages The reduction in the number of boys in the coal industry partly reflects the economic condition of that industry, for although the total number of males of all ages attached to the coal industry was rather larger in 1931 than in 1911, the 1931 figure includes a very large proportion of unemployed miners

The number of girls who were " gainfully occupied " increased between 1911 and 1931, but only by less than 1 per cent , compared with the increase of over 16 per cent in the total number of " gainfully occupied " females However, the ratio of " gainfully occupied " girls to " gainfully occupied " boys increased from 70 100 in 1911 to 83 100 in 1931 In two large occupational groups—distribution and printing and allied trades—there was an enormous increase in the number of girls engaged, which was even greater than the considerable expansion in the total number of females in these industries

In two other important occupational groups—metal and engineering trades and hosiery—there was a large increase in girl labour, but not so large as the percentage increase in the total number of females of all ages attached to these industries On the other hand, there was a heavy fall in the number of girls in the textile trades (apart from hosiery), although the total number of females in these trades only declined slightly There was also a heavy fall in the number of girls in agriculture, but in this case the reduction of the total number of females was even heavier The decline in the number of girls in the clothing trades was only slightly larger than the decline in the total number of females in these trades In domestic service, however, the reduction in the number of girls was much heavier than the reduction in the total number of women of all ages

It will be seen that the changes in the occupational distribution of juveniles between 1911 and 1931 were even more marked than the changes in the occupational distribution of adults during this period This is, of course, natural enough, for boys and girls leaving school are more easily attracted to expanding trades and discouraged from entering contracting trades than adults Moreover, there has been a more or less deliberate policy of restricting the intake of juveniles into certain contracting trades Had it not been for the geographical immobility of juvenile labour it is probable that the changes in occupational distribution of boys and girls would have been even greater than they actually were.

The Character of Juvenile Employment

From the point of view of the boys and girls concerned three broad classes of juvenile occupations may be distinguished :

(i) Occupations holding out prospects of continued employment and providing opportunities for training likely to equip the young worker for skilled adult employment

(ii) Occupations holding out prospects of continued employment, but not of a character requiring specific industrial training

(iii) Occupations holding out few prospects of continued employment and providing little or no vocational training of any kind

The demand for boys and girls in occupations providing opportunities for vocational training is ultimately determined by industry's need for skilled labour As the effect of modern technological developments has been to diminish this need, the number of boys and girls who are either apprenticed to trades or following some other form of industrial " learnership " has also tended to decline Long before the war social workers were deploring the decay of apprenticeship and the uneducative character of the work on which an increasing number of boys and girls were engaged In 1906 the growth of public interest in the subject led the London County Council to set up a special committee to conduct an investigation of the apprenticeship question [1] The Report of this committee and the evidence of many witnesses before the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws [2] testify to the decline in the number of opportunities available for boys and girls to " learn a trade " which had resulted from the industrial developments of the late nineteenth century Since the war the increased subdivision of industrial processes and the development of mass-production methods in many trades has resulted in a still further decline in the demand for skilled workers (in spite of the emergence of many new kinds of skilled work in some branches of industry)

Nevertheless, it is estimated in the Report of the Ministry of Labour on Apprenticeship [3] that there were 315,000 male apprentices and 110,000 male " learners " [4] under the age of 21 in Great

[1] *Report on the Apprenticeship Question* (L C C Publications, 1906)

[2] Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909, Minutes of Evidence

[3] *Report of an Enquiry into Apprenticeship and Training for Skilled Occupations*, 1925–6, vol vii, *General Report*, 1928

[4] Apprenticeship is the contractual relationship between an employer and worker under which the employer is obliged to teach the worker or to cause him to be taught a trade or business, and in consideration of such teaching the worker is to serve the employer as an apprentice throughout an agreed period on stated terms Modern apprenticeship is constituted either under a written agreement (commonly an indenture) or under a verbal agreement The latter type have increased in importance since before the war

A " learner " was defined for the purpose of the Ministry of Labour Enquiry as " a worker who, not being an apprentice, is specifically engaged by the employer for a recognised period of training in the capacity of a learner and is provided by the employer with instruction or with definite facilities for learning a branch or process of the industry " (*N B* —This definition excludes the short periods of " learnership " which go by this name in the cotton and wool textile industries)

Of the total number of trainees investigated in the Enquiry, 28 4 per cent were " indentured " apprentices , 47 8 per cent were apprentices under verbal agreements , and 23 8 were " learners." (*Continued on page* 211)

Britain in 1926 Thus nearly one in five of the occupied male population under 21 were considered to be undergoing some form of industrial training But the same Report also showed that a large proportion of these boys did not commence their industrial training for a year or more after the normal school-leaving age Of the 425,000 trainees under 21, 177,000 commenced their training at the age of 14 ; about 84,000 at the age of 15 , about 151,000 at the age of 16 , and the remaining 13,000 at the age of 17 or over. For a large number of boys there was an interval between the date of leaving school and entering skilled employment which was usually spent in some unskilled job, often in an entirely different industry A comparison of the commencing ages for apprenticeship in sixteen industries in 1909 and 1925 showed that there had been a tendency for boys to be apprenticed at a later age since before the war, especially in the engineering, shipbuilding, building, saw-milling and printing trades In the case of girls, apprenticeship has never been of great importance, except in a few trades It was estimated that there were only 41,530 girls under 21 undergoing any form of industrial training in 1926, of whom only 6,065 were apprentices

Boys and girls who do not enter occupations which involve a period of apprenticeship or learnership are by no means necessarily destined to be unskilled workers Modern technological developments have displaced the " unskilled " as well as the skilled worker, and a large army of " semi-skilled " machine minders of all kinds has been called into being Moreover, the growing importance of the " service " industries (such as distribution) has given rise to the demand for a type of worker with a much wider general training than could be provided by means of apprenticeship or learnership A large proportion of the " gainfully occupied " juvenile population is engaged in occupations which progress more or less naturally to some form of semi-skilled work in adult life The only serious need of most of these boys and girls is for more effective supervision of their industrial life and general welfare and for the extension of educational influences up to the age of 18 in place of the no-longer-appropriate apprenticeship training.

There are, however, a large number of boys and girls who are being exploited as " cheap labour " in occupations which lead to nowhere Even where jobs of this kind are only held for a year or two preparatory to entering apprenticeship or learnership, they are usually quite uneducative and sometimes positively harmful But in a great many cases they are hopeless " blind alleys " resulting in

The great majority of boy apprentices (about 80 per cent) were employed in a relatively small number of industries, namely, engineering, 72,000 , shipbuilding, 42,000 ; other metal industries, 20,500 , building (including electrical contracting), 71,500 , woodworking, 9,400 , printing, 15,500 , and distributive trades, 29,000

Boy " learners " appeared chiefly in engineering and other metal industries , building , boot and shoe and clothing trades , and the distributive trades.

deterioration and unemployment at a very important time of life. A few employers of juveniles—notably the Post Office and the firm of Cables and Wireless, Ltd —have recognised their responsibilities to the young employees whose services they have to dispense with after the age of 18, and they have experimented with a system of part-time classes in which boys who cannot be retained are trained for other occupations But arrangements of this kind are still very rare.

Juvenile Unemployment

It is extraordinarily difficult to form any conclusion as to the extent to which boys and girls under the age of 18 suffered unemployment before the war The number of boys and girls leaving school and seeking employment each year was greater before than after the war, and the relative numerical importance of that part of the working population which was under the age of 18 was greater in the years before the war than it has been since Nevertheless, there is very little evidence of serious unemployment among boys and girls Witnesses before official commissions of enquiry spoke a great deal of the evils of child labour and the half-time system, and they deplored the demoralising consequences of misemployment But when they spoke of unemployment it was almost invariably of the unemployment of young men and women, over the age of 17 or 18, who had come to the end of their " blind alley " occupations Even such a comprehensive study as Mr Cyril Jackson's *Report on Boy Labour*, presented to the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (1909), has nothing to say concerning unemployment among boys under the age of 17, except that great complaints were made about the instability of young workers, many of whom drifted about from job to job very light-heartedly, often taking " spells of holiday " at the expense of their parents between jobs Neither Mr Jackson nor his collaborators in different parts of the country mention any unemployment among boys under 17 due to a shortage of jobs On the contrary, their reports convey the overwhelming impression that practically all boys and girls were normally snapped up as soon as they left school and that the difficulty about obtaining work did not arise until after the age of 17 Round about the ages of 17 and 18, however, they bear witness to the marked tendency for *boys* to be turned off and replaced by younger boys at lower wages.

In the absence of any complete statistical records, it is impossible to check the impression created by a study of contemporary references to the juvenile labour problem The Board of Trade commenced to publish monthly returns showing the number of unemployed juveniles under 17 in 1910, and in February 1913 the maximum pre-war figure—14,868—was registered But the exchanges were still in their infancy at this time and the actual number of unemployed boys and girls was probably greatly in

excess of the registered number Most pre-war juvenile unemployment appears to have been of three kinds ·

(*a*) Temporary unemployment due to the " discontinuous " character of certain occupations, seasonal employment, etc ,
(*b*) Unemployment due to personal factors, such as idleness, incapacity or unwillingness to settle down to any one job for any length of time, and physical and mental defects , and
(*c*) Unemployment caused by the termination of " blind alley " employment

Some unemployment due to the first two causes must have existed among boys and girls of all ages under 18 The third cause chiefly affected boys of 17 and young men of 18 and 19 It would be rash to hazard a guess as to the relative importance of pre-war and post-war unemployment among boys and girls What can be safely affirmed is that stagnant pools of juvenile unemployment, such as exist in certain parts of the country to-day, did not exist before the war But some social workers among boys and girls whose experience covers both periods under review consider that, outside what are now depressed or semi-depressed areas, the average amount of juvenile unemployment which existed in the ten years prior to the war was pretty much the same as it has been during the post-war years [1]

During the war juvenile unemployment practically disappeared Indeed, efforts were made to obtain the services of boys and girls even before they reached the statutory school-leaving age on account of the pressure of war work At the end of the war large numbers of boys and girls were thrown out of employment, but most of them were reabsorbed during the post-war boom of 1919–20 From 1920 onwards the Ministry of Labour's " Live Register " serves as an indication of the fluctuations of juvenile unemployment It does not provide a complete record for two reasons · (*a*) a certain number of occupations were still excluded from the greatly extended scheme of unemployment insurance which commenced operation in 1920, e g agriculture, domestic service, established railway servants ; (*b*) boys and girls under 16 remained uninsurable and, therefore, under no obligation to use the juvenile employment exchanges. Juvenile unemployment in the excluded occupations has probably been very small, but there must have been a considerable amount of unemployment among boys and girls under 16 which was not recorded. As more and more boys and girls learnt to use the

[1] It is pointed out, however, that before the war a large number of boys and girls left school at various ages between 12 and 14, and they were not required to wait (as is the case to-day) until the end of the term in which their fourteenth birthday occurred Thus there was a much steadier outflow of juveniles from the elementary schools, and it was easier for them to be absorbed by industry without a period of unemployment On the other hand, the " Malcolm " Committee on Education and Industry (1927) examined the effects of the post-war school-leaving arrangements and came to the conclusion that their educational advantages over-rode any other disadvantages which they might have

juvenile employment exchanges voluntarily before they became insurable, the official " Live Register " became a completer record. The results of sample enquiries in different parts of the country suggest that in the first few years after the 1920 scheme was commenced anything up to 100 per cent (and in some cases even more) should be added to the official figures. The " Malcolm " and " Salvesen " Committees on " Education and Industry " for England and Wales, and Scotland, respectively, considered that the addition of 40 or 50 per cent to the official figures was sufficient in 1926–7. But the Ministry of Labour stated in its Report for the year 1932 that it had been estimated that the number of unemployed juveniles between the ages of 14 and 16 years was equivalent to about one-third of the total number of juveniles who did register In September 1934 the age of insurability was lowered from 16 to the school-leaving age and the gap in the records is now practically closed

Table V sets out the official figures at half-yearly intervals between December 1920 and June 1935 But these figures should be read subject to the qualifications made above It will be seen that the general trend of juvenile unemployment followed that of unemployment in general Thus the figures rose in consequence of the industrial depression which set in at the end of 1920 and which was aggravated by the coal dispute of 1921 There was a marked recovery in 1922, which continued with some interruption until the " good years " 1924 and 1925 The general strike and the coal dispute sent up the figures in the summer of 1926, but they had fallen again by the end of the year to the 1924–5 level, which was maintained throughout 1927. The recorded totals for 1928 and 1929 were slightly higher than in 1927, and in 1930 the first effects of the world economic depression began to show themselves The juvenile " Live Register " mounted to 110,000 by the end of 1930, and remained at a very high level for the following two years There was an improvement in 1933 and 1934, but the increased number of school-leavers began to affect the juvenile labour market towards the end of the latter year and in 1935

By a very fortunate chance the fluctuations in the birth-rate during and after the war resulted in a trend of available juvenile labour supply which has dovetailed with the general trend of unemployment in this country during the last six years Thus the number of boys and girls available for employment in Great Britain declined by 390,000 between 1929 and 1933, when the general unemployment situation was worsening, while it has increased by 244,000 between 1933 and 1935 during a period of trade revival The decline in the number of boys and girls available for employment between 1929 and 1933 must have greatly eased the juvenile unemployment situation during those years. The increase in the number of boys and girls available for employment since 1933 has largely been absorbed by expanding industry except in the depressed and semi-depressed areas.

TABLE V

NUMBERS OF BOYS AND GIRLS REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED, 1921–35

DATE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1921, January 7th	42,104	55,361	97,465
June 24th	95,097	84,069	179,166
December 30th	61,219	41,725	102,944
1922, June 26th	42,413	29,963	72,376
December 18th	42,800	32,545	75,345
1923, June 25th	36,695	33,616	70,311
December 31st	36,659	35,070	71,729
1924, June 30th	29,207	27,587	56,794
December 29th	35,308	30,136	65,444
1925, June 29th	35,792	26,607	62,399
December 21st	25,865	22,198	48,063
1926, June 21st	44,352	45,998	90,350
December 24th	32,501	30,721	63,222
1927, June 20th	25,226	25,612	50,838
December 19th	27,218	23,515	50,733
1928, June 25th	28,045	25,226	53,271
December 17th	31,184	26,967	58,151
1929, June 24th	27,082	24,302	51,384
December 16th	30,671	27,076	57,747
1930, June 23rd	42,151	39,531	81,682
December 22nd	60,461	49,485	109,946
1931, June 22nd	64,518	48,860	113,378
December 21st	59,783	40,988	100,771
1932, June 27th	67,796	46,554	114,350
December 19th	64,466	43,932	108,398
1933, June 26th	51,709	35,679	87,388
December 18th	43,107	29,287	72,394
1934, June 25th	44,383	33,333	77,716
December 17th	56,277	43,839	100,116
1935, June 24th .	55,647	46,074	101,721

(*Ministry of Labour Gazette*)

TABLE VI

THE PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG INSURED PERSONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

DATE	BOYS 16–17	GIRLS 16–17	ALL INSURED WORKERS 16–64
1930, June 23rd	5 2	5 7	15 2
December 22nd	7 1	7 1	19 9
1931, June 22nd	8 0	6 6	21 1
December 21st	7 0	5 3	20 8
1932, June 27th	8 8	6 3	22 1
December 19th	7 3	5 6	21 5
1933, June 26th	5 9	4 3	19 3
December 18th	4 7	3 5	17 4
1934, June 25th	4 7	3 7	16 3
December 17th	4 8	4 0	15 9
1935, June 24th .	4 8	4 1	15 2

(*Ministry of Labour Gazette*)

The Percentage of Juvenile Unemployment

Owing to the incompleteness of the official records no statistics are available showing the percentage of unemployment among boys and girls in the 14–18 age-group as a whole Such figures, however, are available for the insured age-group over 16 Thus the percentage of unemployment among insured boys and girls in Great Britain during the last five years is shown at half-yearly intervals in Table VI It will be seen that the incidence of unemployment on insured boys and girls has been very much lighter than on the insured population over 18

The Geographical Distribution of Juvenile Unemployment

Unfortunately comparable statistics are not available for the whole of the post-war period showing the geographical distribution of juvenile unemployment But Table VII shows the percentage of

TABLE VII

RATE OF JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR

December 1929, 1932 *and* 1934

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION	PERCENTAGE OF INSURED JUVENILES (16–17) UNEMPLOYED					
	1929 DECEMBER 16TH		1932 DECEMBER 19TH		1934 DECEMBER 17TH	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
London	1 3	1 0	3 7	2 7	1 7	1 8
South-eastern	2 2	2 9	5 2	5 3	3 3	3 0
South-western	2 8	3 4	5 8	5 0	4 0	3 7
Midlands	2 0	2 1	5 2	4 1	2 1	2 4
North-eastern	3 8	5 1	9 4	7 4	5 8	4 9
North-western	5 2	4 7	9 6	7 1	6 8	5 3
Scotland	4 7	4 3	10 6	8 5	9 4	7 3
Wales .	6 3	6 9	12 2	12 1	9 3	11 7
Great Britain	3 3	3 2	7 3	5 6	4 8	4 0

(*Ministry of Labour Gazette*)

unemployment among insured juveniles in the Administrative Divisions of the Ministry of Labour areas in July 1929 (when economic conditions were relatively good), in July 1933 (when economic conditions were extremely bad) and in July 1934 (after some measure of economic recovery). It will be seen that in each case the rate of juvenile unemployment in Wales, Scotland and the north of England was considerably higher than in London, the south and Midlands. The numerical distribution of juvenile unemployment among the Administrative Divisions of the Ministry of Labour in

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED JUVENILES IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR, JULY 22nd, 1935

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION	NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED JUVENILES REGISTERED		TOTAL
	14-15	16-17	
London	2,302	2,065	4,367
South-east	1,868	1,323	3,191
South-west	3,423	1,834	5,257
Midlands	3,668	3,381	7,049
North-east	15,074	11,275	26,349
North-west	13,538	9,136	22,674
Scotland	13,958	9,933	23,891
Wales	9,006	4,891	13,897
Great Britain	62,837	43,838	106,675

(*Ministry of Labour Gazette, August* 1935.)

July 1935 is set out in Table VIII This table shows that over three-quarters of the unemployed boys and girls in Great Britain were to be found in Wales, Scotland and the north of England Less than a quarter of the total were in London, the south and Midlands

The figures shown in these tables clearly indicate that the dimensions of the juvenile unemployment problem to-day vary enormously as between different parts of the country This variation is shown even more clearly when the figures for individual towns are compared Thus in December 1934 the number of registered unemployed juveniles in Glasgow was 6,810 and in Liverpool 5,047 The total number in the whole of the Midlands division was 5,936. Birmingham itself had only 350 registered unemployed juveniles Nearly a fifth of the total juvenile unemployment in Great Britain was divided between the six towns Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Sunderland, Newcastle and Bristol On the other hand, in London and many towns in the south and Midlands there was an acute shortage of juvenile labour [1]

The Character of Juvenile Unemployment

A comparison of the total numbers of unemployed juveniles and the rates of juvenile unemployed in different parts of the country is not sufficient to bring out the essential differences in the character of juvenile unemployment in different areas. In the south and Midlands unemployment is almost entirely confined to boys and

[1] *Report of the Ministry of Labour on Juvenile Employment for the Year* 1934

girls who come on to the " Live Registers " for a short time either between leaving school and starting work or whilst waiting, after voluntarily leaving an old job, for a vacancy of a special type The arrangement whereby boys and girls cannot leave school until the end of the term in which their birthday occurs has the effect of damming up the supply of new entrants into industry until each term-end and causing a temporary flood of job seekers four times a year Many of these boys and girls are placed before they actually leave school, but there is naturally a short time-lag in some cases Occupational misfits are still very common, and a good deal of time may be lost in changing over from one job to another even if the demand for juvenile labour in general is brisk Moreover, boys and girls suffering from physical or temperamental handicaps present special difficulties But in the depressed and semi-depressed parts of Wales, Scotland and the industrial north of England the problem is much more serious The decay of the great export industries

TABLE IX

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Percentage of wholly unemployed boys and girls who had been on the Register the following number of months

	BOYS				GIRLS			
	UNDER 1	1–3	OVER 3	TOTAL	UNDER 1	1–3	OVER 3	TOTAL
South-eastern	65 2	27 4	7 4	100	61 5	31 4	7 1	100
South-western	54 8	31 7	13 5	100	46 0	35 7	18 3	100
Midlands	48 9	37 5	13 6	100	61 7	26 0	12 3	100
North-eastern	38 4	37 1	24 5	100	41 8	38 4	19 8	100
North-western	38 6	39 6	21 8	100	42 2	40 6	17 2	100
Scotland	36 2	38 7	25 1	100	36 0	37 2	26 8	100
Wales	27 1	43 1	29 8	100	30 9	40 9	28 2	100
Great Britain	42 5	36 9	20 6	100	44 2	36 9	18 9	100

(*Report on Juvenile Unemployment for the year* 1934, page 10)

has produced a complete dearth of vocational opportunities in many localities, and those who are registered as unemployed have in many cases had little or no employment since leaving school

A recent analysis of the register of wholly unemployed boys and girls claiming unemployment benefit brings out the differences in the character of juvenile unemployment in different parts of the country very clearly This analysis, reproduced in Table IX, shows that the normal duration of unemployment was much shorter in the south and Midlands than in Wales, Scotland and the north of England, and that a much smaller proportion of boys and girls in the south and Midlands were unemployed for more than three months In the south and Midlands (and, of course, in some localities in other parts of the country) the " Live Register " of unemployed boys and

girls turns over very rapidly In many parts of Wales, Scotland and the north of England it is very sluggish. In a few bad spots it resembles a stagnant pool

The Treatment of Juvenile Unemployment

The importance of guiding boys and girls in their choice of employment and of helping them to find suitable new jobs when they fell out of work was recognised by many social workers and educationists for many years before the State undertook any serious responsibilities in this field At first this work was carried on by private bodies—such as the voluntary apprenticeship committees which existed in many parts of London—and by private individuals —such as schoolmasters and leaders of boys' and girls' clubs The activities of these bodies and individuals only covered a small part of the field of juvenile employment, and they sometimes suffered from serious limitations But they paved the way for the official measures which succeeded them and they drew public attention to the importance of the problems with which they dealt

Apart from the Poor Law Authorities, the first public bodies to be charged with responsibilities relating to unemployment were the Distress Committees set up under the Unemployment Workmen Act, 1905 These committees were chiefly concerned with the relief of unemployed men and women, but in some cases—notably in London—they set up employment exchanges which were helpful in finding work for a number of unemployed boys and girls as well as men and women [1] They were succeeded by the national system of labour exchanges which was set up at the end of 1909.

The Employment Exchange System

The employment exchange system, which is substantially unaltered in character after twenty-six years of operation, was set up to assist unemployed workers to find suitable jobs and to assist employers to find suitable workers From its earliest days the labour exchange system included unemployed boys and girls within its scope, and special provision was made for Juvenile Advisory Committees to be set up in each important district, to guide boys and girls in the choice of employment Owing to the view taken in certain quarters that the transition from school to employment should be supervised by education authorities rather than by industrial authorities (even when assisted by advisory committees on which educationists were represented), the Choice of Employment Act, passed in 1910, gave power to those local education authorities that wished it to set up separate employment bureaux for juveniles on their own account Where this was done the Board of Trade

[1] The Board of Trade *Labour Gazette* published monthly returns in 1909 from nineteen provincial labour exchanges, most of them under Distress Committees, in addition to those for London In the year ended June 30th, 1908, the Metropolitan employment exchanges found situations for 20,028 unemployed persons, of whom 5,386 were boys and girls.

agreed to hand over the responsibility for boys and girls under 18 to the new organisations, and the rather illogical system grew up whereby the work is performed in some parts of the country by Juvenile Employment Bureaux (with the assistance of Juvenile Employment Committees) administered by the local education authorities, and in other parts of the country by Juvenile Labour (later Employment) Exchanges (with the assistance of Juvenile Advisory Committees) administered by the Board of Trade (later the Ministry of Labour) When the unemployment insurance system was introduced this dual arrangement inevitably produced administrative complications, but it was not until 1927 that the two systems were brought (in the opinion of some—wrongly) under the central supervision of the Ministry of Labour

In 1928, two National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment (one for England and Wales and another for Scotland) were set up to advise the Ministers of Labour on questions relating to juvenile employment and welfare These councils consist of representatives of education authorities, employers, workers, teachers, and of the local juvenile employment and advisory committees

The Functions of the Local Juvenile Employment Organisations

On December 31st, 1934, there were 106 local education authorities exercising choice of employment powers under approved schemes, while there were 195 local Juvenile Advisory Committees appointed by the Minister of Labour The functions of both types of juvenile employment organisation may be briefly summarised as follows .

(1) Advising school-leavers on the choice of employment (and where no employment is available, persuading them to remain at school)
(2) Co-operating with employers with a view to obtaining information likely to be useful in advising school-leavers and other applicants for employment, and to inducing them to give notice of all their vacancies
(3) Placing juveniles in employment
(4) Supervising the industrial welfare of juveniles
(5) Administering the unemployment insurance scheme in respect of boys and girls under 18
(6) Organising, where necessary, the provision of centres for unemployed boys and girls
(7) Co-operating with the Government, local authorities and private bodies in arranging schemes of industrial transference and overseas settlement

During the last twenty-five years the work of advising school-leavers, registering vacancies and placing boys and girls in situations has developed enormously In most parts of the country boys and girls are now given information and advice on the choice of vocation before they leave school, school record cards are almost universally in use, surveys of local vocational opportunities have been made and parents are invited to school conferences or rota committees to discuss their children's future prospects. It will be seen from

TABLE X

NOTIFICATIONS OF VACANCIES AND PLACINGS AT JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES AND BUREAUX, 1911–34

(Great Britain and Northern Ireland*)

YEAR	BOYS AND GIRLS UNDER 18	
	NOTIFICATIONS OF VACANCIES	PLACINGS
1911	164,128	122,331
1912	209,542	146,026
1913	238,233	156,308
1914	257,297	177,516
1915	299,161	206,220
1916	293,101	225,509
1917	278,030	225,359
1918	280,728	220,760
1919	319,074	223,094
1920	261,659	202,633
1921	132,261	110,649
1922	132,365	114,488
1923	167,171	150,260
1924	251,487	208,202
1925	293,783	237,918
1926	267,199	221,316
1927	318,943	265,437
1928	341,238	282,321
1929†	392,057	317,741
1930	372,958	309,970
1931	355,682	307,911
1932	369,529	321,830
1933	455,670	378,131
1934	550,394	445,424‡

(*Twenty-first Abstract of Labour Statistics*, 1934)

* *Including area now covered by Irish Free State before* 1922

† 54-*week period* ‡ *Great Britain only*

Table X that notification of vacancies by employers and the number of boys and girls placed in employment have greatly increased The work of the local exchanges and bureaux in catering for the needs of boys and girls between the time when they get their first job and their arrival at the age of 16 has been greatly facilitated by Part I of the Unemployment Act, 1934, which not only lowers the age of entry into the unemployment insurance scheme to the school-leaving age, but also requires employers to notify the exchange of all dismissals of juvenile employees Many boys and girls who were formerly lost sight of for two years after leaving school are now seen when they attend the exchanges for insurance purposes

Since 1926 special attention has been given to providing advice

and help for pupils leaving secondary schools In most parts of the country the interests of these boys and girls are supervised by the appointment of representatives of secondary schools on the existing juvenile committees, but over several wide areas, including London and (since 1933) Glasgow, special committees have been formed in co-operation with branches of Associations of Headmasters and Headmistresses of secondary schools The number of secondary school pupils placed by the Juvenile Advisory Committees and Secondary School Employment Committees during the year ended June 1934 was 7,278, of whom 3,679 were boys and 3,599 were girls [1]

The work of the local juvenile employment organisations does not end with placing boys and girls in employment The desirability of some measure of oversight by friendly agencies of the first few years of industrial life has been recognised Where Juvenile Advisory Committees undertake the work it is called " Industrial Supervision ", where it is undertaken by Juvenile Employment Committees it is called " After-Care " [2] The methods used vary considerably in different parts of the country, but they frequently take the form of (1) visits or letters of enquiry to employers , (2) the invitation of boys and girls, with their parents, to attend " open evenings " at the exchange ; and (3) personal visits (either by officials or voluntary workers) to the homes of the boys and girls In a number of areas there is an elaborate organisation of district sub-committees of voluntary " after-care " workers associated with the local employment committee

Unemployment Insurance

Boys and girls under 17 were not included within the scope of the original unemployment insurance scheme which was set up and extended during the war In 1920, however, the age of entry into the much wider scheme which was then introduced was fixed at 16 In 1934 the minimum insurable age was reduced to the school-leaving age, and special arrangements were made whereby " contributions " should be credited to boys and girls who continued to attend school beyond this age The weekly contributions and benefits which have been in force since 1920 have varied considerably. The present position is that boys and girls under 16 pay *2d* a week in contributions, an equal amount being paid by the employer and the State Between the ages of 16 and 18 boys pay *5d* and girls $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a week, equal amounts again being paid by the employer and the State No benefit is paid to unemployed boys and girls

[1] *Report of Ministry of Labour for the Year* 1934, page 45 But note that these numbers do not include placings by the juvenile employment bureaux of local education authorities, since separate statistics in respect of secondary school applicants are not always available at such offices

[2] Early in 1925 all the Juvenile Advisory Committees were asked to prepare schemes for supervising the welfare of boys and girls whom they had advised on leaving school or placed in employment By the end of the year every Juvenile Advisory Committee had an approved scheme in operation

under 16 unless their father (or elder brother on whom they are dependent) is also unemployed In this case a dependant's allowance of 2*s* a week is paid Unemployed boys aged 16 receive benefit at the rate of 6*s* a week, unemployed girls at the rate of 5*s* a week Unemployed boys aged 17 receive 9*s* a week, and unemployed girls 7*s* 6*d* a week

Between 1921 and 1931 unemployment benefit continued to be paid under certain circumstances to boys and girls who had exhausted their benefit rights (as a result of prolonged unemployment or an insufficiency of contributions) After 1931, however, the period during which benefit is payable to juveniles has been limited to twenty-six weeks Boys and girls under 18 are not eligible for unemployment allowances under the Unemployment Act, 1934

Instructional Centres for Unemployed Juveniles [1]

The provision of classes and courses of instruction for unemployed boys and girls was first made in connection with the Out-of-Work Donation Scheme, 1918–19 Attendance at these classes was made a condition for the receipt of the " Donation," and in April 1919 some 17,000 boys and girls, thrown out of employment at the end of the war, were being given instruction in 157 centres Since this experiment was made, seven other schemes have been operated and over a million unemployed boys and girls have passed through centres and classes As there was no means of insisting on attendances except in the case of boys and girls in receipt of unemployment insurance benefit, the centres have principally been used by juveniles over the age of 16 But the Unemployment Act, 1934, not only lowered the age of entry into unemployment insurance to the school-leaving age, but it made attendance at a Junior Instruction Class or Centre compulsory (if one were reasonably accessible) for all unemployed boys and girls under 18 The following table shows that there has been a considerable expansion both in the number of centres and classes and in attendances since the Act was passed in the summer of 1934

TABLE XI

JUNIOR INSTRUCTION CENTRES: JUNE 1934 AND SEPTEMBER 1935

JUNIOR INSTRUCTION CENTRES AND CLASSES	WEEK ENDED JUNE 20TH, 1934	WEEK ENDED SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1935
Number of Centres	118	178
Number of Classes	18	17
Average Attendance		
Boys	9,892	20,247
Girls	3,213	9,501

(*Ministry of Labour Gazette*)

[1] See the article by V Bell on this subject in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935

Industrial Transference

It has been seen that over three-quarters of the unemployed boys and girls in Great Britain are to be found in Wales, Scotland and the north of England It has also been seen that not only does the duration of juvenile unemployment tend to be much longer in these areas, but that a large number of boys and girls in some of the most depressed localities have had little or no employment since leaving school In many parts of these areas the juvenile unemployment problems can never be solved by the normal methods which are used in the more prosperous parts of the country In these places juvenile unemployment is an aspect of the much more fundamental depressed areas problem and its solution must be sought in terms of national economic policy But an endeavour to obtain partial relief has been made by means of a scheme of industrial transference The scheme was introduced in February 1928, and, under the special facilities provided, boys and girls willing to leave their homes were granted free travelling expenses, suitable lodgings were found, and supervision of their welfare in the new district was arranged In April 1928 an appeal for funds was issued by the Lord Mayors of London, Newcastle and Cardiff to relieve the distress in the depressed areas of South Wales and the north-east coast, and later that year, the Government decided to make a grant of £1 for each £1 voluntarily subscribed The sum of £45,350 from this fund was placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Labour to assist the transfer of boys and girls from the depressed areas to other parts of the country This money has been used to make up the difference between wages and the cost of maintenance in vacancies of a progressive type, and for meeting contingencies such as a period of short-time working, sickness or temporary unemployment Between 1928 and the end of 1934 the total number of juveniles transferred was 24,705, of whom 10,049 were boys and 14,645 were girls [1] Up to July 1934, when the Lord Mayors' Fund was exhausted, assistance had been given to 3,538 boys and 422 girls for periods varying from a few weeks to the maximum of two years permitted under the scheme Assistance of the same kind has since been given out of government funds, and in November 1934 it was decided to develop the scheme further by providing new facilities Figures are not yet available to show the progress which has been made as a result of these new developments, but the following table shows the numbers of boys and girls transferred during 1934 : [2]

[1] Of the girls, 1,166 proceeded to industrial work and 13,490 to domestic employment Of the latter, 6,938 had received training in the training centres established by the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment.

[2] *Ministry of Labour Report on Juvenile Employment for the Year* 1934, page 13

TABLE XII

TRANSFERENCE OF JUVENILES, 1934

DIVISIONS OF ORIGIN	JUVENILES TRANSFERRED		
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
South and Midlands	4	66	70
North-eastern	591	1,130	1,721
North-western	153	432	585
Scotland	200	307	507
Wales	713	1,577	2,290
	1,661	3,512	5,173

It will be seen that over three-quarters of the boys and girls were transferred from Wales and the north-eastern division

Hours of Work

Perhaps the most serious feature of juvenile employment before the war was the large number of hours worked by many boys and girls The Factory and Workshops Acts prohibited employment in factories and workshops on Sundays and restricted the period of employment to 65½ hours a week (including 10½ hours for meals) in textile factories and to 68 hours a week (including 8 hours for meals) in non-textile factories and workshops In many cases actual working hours were fixed by collective agreements below the legal maximum, but it was quite usual for boys and girls employed in factories and workshops to be working for more than 54 hours a week (*excluding* meal times) before the war Boys and girls employed " in or about a shop " might not work for a longer period than 74 hours, including meal times, in any one week, but it was quite common for them to be kept at work up to the permitted maximum length of time Outside occupations regulated by the Factories and Workshops Acts and the Shops Acts there was no legal limit to the number of hours for which boys and girls might be employed In some occupations extremely long hours were regularly worked Thus the Departmental Committee on the Hours and Conditions of Employment of Van Boys and Warehouse Boys, 1913,[1] found that the van boys employed by parcels delivery companies normally worked 10 hours a day within city areas and 12 hours a day outside city areas, and that in many cases even these long hours were exceeded. It is significant that this Committee did not consider it practicable to recommend a maximum working week of less than 70 hours for either van boys or warehouse boys under 18.

[1] Cmd. 6886 (1913).

The Forty-eight-hour Week

One of the results of the war was to reduce the normal working week in industrial occupations to 48 hours But this was effected by collective bargaining, not by protective legislation, and many "unorganised" occupations did not share the general reduction An enquiry into hours of employment of boys and girls under 18 in the catering trade in 1929[1] revealed that the weekly hours of duty, exclusive of meal times, frequently exceeded 54 in hotels, public-houses and restaurants The Select Committee on Shop Assistants' Hours[2] heard of evidence concerning the excessively long hours of employment of young persons in and about shops Further, a special investigation, instituted by the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment into the hours of employment of boys and girls in unregulated occupations[3] showed that nearly 43 per cent were working for more than 48 hours a week excluding meal times and rest periods Sixteen per cent of them were working more than 54 hours a week, excluding meal times and rest periods Largely as a result of this special investigation the first nine sections of the Shops Act, 1934, provided for the regulation of the employment in or about shops of persons under the age of 18 Maximum working hours of boys and girls in shops or otherwise in retail trade were fixed at 48 per week,[4] subject to certain modifications with respect to overtime on occasions of seasonal or exceptional pressure of work The Secretary of State was also empowered to regulate the hours of young workers in shops so that they should not be deprived of reasonable opportunities for instruction and recreation But it is estimated that there are still about 300,000 boys and girls, employed in unregulated occupations, large numbers of whom work for longer than 48 hours a week

Juvenile Employment in the Next Few Years

Apart from any important change which may occur in the general course of employment, the dominating factor in the juvenile labour situation during the next few years will be the fluctuations in the numbers of boys and girls available for employment According to the estimate made by the Ministry of Labour, reproduced in Table XIII, the number of juveniles in Great Britain available for employment in 1936 will be 150,000 greater than in 1935, and the number available in 1937 will be 91,000 greater than in 1936. After 1937, however, the number available each year will gradually

[1] H M S O Publication 36–100 (1930)

[2] H M S O Report 148 (1931)

[3] Fourth Report of the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment, 1932 The investigation showed that about 25 7 per cent of the boys and 3 6 per cent of the girls leaving school entered one or other of the unregulated occupations

[4] Section 16 and the Schedule provided for a temporary modification of the limitation of hours imposed by the Act Until December 27th, 1936, the normal maximum hours are to be 52, instead of 48 a week.

TABLE XIII

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF BOYS AND GIRLS (14–17) AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT, 1931–45

(Great Britain)

(THOUSANDS OMITTED)

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1931	1,128	940	2,068
1932	1,065	877	1,942
1933	1,030	842	1,872
1934	1,077	876	1,953
1935	1,167	949	2,116
1936	1,248	1,018	2,266
1937	1,296	1,061	2,357
1938	1,209	989	2,198
1939	1,154	945	2,099
1940	1,120	922	2,042
1941	1,089	893	1,982
1942	1,065	873	1,938
1943	1,045	857	1,902
1944	1,030	842	1,872
1945	1,025	836	1,861

("*Ministry of Labour Gazette*," *October* 1934)

decline By 1944 the number of available boys and girls will have fallen to the low level reached in 1933 These changes, of course, reflect the fluctuations in the birth-rate during and after the war. Their effect will be to ease the existing shortage of boy and girl labour in the more prosperous parts of the country during the next two years In the depressed and semi-depressed areas they will seriously aggravate an already grave situation After 1937 industry will have to accommodate itself to a declining supply of juvenile labour, but (unless there is a change in the school-leaving age) the decline will be so gradual as not to be embarrassing to employers in the prosperous areas and not to be very effective in easing the juvenile unemployment situation in the hard-hit areas Unless positive action is taken to deal with the situation, we may expect to see the pools of unwanted juvenile labour in the less prosperous parts of the country continue in existence for many years to come [1]

[1] Another consequence of the fluctuations in the war-time and post-war birth-rates to which sufficient attention has not yet been directed will be the passage into the 18–25 age-group in the population of the "bulge" which is now aggravating the juvenile unemployment situation Unemployment in the 18–25 age-group is already a serious problem After 1937 it will become very much more serious owing to the increase in numbers of young men and women For the boys and girls who are at present unemployed in the depressed areas it will mean a prolongation of their present unhappy state over the threshold of adult life.

The form which positive action is most likely to take during the next few years is that of raising the school-leaving age to 15. This extension of normal school life would make it possible to complete the " Hadow " scheme of post-primary school reorganisation and would pave the way for improvements in the spirit and content of education between the ages of 11 and 15 years It would also have the effect of eliminating all serious unemployment among boys and girls except in a few localities in the distressed areas But Junior Instruction Centres would still be needed in these few localities, and it would still be necessary to arrange for the transference of boys and girls from areas where the prospects of continuous employment are few to more prosperous parts of the country

There are, however, signs that public opinion is ripening for a much more thorough-going policy with respect to boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18 It is now nearly twenty years since the " Lewis " Committee, appointed to consider " juvenile education in relation to employment after the war," expressed the view that the educational purpose should be the dominating one " during the formative years between 12 and 18 " It is over seventeen years since the " Fisher " Education Act, 1918, abortively provided that all young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 should be required to attend a continuation school during the daytime for two half-days a week. In the meantime, a little has been done—by the local education authority at Rugby (where the " Fisher " Act has actually been in operation in respect of boys and girls up to 16); by other local education authorities which have provided voluntary day continuation schools, and by a number of private firms who have provided facilities for their younger employees to continue their education during working hours But the feeling is growing that the welfare of boys and girls at a critical phase in life cannot be left to voluntary action Compulsory part-time education between 15 and 18 is being advocated as the complement of raising the full-time school-leaving age by a year, and the day continuation school is being envisaged as the centre, not only of educational activities, but also of health and welfare supervision and of vocational guidance

A D K Owen.

CHAPTER THREE

Problem of the Boy in Non-progressive Employment

THE problem of the boy who is engaged in employment of a non-progressive character is happily receiving a great deal of attention at the present moment It is a problem which appears to become more and more acute as time passes Fifty years ago a boy could reasonably assume that the job in which he started would become his life's work The apprenticeship system was based on this principle Practically all skilled tradesmen, and many other workers, began their careers as apprentices But developments in industrial organisation have caused great changes It is now the exception rather than the rule for a lad to be apprenticed The organisation of large factories and workshops for the production of specialised commodities has brought about the subdivision of labour, and within the range of the particular job to be done efficiency is rapidly achieved This makes it possible in many cases to employ a large proportion of juveniles, with a consequent cheapening of the costs of production

Extent of " Blind-alley " Occupations

Thus the problem of non-progressive employment not only arises in " blind-alley " occupations, such as those of messengers, van boys and porters, but pervades the whole field of modern industry Many occupations which are regarded as progressive are not necessarily so, for there are many workshops where the proportion of juvenile labour is greatly in excess of adult labour, and consequently numbers of lads are dismissed as soon as they can be replaced by younger persons

The census returns for 1931 showed that in London about 25 per cent of the male population from 14 to 16 years of age were employed as messengers, van boys and porters In the age-group 18 to 20 years, only 6 per cent were employed in these occupations The natural inference is that the majority of these young workers returned to the labour market as soon as their services were no longer required.

It is not possible to obtain statistics of all juveniles employed in non-progressive occupations, for many are covered in the census returns under such headings as " hotel workers," " engineering, etc ," but the published figures for van boys, messengers and porters are sufficient in themselves to warrant serious attention.

Need for Preparation for the Future

When it is realised that these lads must seek fresh avenues of work, the question arises, what can be done so that, in the words of the

Report on Juvenile Employment of the Ministry of Labour for 1933, "the juveniles may be encouraged to equip themselves for making the most of any opportunity of betterment which may offer itself."

The danger of non-progressive occupations is that they seldom give these boys any incentive to equip themselves for the future Too many are devoid of any objective and are prepared to let matters drift until they are faced with the prospect of applying for unemployment benefit A few of the more ambitious strive, under difficulties, to fit themselves for their next job by attending day or evening classes, while others benefit by the public-spirited action of certain employers who grant facilities enabling their young employees to pursue their studies in readiness for future eventualities.

Enquiries have been made to discover the type of employment followed by these boys subsequent to their service as messengers, and it was found that rather less than 50 per cent took up work of a clerical nature, while the remainder entered semi-skilled industrial occupations or casual work This investigation showed definitely that some kind of preliminary training was necessary before these lads could qualify for really skilled or progressive work

That most of these boys are capable of useful training is beyond question It must not be thought that the recruitment of messengers is from the poorest material which leaves the elementary schools Though some are of poor attainment, there are others who have decided potentialities Usually it is a combination of circumstances which induces the boy to become a messenger Apart from domestic reasons and the eagerness for a first job, there is the wages lure In some newspaper offices, messengers receive as much as 27*s* a week at 16 years +, and 35*s* a week when they reach the age of 17 years Moreover, the conditions of employment are generally good, and sometimes there is a remote chance of permanent employment with their present employers

On the whole, these boys are bright, happy, care-free and responsive in their early years as messengers, but it is disquieting to observe cheerfulness giving way to anxiety as the inevitable approaches and they are faced with an impending notice to quit It is then that they begin to take stock of themselves and become thoroughly dispirited Unfortunately in most cases it is too late to apply a remedy The solution of the problem lies in its early recognition and the exercise of sufficient foresight to prevent the disaster which is the natural result of our present policy of *laissez-faire*

Attempts to solve the Problem

While we deplore the fact that there is no concerted scheme for dealing with boys in non-progressive employment, we ought not to omit the individual instances where employers have made some attempt to grapple with the problem The General Post Office, for example, has a scheme of compulsory attendance at classes

whereby their messengers receive training preparatory to permanent employment

Cable and Wireless Limited arrange for the compulsory attendance of all their messengers, numbering several hundreds, at commercial or technical classes, the former for those who may be absorbed in the Company's permanent service and the latter for those who will be compelled to leave when they reach the age of 17 to 18 years An interesting feature of this scheme is the link with the Ministry of Labour, who act as the source of supply of messengers, and later place the lads in occupations for which they are best suited This placing is based on the Company's report regarding the boy's efficiency and the school's record of his general capabilities and special aptitudes By reason of his training and supervision this lad has more than an average opportunity of securing employment of a progressive character Details of this scheme have been outlined in *Junior Instruction Centres and their Future—A Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, by Valentine A Bell*, 1934

Newspaper companies and advertising agents employ numbers of messengers, and many of these companies endeavour to encourage attendance at classes with a view to the boy's future employment Though they have not yet been able to insist upon attendance, these employers pay fees, provide meals or offer other inducements to encourage their boys to take advantage of the educational facilities provided for their benefit Though it might be argued that such inducements should not be necessary, we must remember that these boys are at an age when it is difficult to visualise the future Furthermore, the employer has a certain responsibility He knows he must ultimately dismiss these lads, and if he cannot grant full facilities for the training of these boys, he can at least encourage them by these incentives to study

There is no lack of opportunity in London for those who desire to improve themselves The Education Authority co-operates closely in this work by providing facilities for free training in the case of those students whose employers allow time off to the extent of 50 per cent of the period of instruction In no case, however, is the fee higher than 4*s* for a session extending from September to the following June The number of subjects available is almost unlimited, covering practically every possible requirement in general education, commercial, technical and art training

In spite of all this organisation, only a small proportion of this particular class receives the benefits of continued education These juveniles, it should be borne in mind, need training more than any other group of workers There is no doubt that many young men about 20 years of age, now unemployed, feel they have not had a fair chance They are without qualifications or skill and generally dissatisfied with life What different persons they might have been had they had the advantage of definite training during their early youth !

Need for National Organisation

From the writer's point of view, the solution of the problem lies in building up a national scheme that will operate for the whole body of young workers in non-progressive employment Not only must the van boys, messengers and porters be included, but also the boys who are now replacing men in the factories and will themselves be replaced when they get a little older.

Some form of organisation is necessary to ensure that every one of these workers undergoes a course of training befitting him for future employment The nature of this training should in most cases be of a practical kind, with general handicraft as the basis, to give a clue to the particular industry for which each individual is best suited The training must also be dependent on the openings that will be available for these boys This is a matter that calls for a certain amount of research A survey should be made of those avenues of employment which open for lads at 17 or 18 years of age, and messengers and others similarly placed should be selected and trained with a view to entering these occupations

The scheme demands close co-operation between the employers, the Ministry of Labour, the schools and those interested in vocational guidance With such co-operation and with carefully kept records, it should be possible to eliminate the present haphazard way of falling into a job, and ensure that every boy utilises his abilities to the best advantage and settles down to his ultimate work with a feeling of confidence and security

The moral effect of the scheme would be incalculable At present the messenger boy is often at a " loose end " His experience as a messenger sharpens his wits and makes him self-reliant The open-air life gives him an exuberance which only the discipline of service can curb He is the raw material of the best type of citizen, if we can only prevent his good qualities from going to waste Before disillusion mars his character and makes him rebellious, we must take him in hand, direct and guide him, for his own good and for ours We are never tired of protesting that the future of our nation rests with the quality of our youth. Let us therefore act as real guardians of the nation's welfare by giving every lad the opportunity he deserves The rescue of those lads now in non-progressive employment must be the first step

T A. GILBERT

CHAPTER FOUR

A Review of Psychological Methods of giving Vocational Guidance

I National Vocational Guidance Services

ALTHOUGH this review is concerned primarily with the development of *psychological* methods of giving advice on careers to young people, it would be inappropriate not to start with an account of the Ministry of Labour's work in advising and placing juveniles, in spite of the fact that the Ministry has not adopted any specifically psychological technique for this work Vocational guidance in this country has developed, in the main, along two lines, the Ministry developing a system of occupational advice on a national scale, and such bodies as the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, the Industrial Health (formerly Fatigue) Research Board (working sometimes in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour) and certain local education authorities developing and applying psychological techniques on a smaller scale It is the hope of psychologists that before very long these two lines will meet, and the interest which the Ministry shows in psychological methods, and the interest which those responsible for psychological developments take in the work of the Ministry seem to show that already no great distance separates them

History of National Choice of Employment Schemes

It was in 1910 that the first effort was made to organise a juvenile employment service on a national basis Under the Labour Exchanges Act, Juvenile Departments were established in labour exchanges, and Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment were set up Six years later the control of the exchanges was transferred from the Board of Trade to the Ministry of Labour

Certain local education authorities had already, by 1910, established their own Juvenile Employment Committees and Bureaux, and in 1910 also the Choice of Employment Act consolidated their position and authorised education authorities to establish such bureaux under the control of the Board of Education Thus from the start, the national scheme was under dual control by the Board of Education and the Board of Trade, the latter being replaced in 1916 by the Ministry of Labour This duality of central control was abolished when, in 1927, the Ministry took over the Board of Education's responsibilities in this matter, but dual *local* control persisted, for the Ministry made it clear that it would exercise over the schemes of education authorities only the minimum of control required by the necessities of a national scheme The Ministry's officers are in charge of juvenile advisory and employ-

ment services in 160 districts in England and Wales, while 106 local education authorities exercise their powers for the whole or part of their areas The Ministry is charged with these services in all parts of Scotland except Edinburgh, where the Ministry and the education authority jointly operate them

The Weakness of Double Control

This system of double control has obvious weaknesses, but it is not without its advantages A local authority, in direct control both of schools and of juvenile advisory and employment work, may perhaps find that it has an easier task in experimenting, for example, with the closer alliance of educational, advisory and placement services than it would have if the local Juvenile Employment Officers were not its own servants It may prove easier for it to initiate a scheme, such as that being installed in Birmingham,[1] or to use the services of its teachers to aid the work of its Juvenile Employment Officers

Operation of Advisory Schemes

There is considerable elasticity in the working of the various Juvenile Advisory or Juvenile Employment Committees, the Ministry recognising that schemes must, in their details, be fashioned according to local circumstances The work in a rural area, with few towns and a scattered population, must differ considerably from the work in a densely populated industrial district , and both will differ from the work in a " dormitory " area, where a large proportion of the juvenile, as of the adult, population will seek employment outside the area

The general organisation, however, is very much the same throughout the country The local committee is generally thoroughly representative of local interests in juvenile problems, including nominees of the education authorities in the area, teachers, employers, workers and individuals who have some special knowledge of or contact with the duties of the committees These duties fall under five main heads

1 Giving advice to juveniles on the choice of the most suitable employment
2 Assisting juveniles in finding suitable employment
3 Assisting employers to obtain suitable young workers
4 Keeping in touch with boys and girls during the early years of their occupational life
5 Giving juveniles advice on continued education in relation to their employment

The voluntary assistance and personal influence of the members of the committees are allied with the expert knowledge of the permanent officials of the Ministry of Labour or of the education authority.

[1] The Birmingham scheme for giving vocational advice, based on psychological examinations, to children leaving school is described on pages 245–6.

When the committees were first established, it was laid down " as a cardinal principle that any advice given by, or in the name of, a committee was the responsibility of the committee, which the government servant could neither assume nor share The knowledge of the members on industrial and social questions remains of paramount importance, but, during the last decade particularly, the technique of vocational guidance has so developed that it has become the natural responsibility of the expert This is due to the facts that the organisation of educational services and of industry is rapidly changing, and that the place of the juvenile in the industrial scheme varies from trade to trade and from year to year, as labour supplies are modified, as invention advances, and as mechanical or other new methods of production are adopted " [1]

Providing Children with Information

Before individual advice is offered to a boy or a girl on the occupation for which he or she seems most suited, efforts are made to give children as much information as possible about the occupations which are available in their neighbourhood to stimulate the interest of children in their future careers—and to stimulate, also, the interest of their parents Addresses are given to children reaching the end of their school careers by teachers, the local vocational guidance officers, committee members or prominent industrialists Visits are arranged for school children to local factories, to give them some idea of the nature of the work in which they may later be engaged, and of the general industrial background Special " school-leaving letters " are sent out ; and the distribution of printed information about occupations is widespread The use of the lantern slide and, recently, of cinema films are methods which are particularly effective The use of films, in particular, is still in an experimental stage, although films occupy an established position in the work of such districts as Willesden, where the Committee has been foremost in research and experiment with them The Ministry is enquiring into the possibility of compiling a library of films for the use of local committees

Conferences with Children and Parents

With this background of knowledge of occupations, the children meet members of the committee and the local vocational guidance officer, at conferences held either at the schools or at the employment exchange or bureau The school conferences are attended by the boy or girl, whenever possible by one or both parents, the head teacher of the school, and representatives of the local committee ; and sometimes class teachers also attend The familiar surroundings and the presence of teachers are valuable in giving the boy or

[1] Joint Report of the National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment on the *Organisation and Development of the Vocational Guidance Service in Great Britain* (H.M S O , 1934)

girl confidence. Contributions to the problem of the child's future are made by teachers, on the basis of school performance and observation of the child's behaviour and character; by the parents, who give information on the child's inclinations, aptitudes and leisure activities and interests, and on the extent of the assistance which they can afford during the early stages of industrial life The report of the School Medical Officer or a summary of any points in it which have a bearing upon choice of employment is available This information forms the basis of the discussion of each case, and gives the vocational officer the data for his work The school conference has a further advantage over the bureau conference in that the attendance of children due to leave school is " so general as to be almost compulsory "

The bureau conference is apt to be less comprehensive These conferences are held on stated evenings; and since the attendance of the child is voluntary, many children do not attend at all, and receive no advice There are often difficulties in ensuring that head teachers shall be present On the other hand, the evening conferences are often more convenient for members of the committee, and sometimes for the parent The further advantage has been advanced that the child is early introduced to the office which exists to help him.

School-leaving Reports

Whichever system is used, the advice given is based largely on the combination of the teacher's knowledge of the child's educational and personal capacities with the occupational knowledge of the Juvenile Committee and its officers To obtain information from the teachers as completely and as systematically as possible, school-leaving reports and cards are used in many areas, although some areas and individual schools do not use them A standard form is issued by the Ministry, which also forms the basis of the reports used by most education authorities The Ministry is experimenting with a revised form, and although its details are not yet settled, it aims at obtaining more information in more detailed form and presented in the manner which makes it most useful to the vocational guidance officer.

Psychological Methods

During 1933 and 1934, the Ministry's vocational guidance work received special consideration by the Ministry's two Advisory Councils [1] for Juvenile Employment, which appointed a committee " to review the scheme of vocational guidance . . . and to make any suggestions which might seem appropriate for its amendment or development " The Council's Joint Report on the *Organisation and Development of the Vocational Guidance Service in Great Britain* is an extremely useful document, and I cannot do better than to commend it to the attention of all who are interested in its subject.

[1] There is a Council for England and Wales and another for Scotland.

One section of the report deals with psychological methods in vocational guidance The Councils came to the conclusion that " on the whole we are inclined to the view that the application of psychological methods to vocational guidance should still be regarded as at the experimental stage , though we consider that the results already obtained are sufficiently encouraging to justify the continuance of experiments on a limited scale for a further period " ; and they considered " that it would be a matter for regret if a further limited series of enquiries could not be undertaken to determine the value of psychological methods in relation to the technique of vocational guidance " They recommended that " at least one further experiment should be carried out by the Industrial Health Research Board in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour," and that " the Ministry should be prepared to approve, for purpose of grant, expenditure by a limited number of authorities " on experiments carried out in co-operation with the National Institute of Industrial Psychology into the use of psychological methods in giving vocational guidance

The Future Position of Psychological Methods

The report goes on to discuss the position which psychological methods should occupy in the national scheme should these experiments establish the desirability of using them, and it stresses the view that the vocational guidance officer, with his knowledge of occupations and of local openings and conditions, must remain responsible for formulating occupational advice " no system under which the psychologist would be responsible for giving advice, and the Exchange or Bureau would be charged solely with obtaining employment in accordance with the advice so given, could ever in our view produce satisfactory results " The psychologist and the officer should combine their skill and experience, the psychologist being responsible " for the testing according to accredited methods of pupils over a number of years or at the time of leaving school, and, in consultation with the school authorities, for the proper completion of the pupil's record card which would subsequently form the basis of the school-leaving report. On that report, preferably after personal consultation with the psychologist and the head teacher the vocational guidance officer would advise finally on the choice of employment "

It will be seen later in this chapter that this conclusion is substantially the conclusion also of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology

Secondary Schools

Although the national vocational guidance services are available to boys and girls leaving each grade of school, yet it is with juveniles from primary, central and junior technical schools that they are mainly concerned. The proportion of secondary school pupils who seek the aid of the juvenile employment bureaux is smaller than the

proportion from primary schools, although it is growing Many secondary school pupils seek other means of obtaining occupational advice and employment

Various committees exist throughout the country for helping boys and girls from secondary schools in their entry to occupational life The Employment Committees of the Associations of Headmasters and of Headmistresses in Secondary Schools, for example, in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour, advise and place boys and girls from some 250 secondary schools in London and the home and south-eastern counties, and similar committees have been established in other parts of the country

Apart from the work of these committees, headmasters and mistresses themselves give advice to a considerable number of pupils, and many of them foster contacts with local employers in order to assist their pupils in finding work A few schools organise this work more definitely by appointing careers masters and mistresses who make a special study of matters connected with the careers of pupils A large proportion of the individuals who seek advice from the vocational guidance department of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology come from secondary schools

The vocational guidance services for secondary school children are thus far less closely organised than the services for primary school children It is the view of the Ministry of Labour's Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment [1] that the advising of children from post-primary schools (i e secondary, junior technical and similar schools) should be " brought into close relationship with the organisation of the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment " Difficulties arise from the large areas from which these schools recruit their pupils, and from the tendency of the pupils to seek employment away from the home district Some form of regional co-operation is clearly necessary , and the Councils suggest the establishment in certain districts of Divisional Councils or Regional Committees to assist in the co-ordination of the work of advising and placing these boys and girls In other districts where a Divisional Council or a Regional Committee might be difficult to operate, periodic conferences of interested bodies are suggested.

Summary

The position of the national vocational guidance services may be summed up as follows Under the Ministry of Labour and certain education authorities there exists a nation-wide system of advising and placing juveniles. Certain special arrangements are made for post-primary school pupils, but a large proportion of them, and particularly of boys and girls from secondary schools, seek advice and help from agencies outside the national services. The scope of the services is indicated by the facts that " probably one in every four of the total number of engagements of juvenile staff is effected

[1] See their Joint Report, pages 22–5

through the official organisation of the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment", and that rather more than one in three of the boys and girls who leave school in Great Britain, for purposes other than higher education, receive individual advice on the choice of careers through these agencies

In general, no specifically psychological techniques are used in this work, but in certain areas psychological methods have been, or are being, introduced

II The Development of Psychological Methods

The history of the national schemes starts in 1910, but the development of psychological methods of giving vocational guidance dates, in this country, from 1921, although six years earlier an experiment undertaken by a group of officers of the London County Council was brought to an early end owing to the war In 1921 the National Institute of Industrial Psychology was formed, with the promotion of vocational guidance on a psychological basis as one of its major objectives, and in the same year the Industrial Fatigue Research Board published its first report [1] on the subject Already, although no organised vocational guidance had been given in this country, the methods to be used had already been outlined, as early as 1919, Dr (now Prof) Cyril Burt [2] had discussed them at Cambridge in a school organised by Dr C S Myers for the study of certain industrial problems mainly from a psychological point of view

The psychologists saw themselves confronted by two problems. Since any type of work, from the simplest to the most difficult, requires a certain level of intelligence, certain definite abilities and a certain combination of temperamental qualities, it was necessary to have available analyses, from the psychological point of view, of the occupations open to the individuals who were to be advised. The second problem was the evolution of a technique of vocation examination for assessing an individual's mental and temperamental make-up, so that this could be compared with the demands of the various occupations The general outline of this technique was already clear—the use of psychological tests for measuring intelligence and abilities, and a special procedure of interviewing for the assessment of temperament qualities

When Dr Cyril Burt undertook the organisation and control of the National Institute's vocational section, he embarked on the preparation of various tests—for clerical work, for intelligence, etc. —and on the examination of individuals who applied for guidance or who were referred to him by probation officers and by various charitable institutions.

[1] *Vocational Guidance (a Review of the Literature)*, by B. Muscio, I.F.R.B, Report No 12 (H M S O, 1921)

[2] *Lectures on Industrial Administration*, edited by B. Muscio. (Pitman, 1920.)

Experiments with Psychological Methods

The need was felt, however, for experiment on a larger scale, primarily to work out more fully the psychological technique of vocational guidance, but also to obtain evidence of the practical usefulness of the new methods In 1922 the National Institute and the Industrial Fatigue Research Board co-operated in such an experiment [1]

As it was the first investigation of its kind, it was judged advisable to plan it on not too ambitious a scale As a preliminary measure, an analysis was made of the occupations taken up by 1,000 children leaving elementary schools in a London borough The investigation proper then consisted of the thorough examination of 100 children (52 boys and 48 girls) in three schools in the borough who were due to leave within the next year They were given vocational advice based on the results of this examination After the lapse of two years as many as possible of the children who had been tested were traced and visited, and their occupational successes and failures were related to the advice given

It was realised that an experiment with 100 children could give no very conclusive results, but the main interest of the investigators lay in the practicability of their methods rather than in the evidence collected in the subsequent follow-up In this it was completely successful It revealed means by which the methods used in the examination could be improved, and it showed that the data provided by it covered all the major considerations which affect a wise choice of occupation " The scheme has proved workable , the results, unexpectedly successful "

The best established conclusion was the number and complexity of the factors involved in any attempt at vocational guidance " Not one, but a dozen or more considerations must be duly studied and weighed, before any accurate decision can be reached upon what particular career a child can best be advised to take up "

Although the number of children studied was too small for the follow-up to give reliable results, yet it yielded very strong indications that following the advice given was far more likely to lead to satisfaction than ignoring it

The research brought into prominence a number of problems which could be solved only in a larger experiment, and this was needed also to test more conclusively the value of the new methods In 1924, therefore, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology embarked on an experiment [2] with 1,200 London elementary school children. Six hundred of them received advice from the Institute, and the other 600 passed in the usual way through the school conference. All were followed up over a period of three or four years,

[1] The experiment is described in *A Study in Vocational Guidance*, Report No 33 of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board (H M S O , 1926)

[2] This experiment is described in *Methods of Choosing a Career*, by F M. Earle and others (Harrap, 1931)

and the successes and failures of the two groups were compared on the basis of number and length of tenure of jobs held, reports from children and from employers on efficiency in and liking for the work, and the reasons given by children and employers for leaving jobs The results were definitely in favour of the group who had received the Institute's advice , and within the advised group, those who accepted the advice given were far more successful than those who rejected it

A third experiment [1] on similar general lines was conducted in Scotland, and was planned also to compare the conditions affecting the vocational guidance of a rural and an urban area, and to throw light on the development of the psychological characteristics measured by various tests, and hence on the earliest age at which the tests will give a reliable basis for prediction

Examination of Individuals

The organisation and conduct of these researches were not allowed to interfere with the Institute's individual case-examinations, the number of which was steadily increasing Over 80 individuals were examined and advised in 1923 The number rose to 180 in 1927, to 300 in 1928, to 500 in 1931 and to 1,173 in the twelve months ending on September 30th, 1935 The lessons learned and the experience gathered in the large-scale researches was immediately applied to this work , and the Institute was continuously compiling and keeping up to date dossiers of information about occupations and careers on the one hand, and in research on tests, the assessment of temperament, etc , on the other The published reports [2] of the Institute contain a record of this work.

The Vocational Examination

The examination of a boy or girl still falls into the two divisions of testing intelligence and special abilities, and of assessing temperament Before the applicant appears at the Institute's offices, however, a form is sent to the parents, seeking information about him—his educational record, with distinctions and games, his position in the family, his medical history, his leisure activities, the possibility of further education or of apprenticeship and occupational training It asks for the parent's opinion of the child (the parent is asked to mark which of opposite characteristics he thinks apply), and for the parents' ideas of a suitable career for the boy or girl Family tendencies—temperamental, medical and occupational—are noted, as well as any influence that might be useful in finding a post for the child

[1] The experiment is described in *A Vocational Guidance Research in Fife*, by F M Earle and J Kilgour Report No 6 of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, 1935

[2] See, in particular, Report No 5 of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, *An Account of the Research carried out by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology during the Years* 1921–34.

Other forms, less lengthy and less detailed, are sent to the head- or housemaster of the child's school they seek information about the boy's or the girl's behaviour with regard to school activities of all sorts, both academic and recreational

Finally, the applicant himself completes a form by discussing his own occupational ideas and ambitions, and by indicating his opinion of his interest in and proficiency at school subjects and leisure activities

The Institute has expended a great deal of thought and research on these forms They are the product of years of experience and experiment

Value of Preliminary Enquiry

There are several reasons for this rather elaborate preliminary enquiry The vocational advisers are not concerned only with their subject as he is , they have also to predict how he will develop If a boy lacks self-confidence, for example, they must decide whether that is an adolescent phase which may be expected to disappear, or whether it is likely to be a permanent characteristic It is much easier to make such decisions if they have a picture of the dual background against which he has developed—of his school and of his home and family Moreover, just as a physician does not rely in diagnosis purely on his own observations, but seeks information about symptoms observed by the patient and by those about him, so the psychologist seeks the opinions of those who have been in contact with the youth for years—his parents and teachers , and although both teachers and parents vary enormously in their powers of assessing character and temperament, yet their observations are, directly and indirectly, of great value to the examiner It is very useful, for instance, to receive reports that a boy resents any sort of criticism, for the technique of the examination requires a consistently friendly attitude towards him, and is unlikely therefore to bring this particular characteristic to light Finally, one of the psychologist's main criticisms of most processes by which careers are chosen is their failure to take account of all the many factors which should influence the choice , and one of the advantages of his method is the detection, estimation and weighing of all these factors The more comprehensive his data, the more reliable is his advice likely to be.

Examination of Applicants

When this information has been digested, the applicant appears for his examination, whenever possible accompanied by a parent, so that the information already supplied can be amplified and any obscurities in it dispelled The boy or girl takes first a series of tests Intelligence is tested both by " paper and pencil " tests and by " practical " tests (usually known as performance tests) which involve the manipulation of concrete material He is given a test of " form relations "—the ability to appreciate the relations between geometrical shapes, both in two and in three dimensions, an ability

important in occupations as dissimilar as engineering, architecture, joinery and dress designing He is given a test of clerical abilities which measures speed, accuracy and carefulness in routine office operations He is tested for mechanical ability and for literary fluency and facility Where circumstances dictate, he is given other tests If dentistry is under consideration, for example, he would be tested for finger dexterity For other occupations the ability to attend to several things at once, or speed of reaction to seen signals, or acuity of colour discrimination might be tested The examination is not a set routine , it must remain elastic and adaptable to the particular circumstances of each individual case

Throughout this testing, every effort is made to make the applicant feel at home, to win his confidence, to establish a friendly and easy relationship with his examiner Direct or indirect observation and a careful scrutiny of test answers will enable an experienced examiner to form a shrewd idea of his leading temperamental characteristics—his self-assurance, his carefulness, his trust in his own judgment, his persistence His methods in attacking certain of the tests—whether he reasons out his problem or attacks it blindly, relying on a process of trial and error to attain his results—will give valuable indications But the assessment of temperament is made mainly in a special interview

The basis of this interview is provided by the applicant himself Before he begins he is given a form on which he records his opinion of himself by marking one or other of pairs of contrasted characteristics—" willing obstinate," " decisive hesitating," " serious frivolous," and so on Space is allowed for any comments he wishes to make The interview starts with a discussion of this form it facilitates free talking, especially with shy or diffident youths The conversation is then led by the examiner this way and that, to bring out the answers to the numerous questions that he has in mind " Will this boy be good at dealing with people, either singly or in large groups ? Will he develop into a leader ? Will he find a ' safe ' routine job irksome and hanker, instead, for some spice of risk and adventure in his work ? Will making important decisions torment him, can he shoulder responsibility ? Will he persist in the face of difficulties or be discouraged by them ? " These are a few of the many points which the vocational adviser must decide, and making these decisions is the most difficult part of his task Vocational guidance is not, and cannot be, an exact, strictly scientific process , it is and will remain to some extent an art But it is an art established on a sound scientific basis, and without that basis of knowledge and experience no amount of natural " flair " can, in the opinion of the psychologist, give reliable results.

Assessment of Results

When the last test is finished, the last question answered, the last discussion ended, the boy or girl leaves the examiner to the task of

collecting his results and formulating his advice Usually the general type of occupation to be recommended is clear A process of narrowing down goes on It may be that all jobs which depend largely on dealing persuasively and tactfully with other people are ruled out. Any type of engineering work may be impossible owing, perhaps, to slight mechanical ability and to a lack of interest in mechanical things The subject's intelligence may not be high enough for him to aim at the learned professions or at any career which demands high academic qualifications, or it may be that financial considerations make them impossible The range of desirable occupations is reduced until a small group—four or five usually—is left More detailed consideration of each of these may reveal disadvantages in one or two of them Finally, the most suitable occupation is decided upon and recommended, and the most satisfactory second, third, etc , choices are determined

It then remains to prepare a report summarising all the psychologist's findings, weighing against one another the numerous considerations which he must take into account, and showing the reasons for choosing these careers A reasoned résumé of the vocational situation is sent to the boy or girl

The Value of Psychological Methods

To assess the value of the advice given by these methods, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology has followed up those whom it has advised to discover the occupations they have entered and their success, happiness and satisfaction in them It has compared the careers of those who followed its advice with the careers of those who rejected it , and it finds that among the former the successes are eleven times as frequent as the failures, while among the latter the successes are only one and a half times as frequent The National Institute regards this as a highly satisfactory result, particularly in view of the large proportion of difficult " problem " cases among those who seek its advice, and of the fact that many of the individuals concerned in the follow-up were advised at a time when the technique of examination was in the process of development and was considerably below its present level

III. The Development of Psychological Methods on a Large Scale

The National Institute of Industrial Psychology is now dealing with some 1,200 cases a year, but it fully realises that if it were dealing with ten times that number, it would still advise only a comparatively small proportion of the boys and girls who leave school each year [1] The financial position of the Institute compels it to charge a fee for its services, and even the existence of a small fund for paying a part or the whole of the cost for children of

[1] It is estimated that in a normal year slightly under 700,000 boys and girls leave school in Great Britain for purposes other than higher education.

parents who cannot afford the full fee brings the service within the reach of only a few of the poorer children.

The Institute therefore advocates strongly the linking of psychological methods with the national services described in the first part of this article It envisages a scheme which involves the co-operation of specially trained teachers and the Juvenile Employment Officers In every school there would be teachers responsible for assisting the pupils in planning their future careers They would be trained in psychological methods and would examine the pupils at intervals throughout their school careers , this might well put them in a position to give valuable advice on the choice of courses in the school and to throw light on problems of educational backwardness and temperamental peculiarity In this way the vocational advice would be the culmination of a continuous process of examination and advice

The Juvenile Employment Officer plays an essential part in this scheme If the teacher becomes the expert in the psychological examination of the pupils, the officer remains the expert in matters connected with occupations Each has his own contribution to offer to the solution of the problem of advising children on their future careers, and " the closest possible co-operation between the two is essential if the best guidance is to be given " [1] The general adoption of such a scheme would enable all children leaving State schools to receive advice based on psychological methods, and the National Institute would remain as a teaching and consultative body and as a centre for research

The Birmingham Experiment

This scheme is now receiving trial on a large scale in Birmingham In 1927 the City Education Committee inaugurated a series of experiments in the use of psychological methods of vocational guidance Two members of its Juvenile Employment and Welfare Department had already received training at the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and they had the assistance of a member of the Institute's staff, seconded to the service of the Committee, in their experiments With their first research, into the use of psychological tests for selecting boys with the necessary innate aptitudes and abilities for skilled engineering work, we cannot deal here.[2] The second research was directed first to estimating the value of psychological methods the results confirmed the conclusions reached in the experiments of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and the Committee was satisfied that " young people might be more effectively guided if the special means of supplementing the usual methods of giving vocational advice were available

[1] *A Contribution to the Problem of Vocational Guidance in Great Britain.* (National Institute of Industrial Psychology, 1935)

[2] Two interim reports have been issued by the Education Committee. The work is still in progress

and standardised " The scheme was therefore extended by training groups of teachers from elementary schools in the technique of vocational examination Under the general supervision of the investigators, the trained teachers undertake the examination of pupils in their schools The training of the third group of teachers was completed at the end of the session 1934–5, and training is now proposed for secondary school teachers also The advice is formulated by the teachers, investigators and Juvenile Employment Officers working in co-operation with each other The children advised are followed up after at least two years from their leaving school

It is planned to adopt this system for all schools controlled by the City Education Committee, so that when the scheme is completely installed, all children leaving the schools will receive advice determined by psychological means Already the pioneer work in Birmingham has shown the practicability of using this means within the framework of the national vocational guidance service , and it has shown that the technique of the vocational examination can be adapted to the needs of a particular district Although some years must elapse before the complete results of the experiment are available, the results so far obtained indicate that it is likely to be a success

The Hull Scheme

No other area in Great Britain has gone as far as Birmingham in this direction, but the City of Hull Education Committee has commissioned the National Institute of Industrial Psychology to conduct a year's training course for selected secondary school teachers Two local Juvenile Employment Officers are attending the course, which started in October 1935 The Committee's plans for the immediate future include the training of elementary school teachers, and the follow-up of children advised by the new methods

The Leicester Scheme

Developments along a different line have taken place in Leicester, where the Education Committee has appointed a psychologist to deal with psychological problems in its schools He has trained certain teachers to conduct vocational examinations, and he has devised special tests for assessing abilities required in the local hosiery factories Leicester affords also an example of a Juvenile Employment Officer who uses psychological tests to help him in giving advice to some of the children who seek his aid

Training for Teachers

The National Institute has found a growing demand among teachers for training in its methods To meet it, the Institute gave a course of lectures and practical classes at the University of London Institute of Education in the session 1933–4, and it is repeating it in the present session The Institute's Scottish Division gave a course in the Education Department of the University

of Glasgow in the session 1934–5, and this course also is being repeated In 1934 also the National Institute held a Vacation Course in vocational guidance methods in London, and its Scottish Division conducted a similar course in Edinburgh The Institute plans to conduct these courses each year

IV The Future

Those who are interested in psychological methods of giving vocational guidance and their extension are encouraged by the Joint Report of the National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment to feel very hopeful for the future of these methods , for the report shows that there is essential agreement between the views of the Councils and of the vocational psychologists And even if some of the psychologists may sympathise with Dr C S Myers, the Principal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, in feeling a gentle disappointment at " what may seem an over-cautious attitude " on the part of the Councils towards psychological methods, yet they will agree with him that the methods are not perfect and stand in need of improvement, and they will support him in heartily welcoming the suggestion of the Councils for further experimentation

They feel encouraged also by the recent appointment by the Ministry of Labour of a Liaison Officer with the National Institute of Industrial Psychology

With regard to the development of large-scale schemes for using psychological methods, the Advisory Councils have already recommended that at least one further experiment should be carried out by the Industrial Health Research Board in co-operation with the Ministry Further developments seem to be likely to result from reports from the National Institute of Industrial Psychology of the rapidly growing interest in its vocational guidance work Not only does the number of cases examined grow larger each year, but many headmasters and headmistresses are arranging for it to examine and advise groups of pupils at their schools, several local education authorities have approached it to discuss the application of its methods in their areas, and it is receiving from teachers more requests for training than it is able, at the moment, to satisfy It was unable, for example, to accept all the applications it received for places in both its Vacation Courses and in its course at the London Institute of Education.

It is reasonable, therefore, to anticipate that a number of education authorities will take steps to establish psychological methods in their areas If these and the existing schemes prove successful, then the time would seem to be ripe for their extension throughout Great Britain Thus there seems to be good grounds for hoping that the time is in sight when the two lines of development of the vocational guidance services will be combined

C. Scarborough.

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

(This bibliography makes no claim to be exhaustive It does not include publications referred to in the text of the article, nor does it include the numerous books, reports and articles dealing with vocational psychology in general or with specific problems related to the practice of vocational guidance The reader is referred, for information about these, to the Librarian of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, Aldwych House, London, W C 2)

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Macrae *The Case of John Jones* (N I I P , 1935) A description of a hypothetical case examined at the N I I P

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Macrae *The Case for Vocational Guidance* (Pitman, 1934)

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SECTION IV

A Review of Educational Thought

CHAPTER ONE

The Conflict of Philosophies

" Education is, in fact, the drawing and leading of children to the rule which has been pronounced right by the voice of the law, and approved as truly right by the concordant experience of the best and oldest men "
" He (i e the lawgiver) need only tax his invention to discover what convictions would be most beneficial to a city, and then contrive all manner of devices to ensure that the whole of such a community shall treat the topic in one single and selfsame lifelong tone, alike in song, in story and in discourse "—Plato's *Laws* (A E Taylor's translation)

" The only man who does his own will is he who has no need, in order to do it, to put the arms of another to it as well as his own , whence it follows that the first of all good things is not authority, but liberty The man truly free wants only what he can have and does what pleases himself There you have my fundamental maxim "—Rousseau's *Emile*

Education and the " Culture-Pattern "

General Smuts's now famous metaphor, " Humanity has struck its tents and is once more on the march," with its pronounced African flavour, conveys no more than the sober truth Since he uttered it, the process of discarding or revising old ruling values and of reconstructing institutions in the light of new criteria has gathered momentum At such a time established beliefs and routines in the field of education must inevitably, sooner or later, experience the shock of a sharp challenge For, whatever else education may mean, it must mean primarily the self-perpetuation of an accepted culture—a culture which is the life of a determinate society This is true, whether the educative process is regarded, with the individualists, as the nurture of free Personality through the cultural sustenance which the life of a society can offer ; or, with the totalitarians, as the affirmation of the one spiritual Whole in its temporary and partial bearers and servants, the citizens In either case the culture is authoritative in its own field merely because it is indispensable.

Its authoritative character is least obvious just when it is most complete and unquestioned ; when it is so secure, so absolute, so all-pervading that it feels no need to be obtrusive At such times education proceeds with a peaceful assurance which brings a sense of amplitude and freedom that is not all illusion Obvious examples can be found in the education of historic China before contact with the West had begun to cloud and corrode the universally accepted values upon which it proceeded, and in the education of mediæval

Christendom before the influences which produced the Renaissance and the Reformation had decisively asserted themselves

Illustration from United States and England

Less obvious, but for that very reason more illuminating, is the example of the United States Superficially the educational scene there during the past century has been one of almost feverish activity and of apparently unrestricted freedom to invent and experiment It was the land where educators professed themselves ready to " try everything once," where education claimed its own complete autonomy, where the dictator, in any form, was the arch-enemy, and where the " casting off of tradition " was the wellnigh universal pose

Now, when the nineteenth century really has passed away and the shock of real challenge to the old fundamentals is too plain to be ignored, it becomes clear that all the eager activity and the appearance of freedom were possible just because beneath it all there *was* a tradition which nobody questioned The bitter experience of daring spirits in this last generation who did venture to question what might be called the " tradition of normalcy " is evidence enough of the foundation of cultural authority upon which the whole thing proceeded The foundation lay so deep and was so universally accepted as to remain below the conscious level until, in recent years, it was seriously questioned But no one who studies education as it proceeded in the United States during the past century can doubt that it too had its " Chinese " side—the thoughts and practices which were not permissible, the prohibitions and tabus which were hardly formulated just because what they excluded was so completely alien to the accepted tradition The appearance of freedom, as is now becoming clear, was the obverse of this acceptance, as it were In England, too, in the nineteenth century there was acceptance, though of a somewhat different tradition The whole great structure of popular education grew up without any serious disturbance of the dominant social faith Widespread provision for elementary education fitted very readily into a social tradition that included the Poor Laws and the Charity School There was nothing really revolutionary in it, and even to-day, when criticism of the old order of society and culture grows more radical and thoroughgoing, the critics do not appear to come, in any preponderant degree, from the newer and more popular schools In the nineteenth century at any rate, what Mr Chesterton has called the Victorian Compromise ruled unquestioned The traditional order remained intact, so that new demands for education and the pressure of rising classes were met, not by a new education or by the creation of wholly new types of institutions, but by skilful adaptation of the old resources to meet the new needs in old terms To-day, the persistence of the non-provided schools and the Church training colleges, the assimilation of new universities and secondary schools to the traditional types, even that rejuvenation of the ancient

county units to which the Education Act of 1902 has contributed so largely, all bear witness to the abiding strength of a dominant tradition That *libertas docendi* of which Englishmen are so justly proud may be more closely related to an assured sense of the security of the tradition than we like to believe Should the rise of new and radical forms of social and political thought in the coming years bring with it any serious and resolute challenge to the still-continuing social and cultural order, it will be interesting to see what happens to the *libertas docendi* For evidence of the influence upon it of the fear that an established order is threatened one need not go beyond certain British Dominions to-day

We may agree, then, that systematic and effective education has always the character of an accepted culture perpetuating itself There is, indeed, no error more disastrous than that to which some modern intellectuals seem to be especially prone, namely the error which assumes that no education can be healthy unless its postulates are continuously being questioned

Stability and Freedom

The ultimate basis of all sound education is not Enquiry, but Faith It is a regimen, a routine, a continuous rhythm, presupposing at every point established norms and injured by nothing so much as by dubieties, hesitations and too many fresh starts The normal atmosphere in which it can thrive and achieve its results is one of quiet assurance where the authority that is its essential agent and the discipline that is its essential instrument are diffused, as it were, through a stable and all-pervading social and cultural order that laps the pupil round and conveys to him the sustenance of personality The insight of Locke in this regard is less profound than that of Rousseau and Plato Locke appears to rely mainly upon the assertive action of a somewhat intrusive personal authority, whereas both Plato and Rousseau, alike regardful of the all-important *inwardness* and sense of spontaneity in the pupil, see as the real agent a purged and simplified surrounding order They differ, indeed, in their respective modes of conceiving this order For Plato it is the city community, with its "music" cleansed and concentrated by the moral censorship. For Rousseau it is the seclusion of rural society, free from the contaminations of an incurably corrupt city life and affording unobstructed action of the monitions of "Nature" The one installs the Good as sovereign, the other flees from the Evil But the principle is identical Rousseau's "tutor" is Plato's "censor" in another guise, a symbolical figure standing for the educative action of a social and cultural order so pure and so certain in its moralising action that the pupil does not feel he is "being educated" at all He responds freely to every impulse that his environment offers, steadily acquiring through such responses a mode of personal being which is itself an individual embodiment of a moral order. Self-conscious appropriation of the principles of

that moral order comes in due course, but the foundations are laid in free and untrammelled activity in a medium which can be completely authoritative just because it can be completely accepted.

Such then is the normal condition of a still atmosphere and free acceptance of stimuli to which all sound education continually aspires. So much is this the case, so essential is the atmosphere of moral security to the whole process, that men are ready to persuade themselves that an acceptable moral order is still present and operating when it has really passed away or become corrupted Educators are apt to be incurable optimists, and so much do they fear agitation and dubiety in the surrounding social medium that they are sometimes ready to assume a stability which does not exist Many an utterance on the occasion of a school Speech Day could be cited as evidence

Nor is this altogether blameworthy, unfortunate as it may be when the chill of disillusionment descends upon the erstwhile pupil For, as Prof Hocking puts it · " Education must produce the type " He adds the vitally important qualifying words, " and it must provide for growth beyond the type ", words to which we shall have to pay some attention presently But if education does not produce the type first, it can produce little else but airy wisps to be " blown along a wandering wind."

Misplaced Freedom

It has been necessary to reaffirm, by way of preface, the dependence of all sound education upon a stable cultural order, since it is precisely this truth which is apt to be overlooked in times of questioning and upheaval such as the present Doctrines are then put forward which exaggerate beyond all reason the free creativeness of education and misconceive the nature of the freedom which education may rightfully claim Thus it is strange to hear thoroughgoing English individualists, themselves the product of the rich resources of an English society which first communicated its " type " to them, speaking as though they created themselves, now that they have " grown beyond the type " The result is a complete misconception of the place and nature of discipline in education and a disastrous misplacing of that freedom of the pupil which, in its proper place, is the driving force of the whole process Both Plato and Rousseau understood such freedom, not as a purely spontaneous and relatively indeterminate " growth " of " natural " dispositions, but as the unobstructed appropriation by the pupil of the nurture-material which a purged and regenerated moral and cultural order can provide. The ultimate faith of both alike was faith in a moral order ; indeed, their interest in education was derived from that faith And no one could be more insistent than Rousseau was upon the necessity for a determinate *forming* : the same Rousseau who is so mistakenly claimed as their prophet by some of the modern exponents of educational anarchism.

"*Human Engineering*"

But, in such times as these, not only is the inescapable demand that "education must produce the type" apt to be overlooked There also arises a further tendency, when the old foundations of use and wont shake and slip, to exaggerate the rôle of the calculating intelligence in both life and education

Young mothers then over-"plan" the upbringing of their children, harass themselves unduly about the correctness and up-to-dateness of their "methods," and even want to substitute the maxims of the scientific textbooks for their own maternal intuitions We are learning, to our great advantage, that there is a large and important field for systematic investigation and carefully planned action in the work of education But we de-humanise it utterly if we assimilate its *rationale* as a whole to that of engineering, and we do the pupil a doubtful service if we loose him upon the world, as we are loosing so many to-day, with an exaggerated and distorted idea of the place of "engineer" intelligence in life

Administrative tendencies, in days of universal education, and popular tendencies in days of exaltation of science, rather work this way Fascism, in not the least important of its varied aspects, is a rather violent reaction against this very thing

After all, effective living, even in a highly civilised society, is much more a matter of intelligent and sensitive routine than of continuous "problem-solving," and the capable housewife is a much more typical human being than the specialised scientist

Critical Issues in Educational Philosophy

Thus present conditions make it all the more necessary to assert the primary and essential dependence of education upon a stable and acceptable social and cultural order Those who, like the writer, believe that the full values of a rich education can be achieved only in an order of the democratic kind are in no position to answer the Fascist unless this fundamental postulate is fully accepted We may dislike intensely the "type" which the Fascist admires, we may disagree fundamentally with his doctrine of the ultimate rights of politically organised society in education But he is wholly right in reasserting with emphasis the truth too often obscured, that the first business of education is to produce the type and that the type, whatever it is, is socially determined

The Form of the Issue

The issue, then, is not that of a choice between an abstract and shapeless "individual" and a highly concrete "citizen-type" It is not even a choice between an order of things which openly depresses Personality and one which exalts it The Fascist would repudiate with heat any suggestion that he is suppressing Personality; he would claim rather that he is taking the only road to its

complete fulfilment If, in any case, education must take as its main task the production of a socially determined type, then the debate must centre upon the nature of the type and particularly upon its ultimate destiny Most of all it must concentrate upon the crucial issue of the double relation of the type to the society, on the one hand, the claim of the society to perpetuate itself in the type, and on the other hand, the claim of the type to become more than a type —a Person—and so to react fruitfully, if critically, upon the society which has produced him It is upon this last point that we may have to join issue with the Fascist

But the debate itself is inescapable when the old foundations break up and the new construction has not yet taken shape It is not for this generation to know the settled peace and quiet effectiveness of an assured and straight-moving education For that very reason it should guard against the temptation to generalise its own peculiar experience The new order is not yet, but it will come the age of Solomon will succeed to that of David

Upon us of this generation, however, the inescapable duty falls The remainder of this paper will be devoted to a very sketchy and imperfect attempt to define the main issues

Our concern is with the formulating of educational ends in terms of the modern situation and particularly with the determining of the limits of social authority in education on the one hand and the precise meaning of the autonomy of Personality on the other hand

Plato and Rousseau in Contrast

At one stage it appeared that the central issue might be stated in the form of a sharp antithesis between education as conceived in Plato's *Laws* and education as conceived in Rousseau's *Emile* In the citations which appear at the head of this paper we seem to have represented a clear opposition between the principle of Authority and that of Liberty For Plato, one would say, Good is enshrined in a purified and austerely governed social order which therefore, as by divine right, exercises absolute authority over the forming of the individual For Rousseau, on the other hand, " everything is good as it comes from the hand of the Author of Nature " , social man is the deformer, and Good is to be fulfilled by the preservation and fostering of " natural liberty " in the individual

But neither Plato nor Rousseau is as one-sided as so sharp an antithesis would suggest, an antithesis better suited to the conflicts of doctrinaire partisans than to the rounded thought of moral philosophers. It is less easy to set these two creative thinkers of the educational tradition of the West in strong opposition when one takes the thought of each in its entirety There are differences of emphasis, no doubt, due partly to differences of temperament and circumstances But if we take the thought of each as a whole and extract as well as we can the central meaning, it is the identities rather than the differences which strike us. The totalitarian can and does find much in Rousseau, particularly in the doctrine of the

Sovereignty of the General Will, which gives plausible support to his own position And the democrat, especially if he have Fabian inclinations, can derive much comfort from many a passage in the *Laws* Simply to dub Plato absolutist and Rousseau individualist is to under-estimate what is central and essential in the thought of both

The Quest of Certainty

What makes it so well worth while in these days to turn back to such guides is not only the value they may have as illustrating opposed principles, but also the concern of both with the permanent foundations of human life and society Each was acutely conscious of a decaying society around him Plato's long life witnessed the decline of the City-State, the one political form in which the ancient world had succeeded in combining order and freedom Rousseau looked out on a Europe that seemed to him " headed for a state of crisis and a century of revolution " Neither could accept contemporary society , both were acutely conscious of its corruptions and deficiencies as the nurse and maintainer of virtue Each turned away from an intractable and unacceptable Present to that which was beyond all question, and beyond all the vicissitudes of time and history, to a moral order of the universe, eternal " Nature " The one thing that could not be doubted, whose authority was absolute, was " virtue " itself Speaking of the knowledge which was virtue, Plato says, as though using all the emphasis at his command " I find it more certain that these truths are beyond question than that Crete is an island " And the language can be paralleled in Rousseau

Thus what they doubted was, not the authority of the law of virtue, but the capacity of any existing society to afford scope and opportunity to the virtuous man

In such societies, as Plato says, " there is no ally with whom such a man may safely march to the succour of the just Instead he keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain , and when, from his retreat, he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds, and, when the time for his release arrives, take his departure amid bright hopes with cheerfulness and security " [1]

Ethical Basis of Politics

Thus the ethical conviction gives rise to the political problem, how to find for the good man " a republic suited to him," a civil order where moral and political obligation coincide, or, as Rousseau puts it, " not a question . . of a power one is forced to obey but of that which one is obliged to recognise."

[1] *Republic* (Davis & Vaughan tr.), page 496.

There is no final security for education, but much conflict and dubiety, until such an order has been found. And once found, education is the guarantee of its maintenance. Government and Education are, in the last resort, the same thing Either we can say, as Plato seems to say in the *Republic* " Here is a civil order whose obedience is perfect freedom, where civil and moral duty coincide. The man educated for such a citizenship is the good man " Or we can say as Rousseau seems to say in the *Emile* · " Here is the good man, shown as he emerges through the formative processes of his education The good State will be that which offers him scope and opportunity and sets up no conflict between his civil duty and his moral judgment " In either case the point of principle is the same, a sovereign moral law determining a civil order which in turn sustains, and is sustained by, its appropriate education

The Ultimate Diagnosis

The same broad simplification, the same return to first principles, have again become urgent, and in our own time But there is a further point, and it is of high importance in its bearing upon the present situation The immediate problem of both of these great representative thinkers was, indeed, set for them by the corruptions of contemporary society But neither was in any doubt that the root of evil was in men as men Rousseau's language, especially in his earlier writings, does seem to suggest a pristine innocence of *individuals* which has been clouded by the corruptions of a *society* that is other than the individuals And he suffered at the hands of the Church for his supposed denial of the doctrine of Original Sin But he knew his own heart too well to have any doubt of the real origin of the evils he saw in the society around him Indeed, it is almost in the manner of the Christian writers themselves that he relates the need for civil society to the weaknesses rather than to the natural virtues of men " Our needs draw us together in proportion as our passions divide us ; and the more we become enemies of our fellows the less we can do without them Such are the primary bonds of society in general." Readers of the *Republic* will recall something very like this in Plato's conjectural account of the origin of the city.

Thus there is no countenancing by either of these foundation thinkers of the specious pleadings by which men to-day try to evade responsibility for the consequences of their own weaknesses and even to throw the respectable cloak of a pseudo-science over their sins.

Some Popular Evasions

Externalism of this kind, endless in the variety of its disguises, is highly characteristic of the contemporary mass-mind. For instance, the legend is widely current, more on the other side of the Atlantic perhaps than on this, of a wholly innocent democracy, an unspotted, blameless *People*, that has somehow been corrupted by a diabolical villain, who, in the manner of such monsters, goes by various names.

Sometimes he is the Economic System, sometimes Capitalism, sometimes the Money Power, always some wolf from the forest insinuating himself into the company of innocent Red Riding Hood. It suits the interests of seekers after power and influence to give currency to such a legend It is so much easier to call upon a righteously wrathful democracy to " smash " this and to " smash " that if the thing to be smashed can be represented as a sort of gigantic marauding animal quite external to us, instead of a jealously harboured canker in our own bosom Thus does violence itself acquire a sort of sanctification, while the really urgent self-examination of the individual sinner not only does not happen but must not be so much as mentioned lest a Sovereign People feel insulted

Similarly, no countenance would be given by either of our authorities to another popular " alibi " (to use the rather illogical Americanism), namely that of an inevitable " Progress " or " Evolution " which marches on its predestined way irrespective of moral good or evil in the actions of men On the contrary with both Plato and Rousseau all the emphasis falls on *sustained moral effort* as the essential condition of the well-being of men Thus education is first and foremost an education of the *will*, civil society itself exists only as the expression of collective moral effort, and continues to exist only in so far as conscious " virtue " in the individual citizen guarantees its continuous renewal

In the last resort there *is* a fundamental difference between Plato and Rousseau which does reflect, in principle, the same sharp cleavage in social philosophy which is now so marked in Europe. It concerns the nature of social authority and the relation of social authority to the achievement of full Personality We shall have to do justice to it later At the moment we are concerned rather with the *diagnosis* which each thinker arrived at in regard to the central problem as he saw it in his own time And the point to be made here is that in both cases the diagnosis was one of moral weakness and evil in men as men.

It would conduce to clarity and robustness of thinking if we could start from the same point in surveying our own plight to-day and admit that our case is primarily one for the moralist, and after that, certainly, for the legislator and economist Increased conflicts and difficulties, social, political and economic, do not necessarily demonstrate that men are worse than they were Indeed, some of the troubles may have arisen just because men are better than they were But they do indicate weakness and inadequacy, in dealing with which, education, working in conjunction with its correlate, Government, should to-day find its first and main task Government works by generalised *Law*. education by individualised *Influence* What the first can do is limited by the achievements of the second, and, as we have seen, it is a widespread and characteristic weakness to-day, especially in democracies, to abuse Government as the source of ills which really spring from remediable defect in individuals.

Moral Inadequacies

We have no intention here of launching out into a self-righteous chastisement of modern sins To illustrate the point we are trying to make about the immediate task of education it will be enough to refer briefly to *three* well-marked tendencies of modern men, each of which must take some share of the blame for our present troubles and must be regarded as calling for corrective action by the processes of education

Easy Optimisms

The first is a habit of blind and easy *optimism* which takes many forms and in its total effect amounts to a thoroughgoing denial of Original Sin (It is curious that philosophies and religions which set out from a relative pessimism should be so fruitful in achievement [1]) Thus there is the naive acceptance of the maxim *vox populi, vox Dei*, which hampers so much that might be salutary in Government and stands in the way of any honest revealing to men of their real condition There is the modern belief in a pseudo-scientific " Progress " and " Evolution," carrying men onwards like a cosmic railway train in complete disregard of all moral effort and desert and of the outstanding fact which all history demonstrates that " the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh." There is again the whole spirit of Nationalistic Imperialism, which seems to argue that all is permitted to the Chosen People and identifies Right with national necessity

Of the special and peculiar case of Marxism, a kind of inverted pessimism which accepts the Evil as a direct source of the Good, little need here be said. It should be included, however, as it contributes strongly to the antinomian temper which is here in question. But we must admit that it has qualities of energy and ascetic concentration of will which differentiate it rather sharply from the smiling flabbiness that usually accompanies the easy optimisms

The general result of all these phenomena is a distortion of moral focus, so that individual responsibility tends to be disclaimed and the source of ill is found always in the malevolence of an external agent. The tares among the wheat are always the work of an " enemy " of some sort

If, as we suggest, there is among us to-day such a widespread distortion of moral focus, the correction of it is an obvious task for education. Particularly so in the democratic countries where the maintenance of the whole system depends upon the securing of moral integrity and responsibility in the individual citizen.

Moral Anarchism

Next we may consider that moral anarchism, the essence of which is a denial of the moral character of the State, and the assertion of an unrestricted right to the exploitation of Power. It jeers at the

League and all attempts to enthrone public right in the place of sheer physical power Through tariff manipulation and other devices it exploits the State quite unscrupulously in its own material interest It inspires the grafter and the political " boss " and the gangster in all his protean forms It regards the international anarchy as normal and delights to paint the picture of a condition,

> Where he may take who has the power,
> And he may keep who can

Though, without the State and the Law to be exploited, it would be relatively powerless, it claims the right for itself to live and act in that Hobbesian " State of Nature " which civil society was intended to supersede

Here is Thrasymachus of the *Republic* again with his doctrine that Justice is the interest of the stronger The whole position is essentially dishonest, since it is only through the existence of the State and the Law and a majority of law-abiding people that the exploitation is possible at all Such people, as Prof Hocking points out, are the real anarchists

> "To such wills it is 'My policy or none', these are the practical anarchists A nation of such wills would end in chaos But while 'rule or ruin' seems to imply a willingness to accept ruin, it is like the usual temper of suicide, a perverted form of the will to live, essentially self-contradictory It relies on the unwillingness of the great majority to let the State fail, it shares that unwillingness Its pretence to prefer no deed, and hence in the end no State, to the deed of its momentary opponent is essentially insincere "

He adds significantly

> " The amount of this perversity increases It is necessary to recognise it for what it is, the only variety of anarchism at all likely to lead to anarchy "[1]

Here again is a true moral weakness, a defect of education, not confined to any one form of polity Clearly it sets a task for education first and foremost, the more so since here, if anywhere, is the moral seed-ground of war

The Totalitarian Mind

Thirdly, we may take a glance at what may be called the " totalitarian " state of mind, a state which is, again. not confined to any one polity. It can be found working quite strongly in some of the democracies

It appears to be directly connected with that decline of inwardness and that increase of externalism and " worldliness " which have been going on from about the time of the Renaissance. Men tend to find the sources of both good and evil more and more outside of themselves The *locus* of values has shifted, as it were, from the centre to the circumference. So the vision of a mundane Paradise comes into view, a Kingdom which is very much of this world.

[1] W E Hocking *Man and the State*, page 388

Happiness is to be secured by uniform collective action working upon externals, and this can be done if there is perfect discipline and no dissent.

Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* is apparently a mordant satire on this kind of thing The point to remember is that the way of thought is by no means confined to the Fascists It is all around us, and there are publicists and demagogues who can give it all the appearance of high humanitarian virtue and throw over its pursuit something of the sanctity of a noble crusade The effect in sanctioning violence and in inducing a condition where " whosoever killeth you shall think he doeth God's service " does not need to be emphasised

Here, if anywhere, is the hardest and profoundest task of education, to ensure a return of that *inwardness* which knows what is meant by the sanctity of Personality, and is the beneficent seed-ground of all true tolerance and social peace The cure for the mischiefs which the totalitarian mind can do—a sort of unregenerate Saul of Tarsus —is a realisation of the true import of the words . " My Kingdom is not of this world "

The Cleavage in Europe

We have dealt at some length with these more general weaknesses and deficiencies, just because they *are* general Without this discussion as a background, the very real cleavage in social-educational philosophy which now divides Europe would be seen out of focus For the danger which the educator has to guard against, particularly here in England, is that the whole situation will be read in terms that are too exclusively *political* and not sufficiently *moral* That is why it was worth while to return to such masters as Plato and Rousseau with their emphasis upon the ethical basis and meaning of all political structure

We in England have already taken our stand on the purely political issue and have made it plain to the world that we shall continue to develop the possibilities of our own tradition of Freedom And the recent grant of extended self-government to India is there as evidence that we are willing to share the tradition with others who care to come in In so doing we bear witness to the faith that what we have in England is something that is more than national, having in it universal values which are capable of retranslation into the terms of other and widely differing peoples. That in itself is answer enough to the totalitarian nationalist

There is thus no doubt about our position on the purely political issue, and our education, in that regard, will proceed accordingly. The case is different, however, with the moral issue, which is much more general. Full awareness of it should accompany any stand that we may have to take on the issue of a social philosophy Our own doorstep should be as clean as we can make it.

Thus some critical survey of the moral condition of Western culture as a whole seemed to be a necessary preliminary to any

definition of the conflict of social philosophy between ourselves and the totalitarians To that conflict we must now turn.

That there should be any conflict at all is due to differences of history much more than to any access of perversity, and the situation cannot be properly understood without taking account of such differences We cannot go into them here, but will merely remark that English people, in taking their attitude, should never forget the peculiarly favoured conditions which have dominated English history "He jests at scars who never felt a wound" A land where social and cultural unity is relatively so strong and so unbroken as to be taken for granted with no explicit thought about it is apt to lose sight of the real foundations upon which English freedom rests When that traditional basis comes to be seriously questioned and is itself the object of contention between bitterly opposed parties will be the time to discover how far English freedom is rooted in unshakable principle

Differing Concepts of Personality

With that remark let us now turn to the issue between ourselves and the totalitarians It seems to concern the nature of Personality, and especially the place of *freedom* both as a necessary condition in the educative processes by which Personality is achieved, and as a necessary quality of Personality itself The decisive step to the totalitarian position seems to be taken as soon as the group itself is thought of as a super-Person The essential *wholeness* of Personality is then transferred to it and such personality as the individual retains thus becomes derivative In it, in the Group-Person, he lives and moves and has his fragmentary being From this it is not a very long step to the deification of the Group, and then the whole apparatus of tribalism returns In this regard totalitarianism wears the aspect of a vast return of history upon itself, a plain rejection of all the meaning of two millennia of history

Once grant the reality of the supreme Group-Person as the bearer of all spiritual values and all the rest follows Then the contradiction of a finite Absolute sits enthroned The conclusions for education are too obvious to need any emphasis, and they have been sufficiently demonstrated for us in practice in recent years In Hocking's terms, education confines itself to the production of the type, arguing, not merely that the type is an all-sufficient personality, but also that true personality can be produced in no other way. Growth beyond the type is the unpermissible thing, a monstrosity that to the totalitarian is an alien poison in the tribe, or, at best, just nothing at all

In answer to this position, it is not enough to raise the question as to how society under these conditions is to provide for its own revitalisation and progressive enrichment That is the totalitarian's concern.

It seems better to join issue squarely on the nature of Personality itself, and to deny altogether the fiction of the Group-Person. The

issue is, in another form, the old one of Reformation times, that of the direct relation of the soul to God. The seat and source of values in the earthly sense, we should argue, are in Personality as ordinarily understood, and nowhere else.

Personality and Freedom

Freedom of Personality to achieve itself, we should maintain, is not only a necessary postulate of a democratic society, which rests on the faith that the whole is incomplete and impoverished unless it can count upon the free contribution of each member It is even more,—it is the *raison d'être* of democratic society itself That, if anything, is the meaning of Equality, the faith that human personality is so valuable as to be beyond valuing, and is to be regarded with the same reverence wherever it is found With such a tradition as that of England behind us, we shall have to concede freely that Personality, so far as its substance is concerned, is dependent upon the social medium To that extent, society is authoritative in the making of it But, in the last resort, the society exists for the sake of the personality, not the personality for the sake of society A civil society exists and perpetuates itself in the making of fresh generations of personalities in its own type, not for its own ends or to fix a type for all time, but in the discharge of its supreme function in the making of men In Rousseau's terms, it is not by a preordained and final social pattern that we produce our Emiles; it is the needs of the full growth of an Emile that must determine the structure and adaptations of our social forms

Plato or Rousseau?

It is here that Plato and Rousseau part company and we follow Rousseau. Both, indeed, were concerned with the establishing of the authority of the Good (It is a mistake to assume, as is still often done, that Rousseau shirked the problem of Authority On the contrary, his whole quest was to find a form of authority which would save and guarantee the substance of freedom For him it is " not a question of a power one is forced to obey, but of that which one is obliged to recognise ")

To the specious plea put forward by the totalitarian to the effect that his régime actually rests upon consent, Rousseau would retort roundly, " To renounce one's liberty is to renounce one's character as a man " And again, in words that have a peculiar relevance to the contemporary situation : " There will always be a vast difference between making a mass of men submit and ruling a society."

The tyrannies which obscure this difference have usually tried to assume the disguise of a *Civitas Dei* upon earth, an attempt to seat the Whole Good on an earthly throne Such was Plato's *Laws*, grand enough in conception, but too divine for earthly men. Rousseau, after all, keeps his feet on the earth, and whatever one may think of his conception of the General Will, it was an honest attempt to square the primary postulate of Free Personality with

the necessities of civil society Certainly it sets the function of education in the right perspective. For the authority is that of a free people, and education functions to secure on the one hand the necessary disinterestedness and intelligence of the Sovereign People as ruler, and on the other hand the enlightened obedience and restraint of the citizen as subject

But this is no place for lengthy expositions of political philosophy. The main issue is clear in the setting of the ideal of Free Personality served by " a republic suited to it," against that of the semi-divine Group-Person as the container of all good

Some Questions for Education

Though this is the main point, there remain certain qualifications and corollaries of which educational philosophy in England must take account For if we are to make our own position quite clear as against the totalitarians, we must be ready to attach our own degree of weight to considerations to which they attach too much.

Personality and Group-life

The first problem that requires to be worked out is that of the function of group-life in the forming of Personality. We know much about this in England in actual practice, but we have probably done too little in subjecting it to explicit analysis

Experiments now proceeding in many schools, various forms of club life, organisations like the Boy Scouts, should provide abundant material What is needed is a reasoned demonstration of the care for Free Personality that goes with all this ; nay, more, a demonstration that the fullness of Free Personality, though passing beyond it, is not attainable without it

The Nature of Authority in Education

This in turn would raise the question of Authority, and there is nothing upon which we stand in greater need to clear our minds. The word itself, like its kindred word, Discipline, is deeply suspect in many quarters, particularly where " advanced " theories of education are held. This is not surprising in view of the meaning that such terms have on the lips of the totalitarians. But the terms are necessary if we are to speak correctly about the educational process, and to shun them is not only to distort and confuse our own thinking, but to expose a vulnerable flank to serious attack.

The very idea of education, as the directing of the processes by which the immature achieve maturity of a determinate shape, implies authority. Rousseau himself leaves us in no doubt on the point

We may illustrate it from the case of language, the acquisition of which no one will deny to be a necessary function of education. It is the authority of the society to which the English child belongs that requires him to call a certain animal *dog* rather than *chien* or *hund*. So, too, with the forms of grammar, the technique of writing, and

a thousand other skills and attainments that go to the forming of his achieved personality. That a thing is this way rather than that, that you speak thus rather than in some other way these things come in the first instance on social authority They are not really matters within the child's choice unless his education is to go all awry

This is not to say that *all* is authority, still less to return to the bad old tradition of a frowning intrusiveness in the matter Rousseau, again, puts the case in the right light The authority brought to bear in educating the child is *contingent* like that of the physician, not absolute like that of the semi-divine Group-Person It is at once the measure and the servant of the child's *need* As Rousseau indicates, the child " depends " rather than obeys

Thus what we have to do is to define the nature of that authority which is the handmaid of freedom, like the authority of Government in a free State

Two things, at least, can be said about it, in its educational aspect One is that it will operate rather by control of surrounding conditions than by direct injunction upon the pupil The measure of its successful use will be largely the measure of its unobtrusiveness But it is authority none the less, emerging, in its general intention, from the decisions of the educator rather than from the choice of the educand

The other is that the true sanction of authority for the child, when he does become aware of it, is that he should be able, sooner or later, to recognise in it *himself*, his *own* will as it would be, were he more fully enlightened The justification is the same as that which Rousseau adduces of obedience to the General Will

In reality there is no other justification Prof Whitehead seems to have such an idea in mind when he speaks of " transfiguration of imposed routine " as the function of all good teaching

Advocates of absolute authority such as was claimed by the Stuarts followed a true instinct in basing it upon Divine Right, for God alone could take such complete possession of free human lives as they presumed to do

Thus the concept of Freedom in education is not only compatible with, but urgently demands, the concept of a correlative Authority This is a concept which will reveal the *duty* of the educator as identical with the *right* of the child Without it we are to that extent unequipped for setting out the full philosophy of Freedom.

The Function of the State

A third problem which will fall to be worked out in the light of the main position is that of the functions of the State in education. Here again the unique character of English experience must be remembered. There is a sense in which it would be true to say that England has hardly known the true State school at all, at least not as that is understood in some other countries. For example, that the officers of a State Department of Education should sit

round a table prescribing for all the schools under their control the textbooks that are to be used (and even the passages of literature that are to be committed to memory), backed by a law which prohibits entirely the use in school of any book not so prescribed; this is a thing unknown in England

But it is a long-established practice in some British Dominions and is still stoutly defended

In England the older tradition of autonomy has proved strong enough to assert itself in the new schools which owe their origin to the action of the State Further, the absence in English society of any deep cleavage such as characterises some of the countries of Europe and some British Dominions where there are mixed populations serves to keep schools and school curricula out of politics as it were And this applies to State schools equally with those otherwise provided

Such good fortune is less common than is sometimes supposed While it increases the difficulty of English people in understanding the lengths to which State surveillance has gone in other countries, it does place them in a favourable position to determine the function of the State in education on purely educational grounds Little else but the efficiency of education as such needs to be considered As a contrary example we might take the very minute regulation which the law exercises over the use of the two official languages in the State schools of South Africa The grounds for such control are political, not pedagogic, and the argument is still freely used that political conditions are such as not to allow free course to purely educational considerations

It is because England is so free from such handicaps that she should be able to view the State on its purely *educational* merits as it were In working out this possibility she might be able to state a doctrine and lay down norms which would be of real value to the world.

Some Practical Conclusions

It remains now to draw a few conclusions as to the actual conduct of education from what has been said Little in the way of settled assurance is possible for this generation, and the experience of the elders is less relevant to the needs of the young, to the kind of world in which the young will have to live, than at any other time in history.

Increase of Inwardness

Broadly, the outstanding need is for an increase of *inwardness*. From many points of view this would seem to be the conclusion. If, as has been suggested, an over-externalising of values and of the influences by which life is determined is one of the main causes of the modern *malaise*, education is doing no more than its proper work when it corrects the over-emphasis by its own stress upon inwardness

Again, if the main difference between ourselves and the totalitarians consists essentially in conflicting views of Personality where we on our side deny the reality of a super-Group-Person and refer all values to *persons* in the ordinary usage of the term, then our education is out of register with our social philosophy unless it sets itself to produce fully integrated personalities with their own inner sources of strength and autonomous cohesion

The continued existence of free societies and free institutions may well come to depend on successful education of this kind If we deliberately choose to follow the path of democracy, we should do so with the full knowledge that we are making the most difficult choice We are staking the well-being of all on the integrity and sense of responsibility of each. For, as Prof Hocking puts it · " The individual is not mature until he thinks the group and thinks for it " And so he can speak of the function of education as being, " to confirm individual selves in a competent, independent judgment which is essentially their own "

The Call for " Severity "

The danger is that we may accept such a position in terms and under-estimate the practical difficulties and severities of the kind of education to which it commits us Our inheritance from the nineteenth century is not altogether helpful in this regard, for it encourages a far too easy and optimistic view of democracy The tree is all fruit and no thorns ! Not only was the emphasis during that century heavily on the side of the *rights* of democracy as contrasted with its *duties*, but the peculiarly favourable economic conditions may have led men to ascribe to their own virtues, individual and social, benefits which were really due to sheer good fortune Take away the sheer good fortune, and the naked demand for personal integrity and personal moral effort looks much less attractive. A democracy that can find no stomach at all for the word " discipline " in any sense is likely to last less long in this century than it might have done in the preceding one

The very uncertainty of the future adds further emphasis to that need for inwardness of which we are speaking None can foresee with any clearness the kind of world in which our children will have to live. Never was there a time when a " drill " education of the boat-race practice type was more out of place What can we do except, on the one hand, to emphasise those truths which are independent of time and circumstance, and, on the other hand, to concentrate on an education which will produce people with full knowledge and full command of their own resources ?

At the risk of misunderstanding, then, we would plead for a note of *severity* in education This does not mean, of course, a new vigour of birch and tawse, but rather the continuous maintenance in education of stringency and tension, something analogous to the conditions of " fitness " in the physical field

Here, perhaps, is a clue to the much-needed reform of examina tions (where again we find, significantly enough, the prevailin externalism of the age strongly manifested) If for the potentia executioner outside the pupil we could substitute his own censo within, surely something would have been gained in principle It is this internalising of standards, this taking of a sort of clinica attitude towards one's own intellectual and moral condition, tha we have in mind in speaking of " severity." The teacher's inter course with the pupil will reflect and stimulate it at every point, ye obviously it presupposes *freedom* both as the medium in which i works and the end towards which it strives In this connection w may have to revise a little our ideas of the true nature of th " pleasantness " which we rightly claim should accompany th educative process

Simplification

With severity as thus defined should go *simplification* Thi concerns both curricula and the spirit and direction of teaching No reduction of actual content is contemplated Rather the con trary, for it is a grave mistake to under-estimate the degree of shee knowledge which modern conditions demand What is meant rather, is that curricula and teaching should definitely *say* something that they should have, as Plato would put it, their own unmistakabl and consistent " music " Highly departmentalised schools an universities, syllabi loaded with too much of obscuring detail over-emphasis on credits and passes and matriculation standing to the relative exclusion of considerations of unity and coherence i the total result these will all have to undergo modification Already there are healthy movements in this direction, and in th United States especially much experiment with what are known a " Orientation courses " and other devices, though not always wel directed, has produced some salutary improvements

There is something amiss, surely, when, with young people their strictly " educational " activities, and their often painfu struggles to make sense of their world run in quite distinct channels Such phenomena are all too common, and the remedy would seem to be the introduction of the necessary beacons and broad illumina tions more thoroughly into the teaching itself In the free atmo sphere which still rules in England this should be easily attainable

Second Thoughts about Leisure

Unification of the same kind seems to afford the real answer t that problem of " Education for Leisure," of which so much i heard Only here the effort is more difficult and will have to b more fundamental Serious danger lurks in all that common tal about leisure which regards it as a fenced-off area of life occupied one might almost imagine, by quite another person than he wh earns his daily bread by placing himself under the collar. To tal thus is to accept as irresolvable the fatal dualism which is at the roo

of much of our trouble to-day If, as has been argued, we are to treat the unity of a Free Personality as the pole-star of all our thinking and actions, we cannot stultify ourselves by accepting any such dualism The activities in which a man spends his free leisure are determined by what the man as a whole is, and this, in turn, is largely determined by his education as a whole It may be admitted that more than the unification of educational effort is involved here ; the transcending of the dualism in practice involves social and industrial policy as well, indeed, some degree of unification of all the influences that play upon the growing personality But the salt has indeed lost its savour if educators themselves begin by accepting the very dualism which it is their first business to transcend To do that is not to face " a new need of this age " at all, but to throw away any hope of ever facing it effectively.

Much the same may be said of the continuing misuse of the term " vocational " to describe forms of educational activity whose proper justification is that they contribute necessary elements to the complex whole of an achieved personality A whole volume could be written on the mischief thus arising from the intrusion into educational thinking and terminology of considerations that are not properly educational at all But the point must be left at that.

The Teacher Functionary or Artist?

Finally, it will be clear that if, as we become more acutely conscious of the real heart and spiritual centre of all our polity and education, we build in our education upon and around the ideal of a Free Personality, the training of the teacher assumes a central importance Almost we begin to see the lineaments of the philosopher-king ! We may pray devoutly that there may not arise in England any such sharp conflict over the fundamentals of society as has occurred elsewhere For there is a vast gulf between the conception of the teacher as the functionary of an imposed régime, and the conception of him as the free disposer of the instruments and sustenance of Personality (Compare Rousseau's contrast between " making a mass of men submit and ruling a society ")

The world, or some parts of it, may yet be found looking to us for light on the better way in this regard. Our own conceptions of training are, perhaps, still not wholly free from the taint of the " functionary " idea, still not richly enough imbued with the liberalism which the fulfilment of our central principle would seem to require But, here again, the signs are favourable and the achievement so far is probably much greater than ill-informed critics realise.

The above comments are intended as no more than illustrations of the practical bearing upon our education of a whole-hearted and conscious realisation of the full meaning of the philosophy to which, it would seem, we give our adhesion in face of the totalitarian challenge.

The More Perilous Road

If, in conclusion, we revert to the two great exponents of our Western philosophy whose words are quoted at the head of this paper, we shall have to admit that, in the last resort, we are with Rousseau rather than with Plato The exalted pessimism which characterises them both issues, in the one case, in a rigidly ordered polity, a beleagured citadel of the spirit, which demands absolute loyalty on pain of a traitor's death , in the other case in what seems like a stout-hearted sally of men in a common resolve to achieve in their unity a range and security of freedom which are beyond them as individuals The road to freedom and the adventures of the spirit remains open for Rousseau But none realises better than he how perilous the road is " If there were a people of gods, they would be governed democratically So perfect a government is not suited to mere men " This is Rousseau speaking be it noted

The best we can do, the highest pitch of moral tension we can achieve, will still leave a very imperfect and untidy world Original Sin may be more than an outworn theological dogma after all May not our happiness, as well as the saving grace of our education, consist in the end in a frank and humble recognition of the fact ?

When the voice of the Pharisee is heard again declaiming loudly (though perhaps a little nervously) in the temples of the city his, " Lord I thank Thee that I am not as other men are," is not the publican with his, " God be merciful to me, a sinner," giving expression in the humility of profound self-knowledge to the last attainment of earthly wisdom ? Of all the needs of democracy, some abiding sense of the reality of Original Sin may yet prove to be the greatest

F. CLARKE.

[Note —For citations from Rousseau and for much else in the interpretation of Rousseau, the writer is deeply indebted to Prof C W Hendel's *Jean Jacques Rousseau Moralist* (Oxford University Press)]

CHAPTER TWO

The Development of Educational Thought in the United Kingdom, 1920–35

THE period since the war has been one of great activity in English education In spite of fluctuating finance, substantial progress has been made in organisation, in the material position of teachers, and in methods of instruction There has likewise been an immense amount of writing and discussion about all aspects of education. Much of it has naturally dealt with day to day problems ; on the other hand, there has been genuine and sustained thought about fundamental issues Several reasons may be given for this attention, rather abnormal in England, to theory There is first the more serious study of education in the universities, coupled with the increasing number of trained teachers ; as a by-product may be noted the growing interest of the public schools as shown in the Conferences held since 1930 at Harrow Secondly, and even more noticeable for its tangible results, there has been the enlightened activity of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, and of many voluntary bodies such as the New Education Fellowship and the British Institute of Adult Education. And last, there is the general awakening of conscience in a community forced by adversity to take stock of its education and to plan for a changing world As the period proceeds from one crisis to another, we find an increasing bewilderment in educational as in all other thought Yet it is recognised that education offers the only solution As H G Wells says :

" The deliberate improvement of man's inherent quality is at present unattainable It is to a better education and to a better education alone, therefore, that we must look for any hope of ameliorating substantially the confusion and distresses of our present life."

The Influence of Psychology on Educational Thought

A complete survey of educational thought during the post-war period would include a number of topics that are treated separately in this or preceding issues of the YEAR BOOK The most important of these is Psychology, which now produces the greatest volume of work in educational research. It can here be noticed only in its repercussions on educational thought, and these increase in number and variety every year.

The relation between the Psychology and the Philosophy of Education is difficult to define. It used to be said that whilst Philosophy determined the aims and values of education, Psychology

showed the way to effect them ; thus Psychology occupied a clearly subordinate position This distinction still holds, but with a difference Psychology has now provided us with so much information that we can no longer profitably discuss *a priori* such questions as the selection of children for different types of school, the value of examinations, the treatment of delinquent and abnormal children, or the plasticity of the adult's mind. The problem of the curriculum illustrates particularly well the success of Experimental Psychology · it is now recognised (though many vestiges of the old belief remain) that " we can no longer retain any school subject solely on the ground that it provides ' mental discipline,' nor should we speak of the educative value *of a subject* " (Report of British Association on Formal Training, 1929) The modern statistical technique has enabled Psychology to throw a flood of light on these and many other problems ; and though some of its methods and findings may still be tentative, they indicate the growing-points of educational science To quote Dr Drever, " it is only by and through psychological knowledge that the results reached by the philosophy of education can come to have anything more than a merely academic significance " [1]

But without any disparagement of Psychology one must point out that its results are liable to abuse Here more than anywhere a little knowledge is a dangerous thing Beginners are apt to think that the use of technical jargon is the same as understanding human behaviour Such terms as " repression," " rationalisation," " unconscious," " inferiority complex," " sublimation " (" the teacher should sublimate the child's parental instinct"), are used with complete lack of sense The word " instinct," indeed, popularised by McDougall, has come (by the familiar process of hypostatisation) to signify for many people a definite organ of the mind, differing only from a phrenological faculty in that it can show no bump on the head Thus students will solemnly discuss whether some action is due to a child's instinct of pugnacity or of acquisitiveness All that may not matter very much ; but it is more serious when young teachers without expert knowledge think that they can apply mental tests or even psycho-analyse their pupils Unfortunately, there are to-day several conflicting schools of Psychology, so that the unguided student can hardly escape confusion He tends as a rule to adopt some eclectic hotch-potch of his own, neglecting the contradictions that it involves. And from time to time one aspect or other of Psychology is exaggerated, as when, by a reaction from the purely cognitive study of behaviour, the affective side was stressed to the disparagement of reason At present the emphasis, in the research work of Educational Psychology at least, is on mathematical method : everything must be measured in quantitative terms, with the result that factors deliberately omitted for experimental purposes are neglected ; and often the *imponderabilia* are the most important. There is therefore no less need than of old for a Philosophy of

[1] *An Introduction to the Psychology of Education*, 1922,

Education: Psychology is an increasingly useful servant, but it can never dominate

Methods of Teaching

It is likewise superfluous to discuss in this chapter developments in the method of teaching various school subjects. a note on the teaching of English must suffice The period started with two official publications, *The Teaching of English in England*, and *Humanism in the Continuation School* Both have had far-reaching influence, and the latter, written by Prof J Dover Wilson, is the one happy survival of the fiasco of the Day Continuation School Considerable influence was also exerted by the books of Mr E A Greening-Lamborn, and the spate of anthologies compiled (unlike the *Golden Treasury*) for use by children But a more modernist view of poetry is now beginning to travel down to the schools The writings of Dr I A Richards (*Principles of Literary Criticism*, 1924, *Practical Criticism*, 1929) marked a new approach to the study of literature; they emphasised the need for fostering "critical awareness" and a more alert and unsentimental appreciation of poetry (Two recent books illustrate this tendency F R Leavis and D Thompson, *Culture and Environment*, 1934, and P Gurrey, *The Appreciation of Poetry*, 1935) Similarly, the conception of grammar is in process of being transformed by that seminal work *The Philosophy of Grammar*, by Otto Jespersen (1924) The disastrous expulsion of all grammar teaching from the schools was perhaps a natural result of the type of grammar taught, but, with the gradual introduction of "functional" grammar, the teaching of English and of foreign languages will become sounder

So, too, one must pass over with only a reference such widely debated topics as the Dalton plan and the project method, both of which, as originating in America (though similar but less formulated ideas were not unknown here), can hardly be included in an account of British thought The use of mechanical aids to teaching (film, gramophone, and broadcast), co-education, and the relative value of day and boarding schools are other topical questions that must be omitted Though they deserve the most serious consideration, they do not involve fundamental principles

Let us pass then to an investigation of these principles, taking first those of a more philosophic order No attempt will be made to review individual works; but the main lines of thought will be examined, with such quotation from authors as space permits

The Aim of Education

The outstanding book of the period is undoubtedly Sir Percy Nunn's *Education its Data and First Principles* (first edition 1920, second 1930) Though issued in the form of a textbook, it is in fact a philosophical treatise; one of its critics calls it "as scientific a work on education as has been produced anywhere." The studies of a generation of teachers in training have been based on it, and

it has profoundly affected their outlook and their subsequent practice. Further, many of its views are reflected in the Hadow Reports and are embodied in the reorganisation of elementary education

One of the perennial problems of educational theory is the relation between individual and society The importance of each has been emphasised by various thinkers to the exclusion of the other: Hobbes or Rousseau go as far in one direction as Plato, Hegel or Gentile in the other Of the two extremes, Nunn leans towards that of individualism " We shall stand throughout on the position that nothing good enters into the human world except in and through the free activities of individual men and women, and that educational practice must be shaped to accord with that truth " The whole book is indeed an elaboration of this thesis At first sight, Nunn may appear to maintain an exaggerated view of the individual's worth, and he has been criticised as though he neglected the claims of society Thus Prof Campagnac (in *Society and Solitude*, 1922), regarding as he does " a man's education as the long process by which he learns to subordinate himself to the control of an ideal society," argues that " though individuality may be *an* educational end, it is an end that can only be attained by those who seek another and a larger end " The individual, in other words, cannot exist apart from society " Even if we regard education as the training of the individual to the mastery of himself and his world, it is also at the same time an undertaking social or political in its character, since the individual cannot receive this training apart from his fellows " The wild boy of Aveyron existed in fact, Mowgli only in fiction

Yet all this is fully admitted by Nunn His view " does not deny or minimise the responsibilities of a man to his fellows; for the individual life can develop only in terms of its own nature, and that is social as truly as it is ' self-regarding ' " The conflict of opinion thus turns out to be a matter of emphasis both Nunn and Campagnac recognise the claims of society and of the individual, but, to put it crudely, while one regards Society as an agglomeration of individuals, the other thinks of the individual as a fragment of an already existing society Hence for Nunn the value of a community depends on that of the unique contribution made by each of its members " it follows that there can be no universal aim of education if that aim is to include the assertion of any particular ideal of life; for there are as many ideals as there are persons "

At this point may be noticed another, and more cogent, criticism of Nunn's theory—that made by Prof F. Clarke in *Essays in the Politics of Education* (1923) Individualism he regards as a result, or at any rate a concomitant, of Science, which from its habit of searching for ultimate units or lowest terms has led to the fictitious idea of the individual " Nowhere," says Prof. Clarke, " does Nunn show a real grasp of, or even an attempt to grasp, Reality as a whole. He sets out from the conception of a human individual as ' given ' and exhibits education as the guided and assisted *development*

of the individual as such. It is all development, the individual makes *himself*, and there is no revelation of him as a centre in which a whole universal order comes to a self-conscious realisation of itself." But, just as the individual (being an " unreal abstraction ") cannot be taken as a *datum*, so his " unique contribution " cannot exist as a thing apart, peculiar to himself On the contrary, Prof Clarke maintains " that there *is* a universal aim of education that holds for all alike, and that we may as well define it for the common man in the terms of the Shorter Catechism · ' To glorify God and enjoy Him for ever ' . . The assertion of personal responsibility and of personal value does not at all require the implied denial of an eternal objective order expressing itself in and through the lives and achievements of free responsible individuals "

We have here a fundamental difference of outlook on which no compromise is possible · either we are all parts of one eternal plan or we are not. Neither belief can be proved , nor does either formula admit of any certain or unambiguous translation into practice The complete development of individuality is open to as many interpretations as is the eternal glorification and enjoyment of God. But it obviously does matter which we adopt as the ultimate aim of education The present writer in attempting a survey must remain impartial It will be enough to point out that each ideal has resulted in misconstruction and abuse so familiar as hardly to need mention The history of English education alone supplies illustration enough of evils wrought for the ostensible glory of God. It is a plea that can so easily be linked with tyranny and intolerance, with a caste system of society and a meagre instruction for those whom God has called to a lowly station in life Again, it can so readily be construed as loyalty to a particular country or a particular form of government Nunn's book was written in the shadow of the war, when Prussianism had brought ruin on itself and most of the world ; and at the present moment we have even more glaring examples of the education dictated by the totalitarian state In 1920 the aspiration of mankind was to make the world safe for democracy, but now we witness a growing disruption of and disbelief in the democratic ideal. There is little fear that we in England will err on that side, though the possibility must not be altogether neglected—particularly in the matter of academic freedom [1] ; the danger is rather that in caring so deeply for the freedom of each,

[1] A conference on Academic Freedom was held at Oxford (August 1935) " to review, in the light of events at home and abroad, the position of school and university teachers and of scientific research workers, not in their professional capacities, but as citizens upon whom devolved special responsibilities " It is stated in the Conference Memorandum that while the position of university teachers in this country is up till now stronger than that of teachers in schools and scientific research workers, yet " we cannot be sure how long our own comparative immunity to these tendencies " (such as are found in Russia, all Fascist countries, and even in the U S A) " will last, nor can we accept the view that the best way to combat them is to pretend that they do not exist."

we may neglect to foster a care for the interests of the whole It is significant that there should have come into being just now the Association for Education in Citizenship, partly as a counterblast to authoritarianism, but still more as a means of educating the next generation to a living sense of the liberty that they inherit, and of thus saving democracy in one of its last strongholds (see Sir E Simon and Mrs E M Hubback, *Training for Citizenship*, 1935)

An even wider citizenship is put forward as the goal by Mr Olaf Stapledon in *Manifesto* (The Book of the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, 1934) " The true aim of education is to turn every boy and girl in the world into a complete individual personality and into a good citizen of the world " Here the notion of individuality is coupled with an aspiration for a sense of community in the world-state, as familiarised by Mr Wells in his later Utopianism The possibility of the world-state is so remote that it need hardly be discussed at any length If it should ever come about, conflict between individual and nation would obviously disappear ; but there would still presumably exist some subordination of interests and desires to the universal community So that even this conception of the State fails to resolve the inherent differences between the one and the many

As there is a vicious extreme when communal values are exaggerated, so, on the other side, Individualism pushed to its limits becomes moral and intellectual anarchy As Campagnac says, " Service, subjection, subordination, are words and notions distasteful to many people " Nunn is, of course, aware of this danger " Our doctrine, as stated crudely above, may seem to permit no discrimination between good and bad ideals of life—between forms of individuality that ought to be encouraged, and forms that ought to be suppressed." But the line of demarcation is not made clear it still remains open to dispute what are the " good and bad ideals of life." Nunn, however, argues strongly for a minimum of prohibition : " few things are more difficult than to foresee whether a new type of individuality, a new mode of expression in thought or action will ultimately add to or detract from the real riches of the world " By allowing each to work out his own salvation within the widest practicable limits—there is the rub—the community will become most healthy " In short, the claims of society upon its members are best satisfied, not when each is made as like his fellows as possible, but when, in Bosanquet's language, ' he values himself as the inheritor of the gifts and surroundings that are focused in him, and which it is his business to raise to their highest power.' "

The Problem of Freedom

The specific problem of *Freedom*, though an aspect of the wider question under discussion, is so controversial as to require separate, if very brief, treatment. Its topical interest is evidenced by a recent series of broadcast talks ; it has been emphasised by the disputes

concerning India and Abyssinia ; and in the sphere of education it is perhaps the most debated question (thus Dr. Pickard-Cambridge chose it as a subject of his presidential address to the Educational Science section of the British Association in 1935)

Freedom is commonly regarded as the antithesis of Discipline, and each term tends to be interpreted by various thinkers in accordance with their political, personal, or emotional predilections No reputable authority would now advocate openly the old-fashioned type of discipline, based on compulsion, repression (" breaking the will "), fear and punishments—the type of which the *Fairchild Family* is the *locus classicus*. Yet there is a very real difference between the theory of, say, Mr Bertrand Russell (*On Education*, 1926 ; *Education and the Social Order*, 1932) and of Dr Cyril Norwood (*The English Tradition of Education*, 1929) Space does not permit adequate illustration of their opposing views, but a passage from each may be quoted as typical " The rule of discipline," says Dr Norwood, " is that you must do your duty, or pay the penalty authority comes from above, but all share in delegated powers for the purpose of living a common life This is supposed to be contrary to the modern democratic spirit, in which authority, such as it may be, is delegated from below *Vox populi, vox Dei* Attempts have been made to graft these modern conceptions on to the old stock and tradition of the schools, such as self-government by forms, and various types of school democracies, in which rules are proposed and seconded, and voted upon, and all officials are appointed by popular election I can only say that these seem to me to be mere idle wasting of time The business of a school is to work, and to get on with its life without bothering about Whys, and Wherefores, and abstract justice, and the democratic principle "

Contrast that with Mr Russell's remark · " The right discipline consists, not in external compulsion, but in habits of mind which lead spontaneously to desirable rather than undesirable activities "

" Liberty, as a principle," says John Stuart Mill in a famous passage, " has no application to any stage of things anterior to the times when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion " The real crux is to settle the point in the development of a society or of a child at which the leading-strings may safely be removed Mill goes so far as to exclude " young persons below the age which the law may fix as that of manhood or womanhood " Plainly, help and guidance are necessary at first . a child, when he begins to do things for himself, must be told what to do, or he will die But one can either continue indefinitely to lay down rules hedged about with safeguards and sanctions, or one can as early as possible encourage spontaneous choice of action The one course results in discipline imposed from without, which at its best leads to the perpetuation of a code of conduct (cf Norwood, " The fundamental principle of the true English discipline is that you must obey loyally in order that you may be fit to rule wisely "—the doctrine of Carlyle's *Past and Pre-*

sent), and at its worst is liable to cause revolt or to break down as soon as the external authority is removed.[1] The other when successful results in self-discipline, based on initiative and the habit of making one's own decisions in the light of voluntarily accepted principles The proviso " when successful " is necessary, since this is a more difficult method to follow ; it has not behind it the accumulated experience of ages , it needs not only faith in human nature, but great wisdom, or it will break down (as at the Little Commonwealth)[2] through inherent weaknesses or by arousing outside prejudice The " traditional " school (a term that is far from embracing all schools represented on the Headmasters' Conference) allows freedom within a rigid framework , the " progressive " school prefers an atmosphere of freedom circumscribed only by the rights and feelings of others ; as Montessori says, " the liberty of the child would have as its *limit* the collective interest ; as its *form*, what we universally consider good breeding "

So far liberty of action rather than liberty of judgment has been under discussion The two are, of course, no more than aspects of the same principle, but the distinction is useful It is plainly easier to coerce action than thought , yet every community, deliberately or not, moulds the opinion of its members to a particular fashion Schoolboy tyranny affects not only trifles like dress and slang, it demands conformity of opinion, or at least the use of conventional formulas This tendency exists everywhere, but is no doubt stronger in institutions where the authorities seek to instil ready-made views on religion, politics, taste, etc Thus the most forcible criticisms of the public school tradition are concerned with features (accidentally rather than necessarily connected with it) such as over-athleticism, and an aristocratic, imperialistic or militaristic outlook Yet there must be some foundation of traditional opinion , the " progressive " school aims at fostering independent judgment from an earlier age than the " traditional " would approve , further, it provides a means of testing the validity of private judgment by such devices as self-government, which involve the minimum of prohibitions and of punishment imposed by authorities It seeks to remove the causes that prevent the internal freedom of the self, the fears and inhibitions that result from ignorance and superstition, as well as such external causes as the tyranny of Church, social class, or political state Yet the commonest obstacle to freedom in the adult, economic dependence, can be touched only in so far as children are prepared to earn their living—and not as a rule even then.

If the besetting sins of the traditional school are conservatism and adherence to a type (and in the newer secondary schools that type is becoming a standardised result of mass production), the sins of

[1] See e g L B Pekin, *Public Schools* (1932), *Progressive Schools*, 1934 , *The Old School*, ed G Greene (1934) , G and E Romilly, *Out of Bounds*, 1935 , A Calder-Marshall, *Challenge to Schools*, 1935

[2] See E T Bazeley, *Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth*, 1928

the progressive school are a certain crankiness due largely to a deliberate desire to be " different," and an instability that results from excessive experimentation. This criticism is stated by Harold Stovin in *Growing Opinions* (ed. A C Johnson, 1935). " The approach of many of these people towards education is not one of intuitive response to the needs of children, but of intellectual interest in a sociological " (and, one might add, a psychological) " experiment " For Mr Stovin " there is only one main problem for modern educators . . . the emergence of a self-conscious humanity in a highly industrialised, international community " ; and he finds no type of school fully able to solve this problem

A form of liberty, particularly repulsive to older people, which consists of letting children do exactly what they like and never saying " No," is often unjustly ascribed to Montessori ; it is usually labelled " self-expression " Needless to say, it has never been advocated by Montessori or any other sensible person—although there are schools that are not far removed from this counsel of imperfection In this connection a timely word of warning is uttered by Mr T. Raymont (*Modern Education*, 1935 ; published as *Education*, 1931) " A good way of seeing the shortcomings of self-expression as an educational aim is to bring it into contrast with self-realisation. The two terms are often confused, with results disastrous to clear thinking The term ' self ' means different things in the two cases. There is all the difference between my ' self ' as I unhappily know it, and my ' self ' as I would have it to be It is the real concrete self that one knows, and perhaps does battle with day by day, which many people mean when they talk about self-expression It is an ideal self—that which one desires to be in one's moments of deepest wisdom and insight—which philosophers mean when they talk about self-realisation." A straightforward statement like that removes many misconceptions.[1]

W. J. McCallister, in *The Growth of Freedom in Education* (1931), has made an exhaustive critical study of the concept from Plato to the present day. He criticises Nunn's theory, in its psychological aspect, for laying undue stress on the instinct of self-assertion (with positive self-feeling) at the expense of the complementary instinct of submission (with negative self-feeling) Yet he admits that the notion of submission is implicit throughout Nunn's book, and is definitely stated in his discussion of discipline. Prof. McCallister adopts by way of synthesis the concept of " shapely self-assertion "—" an adjustment of self-assertive and submissive

[1] Other useful discussions of the nature of Freedom and Discipline will be found in E T Campagnac, *Education* (1925), P B Ballard, *The Changing School* (1925), J J Findlay, *The Foundations of Education* (2 vols, 1925 and 1927), H Bompas Smith, *The Nation's Schools* (1927), G. H Thomson, *A Modern Philosophy of Education* (1929), A N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (1929), T. Blewitt (editor), *The Modern Schools Handbook* (1934) ; E. Sharwood Smith, *The Faith of a Schoolmaster* (1935).

tendencies in accordance with the pupil's inner sense of value " This sense of value or " relevancy " appears in the author's final definition of freedom in education : " the finding, maintaining and extending of the highest relevant value common to the pupil's conception of the requirements of his life and the educator's conception of the aspirations that sustain all human activity " It forms the link, or (to use another metaphor) it acts as a criterion, between the two opposing sets of values that have figured throughout the book ; its nature is made plain by another sentence of the author's, " freedom is the study of the conditions which ensure real continuity in the pupil's attempts to harmonise his conflicting tendencies "

The Doctrine of Interest

As this topic is one about which misunderstanding is so rife, it is important to be quite clear about its meaning It does not mean, as commonly stated, that children are to learn just what they like, that lessons are to depend on momentary and fleeting whims, and that everything is to be made so pleasant that effort is eliminated To argue against such a monstrous theory is merely flogging a dead horse This is, however, the type of interest pilloried, e g by Mr W H S Jones in *Disciplina* (1926), an essay devoted to proving that " Life, for which education is, or should be, a preparation, is a struggle, an upward struggle towards something higher and better. It is not the gratification of the interest of the moment , it is not the elimination of the unpleasant All education based, consciously or unconsciously, upon this elimination is bound to end in disaster Teachers of all grades must resist the attractive but insidious forms in which the doctrine presents itself—interest, self-determination or what not "

Yet dead as such perversions of the truth may be in theory, the warning given in *Disciplina* is necessary For the doctrine of Interest, imperfectly assimilated or sometimes perhaps deliberately misinterpreted, has led to much " soft pedagogy," to a sentimental desire to save children from boredom and even from any work that entails difficulty.

What then is the true " doctrine " ? Simply that an active mind, seeking knowledge for some clearly understood and accepted purpose, is in every way more effective than a mind occupied in passively learning in rote fashion material the use of which is unknown It is more economical of time and effort, and far more likely to produce abiding results That puts the issue clearly, though as a rule it is concealed by partially irrelevant arguments about mental discipline, character formation, the bulldog breed, and " theirs not to reason why." Part at least of the opposition is due to prejudice : those who had a dull time at school don't see why boys to-day should not endure the same boredom. And matters are made worse by the introduction of the " play-

way," a somewhat unfortunate term used by Mr Caldwell Cook and adopted by Sir Percy Nunn But before discussing play as a means to learning, let us make it quite plain that the doctrine of Interest does not permit any disparagement of hard work. On the contrary, it maintains that the hardest work is only possible when one is so carried away as to feel no distraction, so that deliberate concentration is unnecessary. The interest it advocates is not a temporary caprice, based on novelty or liking for a particular teacher. It seeks rather to build up abiding " sentiments " (to use a term now familiar in English psychology), systems of knowledge, coloured by emotion, which constantly deepen and extend (The metaphor is seen to be less purely cognitive than the Herbartian apperception-mass) At the same time it aims at forming the habit of looking out for some meaning, some intelligible purpose, in any task that may come Life is full of dull jobs effort will always be required But is the best preparation one that merely accustoms a boy to " stick it " as a virtue in itself ? Will that lead to the most intelligent work ? Nothing is easier than to arouse a spurious and temporary interest , it is almost as easy (if you can keep order) to continue a course of clever teaching in which interest is apparently maintained, but in which all the real work is done by yourself, with the class passively listening. Thus a science teacher can entertain his class by doing conjuring tricks, with suitable patter, in front of them , or the difficulties of other subjects can be avoided by omission, or by that over-simplification that inevitably leads to distortion of the truth Contrast with such an attitude the ideal stated in the Report on *The Primary School* .

> " We see that the curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored Its aim should be to develop in a child the fundamental human powers and to awaken him to the fundamental interests of civilised life so far as these powers and interests lie within the compass of childhood, to encourage him to attain gradually to that control and orderly management of his energies, impulses and emotions, which is the essence of moral and intellectual discipline, to help him to discover the idea of duty and to ensue it, and to open out his imagination and his sympathies in such a way that he may be prepared to understand and to follow in later years the highest examples of excellence in life and conduct "

Activity is a mark of the play-way—which of, course, does not mean playing at work. What is advocated is a spirit of adventure, which reproduces in the classroom something of the fervour in which original discoveries were made Its practical applications include, e g , the Heuristic method in Science (which Mr. W. H S. Jones decries) and the " Littleman " lectures (which he approves). It is based on the view (held by F. H. Bradley) that work and play are psychologically indistinguishable, and that the best " work " is done spontaneously and joyfully.

As a theoretic principle this view has been challenged. Thus Prof. Campagnac (in *Society and Solitude*) argues that " there is no

play except in contra-distinction to work " " To say this," he continues, " is not to disparage either work or play or to maintain that we must choose between them, cleaving to the one and abandoning the other , we must take both, one at a time, for the ordinary dull days when we are at that low level which we call our average height, but both together when we rise, as sometimes we all rise, to a serener altitude But there is a period apparently when the distinction, the difference between work and play, has not yet been apprehended, and it would seem to be clear that until the distinction is apprehended work and play do not yet exist—in other words, the activities in which we engage do not yet deserve either the name of work or the name of play "

Campagnac, in fact, raises no fundamental objection to the use of play in learning he is rather concerned with the age at which it can be said to begin, and the frequency with which it can be attained In other words, the play spirit is an ideal , opinions will differ about its practicability for the humdrum routine of school

The difficulty, in fact, is to preserve the spirit of play beyond the initial stage of study into the further stages where concentrated work is necessary To adopt the useful terminology of " rhythm " devised by Nunn, the greatest teaching skill is required to keep alive the interest of his class as it leaves the stage of " wonder " and enters on those of " utility," and " system " , or, using the similar rhythm formulated by Whitehead (" wonder, precision, generalisation "), the hardest stage for the teacher or the learner is where " precision " begins That is the real place of the " play-way " , its aim is not, as so often supposed, a futile prolongation of the stage of wonder or romance

The doctrine of Interest obviously affects, not only the spirit of study, but also the subject-matter We shall therefore next briefly review recent thought on the content of the curriculum.

The Curriculum

This is a hornets' nest to disturb All sorts of vested interests and prejudices are aroused, which make dispassionate treatment very difficult Ancient watchwords are bandied about . the claims of " liberal " education are set up against those of " vocational " or " technical " , that hoary mixed metaphor, " a broad basis of general culture," is opposed to " premature specialisation " , and everywhere we find lurking the supposedly extinct dogma of formal training. (See section 5 of the chapter on Psychology)

(*a*) *Liberal Education*

Liberal education in its Aristotelian sense involved two factors : it was the kind of education that befitted a free man (cf. Dr. Johnson's definition, that " becoming a gentleman "), and

it pursued knowledge for its own sake—in Newman's famous words liberal knowledge is " that which stands on its own pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no complement, refuses to be *informed* (as it is called) by any end, or absorbed into any act, in order duly to present itself to our contemplation "

Each remains a noble conception, but neither is appropriate to more than a limited portion of the world to-day. The first is neatly brought up-to-date in the remark that Mr. J F Roxburgh puts into the mouth of Dr Archdale (in his " desultory dialogue " *Eleutheros*, 1930).

> " The phrase ' a liberal education ' originally meant education for a free man—an ELEUTHEROS—as opposed to a slave The slave's job in life was just to work, the free man's job was to be the best possible kind of man Nowadays everybody has got to work, but some people can afford to have a shot at becoming the best possible kind of man before they start working "

The cost of a liberal education is high, since it demands many years, skilled teachers, books, buildings and apparatus; the price must be paid either (as a rule, partly) by the parent or by the community The difficulties are emphasised by those who for one reason or another desire to restrict education to a class: " What does a ploughboy want with poetry ? " indicates their mentality The answer is, of course, plain, that we want as many as possible to be " the best possible kind of man," and that the limiting condition should be ability rather than financial means We return, in fact, to the view that each should develop to the extent of his capacity

The second factor, that liberal knowledge is its own end, has led paradoxically to the idea that it must be useless; and thus a gulf has been fixed between liberal and vocational studies Yet even the studies of a " pure " scholar prepare him for his vocation of scholarship; the higher education of Plato's *Republic* was designed for the purpose of creating philosophic rulers; the mediæval university was entirely vocational At the most the idea of disinterested learning can appeal only to a few in any generation; it is absurd to let it dominate our conception of what education ought to be

Unfortunately the issue is confused in England by social prejudices. Certain studies, in particular the Classics, have been the preserve of the upper and middle classes; they therefore enjoy a fictitious prestige It is for this reason that so many secondary schools cling to Latin, and force it upon boys who have no aptitude for it and who will never learn enough to gain the advantages claimed for it. Again, Latin is the stock-in-trade of many schoolmasters, who, with the failing common to all specialists, seek to magnify their own subject; and their appeal to " mental discipline " is notorious There may be occasional hypocrisy about all this, but as a rule it is rather a question of rationalisation. In this matter it is extraordinarily difficult to think straight; a certain emotional bias persists in those of us who were nurtured on the

Classics: in spite of all rational arguments, we feel that a man entirely unacquainted with (at least) Latin cannot possibly be educated. And after all it must be admitted that such a man cannot have any profound understanding of the development of European civilisation; on the other hand, it may be asked whether that understanding usually results from a four-year course of grammar, composition, and a couple of set books.[1]

(*b*) *Vocational Education*

The Classics, however, are only one element in a liberal education suited to the modern world The important thing is to get rid of what Whitehead calls "inert ideas—that is to say, ideas that are merely received into the mind without being utilised or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations" Mental activity, as opposed to passive reception, is the one thing needful And, since activity results above all from a clearly understood purpose, it is folly to disparage so clear a purpose as preparation for a calling in life The vigour of many central and junior technical schools bears out this contention, and at the same time proves that vocational education need not be conceived in any narrow spirit An all-round education can be built up about a core of vocational studies, and one subject leads on naturally to another as the need is felt. Two quotations will serve to illustrate current thought on this matter Whitehead writes, in his essay on "Technical Education and its Relation to Science and Literature"

> "The antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical that is, no education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision In simpler language, education should turn out the pupil with something he knows well and something he can do well"

And Lord Eustace Percy, in his important and influential *Education at the Crossroads* (1930) says

> "The aim of all education is to teach men to think, and the method of all higher education is, while encouraging the student's mind to work in all sorts of spheres and on all sorts of subjects, to exercise it intensively on some particular body of knowledge The virtue of this method is that it trains a man in accurate and consecutive thinking; the danger of it is over-specialisation, but this virtue and this danger do not lie in the kind of subject chosen for special study The study of pure science as an end in itself may stunt the mind quite as much as the study of the technology of the iron and steel industry On the other hand, if a man be taught

[1] Space does not permit further discussion of this question, and readers are referred to A N Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and other Essays* (1929); the British Association Report on *Formal Training* (1929); A W Pickard-Cambridge, "The Contribution of the Classics to Education," in *Harrow Lectures on Education* (1931), C W. Valentine, *Latin. its Place and Value in Education* (1935)

really to think well about any branch of technology, he will generally think well about other things also "[1]

(c) *General Education*

There is still the question of the age at which the vocational element should enter. It is discussed at length in the first Hadow Report (*The Education of the Adolescent*, 1926), where the following very cautious conclusion is reached

> "Modern schools and senior classes should, as a rule, give a practical bias to the curriculum in the third or fourth year of the course This bias should be introduced only after careful consideration of local economic conditions and upon the advice of persons concerned with the local industry It should not be of so marked a character as to prejudice the general education of the pupils Adequate provision should be made for the needs of such pupils as may gain greater advantage by following a more general course of study"

There are several reasons for this caution It is usually impossible to foretell the work that a child will take up, even if he has the benefit of vocational guidance (see e g F M Earle, *Methods of Choosing a Career*, 1931, E D Laborde, *Choosing a Career*, 1935), there may be no opening of the right sort And the Committee evidently cling to the traditional idea of a "general" education as a balanced diet of school subjects It is clearly defined in the Board of Education's first Regulations for Secondary Schools (1904), which state that the instruction "must be such as gives a reasonable degree of exercise and development to the whole of the faculties, and does not confine this development to a particular channel, whether that of pure and applied science, of literary and linguistic study, or of that kind of acquirement which is directed simply at fitting a boy or girl to enter business in a subordinate capacity with some previous knowledge of what he or she will be set to do"

In practice this means the grouping of school subjects—no bad thing in itself But these groups have become crystallised in the syllabus of the School Certificate, with results that are universally acknowledged to be paralysing The problem of examinations is dealt with elsewhere; all that need be said here is that, as they are now employed, they encourage bad habits of teaching and of learning, and they transform general education into a training for answering questions on a prescribed number of subjects General education used to be advocated on the grounds of the Herbartian "many-sided interest"; if that theory is out of fashion, general education can still be justified for at least two reasons. it gives children an elementary knowledge of various branches which they cannot afford to be entirely ignorant of, and it gives them and their teachers some chance of discovering any specific liking or aptitude

[1] Two recent books designed to aid the process of thought and to provide material are R H Thouless, *Straight and Crooked Thinking* (1930), B. A Howard, *The Proper Study of Mankind* (1933).

—which may in due course point the way to specialisation. Liking and aptitude usually but not invariably go together, the latter is obviously the more important to diagnose English audiences are familiar with Herr Kurt Hahn's belief that everyone possesses a *grande passion*, which, if it can only be recognised, will guide the whole of life aright As it is, specialisation often begins in a haphazard way; and it not only begins too early (because it has no solid basis), but it is prolonged too far, so that a student spends his years from School Certificate to the end of his university course on a narrow range of subjects Against this evil a serious warning is given in *Education at the Crossroads*, and practicable remedies, affecting both secondary schools and universities, are suggested, but so far there is little sign of reform There is much uneasiness about the products of higher education, but universities in particular are slow to move and have no common policy Any discussion of university policy is here impossible, but many people are coming to believe that one direct means of enriching and prolonging general education would be the rehabilitation of the pass degree Because the basic studies are now impoverished by examination requirements and cut short by early specialisation, we are turning out, as every examiner knows, hordes of uneducated children and graduates, they lack what Lord Eustace Percy regards as "the chief aims of a general education, suppleness of mind and understanding of men" "After all," he continues, "a general education means any education which will train a man's mind to master facts and think originally about them, and will enable him to enter into the thoughts and feelings of his fellow-men"

That statement sums the matter up well, with the proviso that it should not be interpreted as implying the exploded doctrine of formal training

(*d*) *Education for Leisure*

So much is heard nowadays of Education for Leisure that it requires a paragraph to itself From what has already been said, it is plain that studies pursued with interest, about which a sentiment has been formed, are the only ones likely to be followed up in later life But apart from academic or bookish studies, there are many activities that enrich life, these are becoming more and more an integral part of the school course Music, drama, art, craft, travel, gardening and the varied pursuits of school societies are at last being taken seriously, whilst the outstanding importance of physical education is continually being stressed In short, we are directing attention to "the education of the whole man" (to use the title of one of Dr L P Jacks's books) This is a reversion to an older theory, in fact to the Greek ideal; and, as involving practice rather than thought, it need not detain us here. But one or two important points should be observed One is that there is no such thing as education for leisure *per se*, indeed, one should always

beware of any attempts (and they are prevalent nowadays) to separate off and label education " for " this or that. It is a tendency apt to connect itself with a paternalism that is often a subtle form of propaganda At the same time it cannot be denied that all the conditions of life are changing With increasing mechanisation the hours of labour are being reduced, whilst work is becoming less intelligent and interesting : in many industries the dignity of labour no longer exists Leisure will undoubtedly become the greater portion of men's lives—for the unemployed it is already the whole It is argued, therefore, that education must be deliberately directed towards enabling men to use that leisure aright. It is the last word that shows the danger signal, because the idea of getting people to live " rightly " lends itself to humbug, dogmatism or intolerance : ultimately we all wish to create others in our own image This, however, is certain, that leisure should be spent in something more than idle relaxation, and that pursuits should be active, and if possible creative That indeed is the policy of many organisations that cater for the adolescent, such as boys' or girls' clubs

Another general point to be considered is the level of public taste, which some observers (instancing the usual type of film or crooned song) regard as deplorably low, others (having in mind the popularity of the " Proms " or the wide circulation of books like the Everyman series) feel to be rising Both are right taste in every social class is vulgar and commercialised (see, e g , Q D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, and the Cambridge magazine *Scrutiny*) ; but there are undoubted signs of improvement [1]

Adult Education

The last topic is intimately linked with adult education, since we must consider the free hours both of growing and grown-up men and women The adolescent of to-day will be the adult of to-morrow , and it is noteworthy that the British Institute of Adult Education has directed attention (as at its Conference in September 1935) to the preparation for adult education.

Adult education has expanded greatly since the war ; more voluntary agencies have taken up the work, and it has been treated with kindly interest by the Board of Education, which has set up an advisory Adult Education Committee (see the series of Reports issued by this Committee) The older conception of adult education has continued vigorously, i e. along the lines of the extension lecture and the extra-mural classes of universities or the less advanced classes of the W.E A It aims at providing a fairly high standard of academic studies for those who are prepared to do serious and sustained work. It caters, in fact, for an *élite*: its appeal is and

[1] The " coming of leisure " was the subject of the Conference held by the New Education Fellowship in August 1935 , a Report, edited by Dr. William Boyd, is to be published early in 1936 under the title *The Challenge of Leisure*

always will be to a minute fraction of the population Within its limits such work is admirable : it is a stimulating adventure for both tutor and class ; it can point to very many examples of success ; there must always be a place for it

But there is now a growing conviction that something more is needed As Mr. R S Lambert argues in his chapter " The Dynamics of Adult Education " (YEAR BOOK, 1934), the new aim should be " the nationalisation of adult education, i e the turning it from being a sectional into a truly communal service " New agencies, particularly wireless and the film, have made possible an entirely fresh approach . the net can be more widely spread, and the bait (to continue the metaphor) can be made more attractive, because less apparent, to the general public There is, says Mr Lambert, a reaction against an over-literary education " We are, indeed, but slowly discovering that the adult is far more susceptible to the indirect educational process than to the direct How to make use of this psychological truth is the problem which confronts the educator to-day " As examples of this new appeal three only can here be noticed (1) the policy of the B B C to provide talks which are not too ostensibly " educational," and to encourage " critical listening " by means of Wireless Discussion Groups (see the B B C pamphlet with that title, August 1935) (2) The foundation of the British Film Institute (3) the very successful exhibitions of pictures arranged by the British Institute of Adult Education (see *Art for the People*, 1935)

By such means as these a genuine adult education will certainly spread amongst great masses of people who would fly from anything called by that name We hear enough said about adapting education to a changing world Here is a very clear example of its accomplishment, and of the use for that purpose of inventions that might be (as the cinema has been) inimical to education So, too, the standard of musical appreciation has been raised by broadcasting ; this indeed has been questioned by one critic, who thinks that the great majority switch off when classical music begins Still, the music is there for them, and it is hard to believe that taste is not improving.

Adult education in England has never (one hopes) been intended as a narcotic or a defence mechanism It thus largely escapes the criticisms made by Dr Schairer in his impressive chapter in the YEAR BOOK for 1935. The young unemployed, he says, " are often the spokesmen of the juvenile problem, but they hardly ever speak of the Leisure State Rather, they describe it, in the harsh and often unfair language of bitterness, as a ' teacher's invention.' What they seek and demand is the Labour State—work for all, confidence in life, pride in a vocation, a self-respecting family life in which they will be able to look their children in the face and provide for their needs, free from the hateful feeling of unwantedness. In these matters they are stern realists, distrusting and thrusting aside contemptuously what they call ' idea-peddling.' "

So far as a philosophy has yet been worked out for what is vaguely called education for the unemployed, its aim is to create a new outlook and a new life for those whose ordinary way of life has been destroyed. In the distressed (or " special ") areas there are many men who, as far as can be seen, will never have regular work again For these no palliative is possible , but if (as has been the policy of Maes-yr-haf and other educational settlements) they can be helped to achieve new interests, strong, vital and useful, they may build up a substitute for the life under industry Nobody, least of all those engaged in it, would claim that the experiment is widely successful ; but at any rate it seems to begin to solve this insoluble problem

Sociological Considerations

The question of unemployment has led us on to the sociological aspect of educational theory If Psychology is one adjunct, Sociology is no less, and possibly more, important Indeed, Prof Clarke goes so far as to say, " If there *is* any controlling Science for Education at all, there is good reason for maintaining that it is neither Psychology nor Biology, but Sociology " However that may be, it is becoming increasingly evident that there are many economic and political factors that influence education, and that require exact knowledge as a basis for thought Thus the value of higher education to the soul of an individual may certainly be discussed in the abstract ; but Psychology will determine whether he is fitted for such education, and Sociology will at least help to decide how many " educated " people the community can stand The fluctuations of the birth-rate and the mechanisation of industry, with the resulting dislocation and unemployment, are two examples of events that upset any preconceived reasoning, but which require thought informed by exhaustive research Vague argument is here as disastrous as hand-to-mouth expedients.

The Upward Expansion of Education and its Effects

The inequality of opportunity which still makes, in Prof Carr-Saunders's words, " the educational ladder an ideal rather than a fact," has been the subject of much anxious thought The remedy most widely proposed has been the expansion of secondary education, with an extended and improved use of the Free Place and Scholarship system [1] Advocates of this policy have all assumed that the further development of higher education is necessarily beneficial, and that improvement will certainly result from a more equitable spread of opportunities One point they have certainly

[1] See R H. Tawney, *Secondary Education for All*, 1922 , G S M Ellis, *The Poor Student and the Unversity*, 1924 , K Lindsay, *Social Progress and Educational Waste*, 1926 , A. M Carr-Saunders and E C Jones, *A Survey of the Social Structure of England and Wales*, 1927

proved, that the chances of gaining higher education do not vary proportionately with capacity [1]

But the validity of this assumption is nowadays less certain than it was Whereas a boy or girl who passed successfully through a secondary school, and still more a university graduate, was formerly pretty certain of more or less suitable employment, that is far from true now Dr Schairer's chapter (referred to above) is based on a survey of nine foreign countries, and most of the contributors to *The University in a Changing World* (ed Kotschnig and Prys, 1932) are foreigners The problem is less acute in England than in many other countries, but it is serious enough The Merseyside survey [2] shows that in one area at least " the net result of the grant-aided secondary school tends, under present economic conditions, to be to increase from generation to generation the number of persons engaged in minor clerical occupations and in subaltern positions in the retail trade " Children, in fact, consider themselves lucky if they get any job at all

So far as cultural and economic values can be separated, let us neglect for the moment (as the May Report does all the time) the former, and ask whether we have not reached the saturation point of secondary (in the academic sense) and university education Are the students helped to gain a living by their education, or are they merely diverted to black-coated occupations that are already hopelessly overcrowded ? Often they are not themselves to blame to take one notorious example, the present unemployment amongst teachers is due to the surplus numbers called for, very rightly, by the Board of Education when the school-leaving age was almost certainly about to be raised Schools very naturally encourage their promising pupils to go on with further study, and many university professors like to see their Honours School large

The problem bristles with difficulties There is no possible method of adjusting supply to demand, short of some quota system that would be repellent to our sense of freedom The Board of Education's recent " Special Place " regulations were perhaps a clumsy attempt in this direction A more hopeful line of approach lies in a wider interpretation of secondary education If the recommendation of the Hadow Report were followed, and the term " secondary " used to mean " post-primary," there might be less insistence on the academic education to which secondary schools now confine themselves. People might then come to regard other types of study (which would all be labelled secondary) as equally

[1] Cf J L Gray and P Moshinsky, " Ability and Opportunity in English Education," *Sociological Review*, April 1935, who write " taking children of equally high ability, seven fee-paying pupils will receive a higher education for every one free pupil Conversely, if we consider children who fall below the selected level of ability, for every one free pupil who is afforded the opportunity of a higher education, there are 162 fee-paying pupils who enjoy the same advantages "

[2] *Social Factors in Secondary Education*, 1932—summarised in the chapter " The replanning of the Schools," YEAR BOOK, 1934.

honourable It would be an advantage if these different courses were included in the same institution, partly to satisfy public opinion, partly to avoid the segregation of types, and particularly of a budding intelligentsia It is true that human relationships suffer in an over-large school, but the ideal arrangement, that of smallish schools with heterogeneous courses, is impracticable on the ground of expense Such a reform would link itself with that of the Technical Colleges advocated in *Education at the Crossroads* But when all is said and done adequate employment depends, not merely on education, but on the economic condition of the country and the world; and there is at present little hope that the world is going to right itself [1]

Part-time Education

The debates on the raising of the school-leaving age, and their unsuccessful termination in Parliament, redirected attention to another solution of the problem of adolescent education, that of the Day Continuation School By the Act of 1918 attendance at these schools was to be made compulsory, but for various reasons, which seemed valid at the time, this part of the Act was not put into operation There are, however, excellent theoretical grounds for preferring part-time to full-time schooling for "young persons" from 15 to 18 Large numbers of them want above all things to be independent and to earn a living, they feel that until they leave school they have not entered upon life It is on the whole easier to devise suitable part-time courses, many children would gain very little from full-time attendance at schools as they are at present run Advocates of extended full-time education should not forget the warning given by Prof Graham Wallas (*The Art of Thought*, 1926) "Just because a raising of the English school-leaving age is likely to take place in the near future, it is necessary that we should realise the complexity of the problem on which we are legislating, instead of discovering, as we did after the legislation of fifty years ago, the over-simplicity of our ideas by later experience It is no light matter for any State to assume the responsibility of compelling by police power the attendance of the whole population at school past the age when Milton was already a poet, Nelson a naval officer, Napoleon a lieutenant of artillery, Alexander Hamilton a political writer, Bentham an Oxford graduate, Sarah Bernhardt and Ellen Terry professional actresses, and Mozart and Beethoven famous musicians."

Recently (May 1935) the social investigators who work under the name PEP (Political and Economic Planning) have advocated (in

[1] The Consultative Committee has now under consideration "The organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of 11 +, regard being had in particular to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about 16."

The Entrance to Industry) a comprehensive " Fourteen to Eighteen " policy. Briefly, they propose a combination of the two types of schooling

> " We believe that the basis of this policy is extension of compulsory education up to the age of 18 This should be carried into effect by raising the age of full-time attendance at school to 15 years and by introducing compulsory half-time attendance at day-continuation schools for boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18 Thus, entrance into industry would be postponed by one year and the first three years of industrial life would be partly devoted to continued education "

Their arguments must be read *in extenso*, but one point is so important that it must be mentioned As is now generally realised, the shrinking birth-rate means that before many years there will be two million fewer children in the schools than there were before the war, the PEP Committee remark that these changes " will greatly increase the economic and social value of the fourteen to eighteen group in the community, and the existing waste and frustration will become increasingly intolerable Quantity will have to be replaced by quality, and preparation for industry, citizenship and leisure will have to receive much more careful attention than it does at present " To sum up the need is for more education, not less —but it must be multifarious, to suit all types of temperament and capacity A wider conception of vocational education will liberalise the mind, and at the same time render the young men and women more competent and adaptable for work. In the modern competition between nations we cannot afford an ill-trained youth As things are, large numbers of juveniles (about 128,000) are suffering the demoralising influence of unemployment, with such alleviation as the Junior Instruction Centres can provide in the way of preventing deterioration and aiding reabsorption into industry.[1] But even apart from unemployment there are two spots in our system where wastage occurs One is the pre-school period for which that great woman Margaret McMillan devised a remedy in the nursery school The other is the period from 14 to 18 For the first we know what to do, for the second there are divergent policies But these differences are less educational than financial or political the last attempt to raise the school-leaving age was frustrated by those religious jealousies that have always been the greatest obstacle to educational progress On the main principle educational thought is united if the next generation of adults is to achieve its potential destiny, the school life must be not only more suited to the world of to-day and to-morrow—but longer. Yet honesty compels one last word: all our plans and hopes depend on the avoidance of war.

F. A. CAVENAGH.

[1] See V A Bell. *Junior Instruction Centres and their Future*, 1934.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

(a) General Histories:

J W Adamson, *English Education*, 1789–1902 (1930), R L Archer, *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (1921), F Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education* (1931), C Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education* (2nd ed 1925), Sir M Sadler, "The Philosophy underlying the System of Education in England" (*Teachers' College Education Year Book*, 1929)

(Education is, of course, treated incidentally by many writers, e g G M Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (1922), and in the works of J L and B Hammond, of which *The Age of the Chartists* (1930) appeared since the war)

(b) Biographies:

Mr Lytton Strachey's stimulating and somewhat malicious essay in *Eminent Victorians* (1918) has led to renewed interest in Dr Arnold and an examination of the "Arnold myth", see in particular A Whitridge, *Arnold of Rugby* (1928)

F Smith, *The Life of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth* (1923), B M Allen, *Memoir of William Garnett* (1933), *Sir Robert Morant* (1934), G D H Cole, *Robert Owen* (1925), J L and B Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury* (1923), A Mansbridge, *Margaret McMillan* (1932)

(c) Special Topics:

H H Bellot, *University College, London*, 1826–1926 (1929), F J C Hearnshaw, *The Centenary History of King's College, London* (1929), C D Burns, *Birkbeck College*, 1823–1923, W H Draper, *University Extension*, 1873–1923, J A R Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 1884–1934, W M Childs, *Making a University* (1933), A Morgan, *Scottish University Studies* (1933), R W Rich, *The Training of Teachers* (1933)

(*d*) The series "Landmarks in the History of Education" (1931) contains so far extracts from the writings of James and John Stuart Mill, Bell and Lancaster, Newman, Matthew Arnold and Herbert Spencer It is designed to provide easy access to influential writers.

(e) The Present System.

J. Dover Wilson (ed), *The Schools of England* (1928), *Annual Report of Board of Education*, 1924–5 (includes a history of secondary education after 1902), Sir A L Selby-Bigge, *The Board of Education* (2nd ed 1934), Board of Education, *An Outline of the Educational System in England and Wales* (1933), H Ward, *The Educational System of England and Wales and its Recent History* (1935)

(f) Comparative Education:

In the field of Comparative Education less work has been done in England The successive volumes of the YEAR BOOK have, however, put a mass of material at the disposal of English readers, and certain chapters (e g by Prof F. Clarke) are definitely "comparative" Other important books published in England, though not written by Englishmen, are N Hans, *The Principles of Educational Policy* (2nd ed 1933), A Flexner, *Universities, American, English, German* (1930), Kotschnig and Prys, *The University in a Changing World* (1932) See also the fifty Bulletins of the World Association for Adult Education (1919–1931), for which there has been substituted since 1932 *The International Quarterly of Adult Education. The New Era* and the Conference Reports of the New Education Fellowship contain information about progressive tendencies in many countries.

CHAPTER THREE[1]

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

I. Introduction

THE development of educational psychology since the war may be regarded from two different aspects First we may consider the spread of a knowledge of psychology among teachers and others concerned with education This is an important aspect of our subject It is of little use from a practical point of view for great advances to be made in educational psychology by the researches of experts if the results of these do not reach the teachers and the organisers of education There is always a considerable lag behind in the general diffusion of knowledge, but as regards two or three important subjects, the spread of knowledge and the general acceptance of well-established psychological doctrine have been remarkable in this country since the war

The second aspect of our subject covers the actual development of educational psychology, though it is impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line between the treatment of these two aspects Even the new developments of our knowledge which have taken place since the war have in some cases been widely spread abroad, and practical applications made, some wisely—as for example in the use of the newer forms of intelligence tests—some at times less wisely

In the treatment of our subject here an attempt has been made, not only to indicate the most important new developments, but also to give them sufficient background so that they shall be intelligible even for the reader with little or no knowledge of psychology At the same time the treatment is critical, so far as limitations of space allow, frequent references to original articles as well as to books are given, so that the more serious student may follow up topics of special interest

In such a brief exposition it is impossible not to express at times one's own views, but where these appear, they are, I think, such as would be broadly acceptable to the majority of educational psychologists in this country

[1] The following abbreviations are used for the names of the journals most frequently referred to

B J P —*British Journal af Psychology* (Cambridge University Press)
B J P Mon Sup —*British Journal of Psychology* Monograph Supplements (Cambridge University Press)
B J E P —*British Journal of Educational Psychology* (The Birmingham Printers)
F of E —*Forum of Education* (Longmans & Co, 1923–1930, afterwards incorporated in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology.*)
J of Ex Ped —*Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* (Longmans & Co, 1911–1922, afterwards incorporated in the Forum of Education.)

As to the relative amount of space given to various topics, I have given more to those which have been more applied in education or discussed as applicable, even though it has left little or no space for topics on which considerable work is being done, but which so far have not been brought into touch with education, thus there is considerable attention to "play," but none to "perseveration."

Fortunately, among the psychologists in this country, we do not find the marked differences of opinion or the exaggerated stress on certain aspects of mental life that one finds with certain psychologists abroad; and the limitation of our treatment to psychology in this country rules out a discussion of the work of continental or American writers, though we shall have to touch briefly upon one or two of them in that they have influenced slightly recent British psychological thought. The most marked differences in this country appear in connection with the Freudian psychology. It must not, however, be assumed that everyone who has studied and practised psycho-analysis can lay claim to be a psychologist, though there is nothing to prevent anyone adopting that name. Some of the medical psycho-analysts have had little or no training in general psychology, and in emphasising differences among psychologists it is hardly legitimate to include them.

II. The Psychology of Instincts

This most important subject had been well developed before the war, but has only widely penetrated educational literature since. In this country, the spread of the view that innate tendencies are supremely important in determining the activity of man is due chiefly to the work of William McDougall, and particularly to his notable book, *Social Psychology*, though some of the fundamental ideas in McDougall's treatment were involved in the work of William James and other writers. McDougall, however, worked out in much greater detail the influence of what he then called "instincts" and showed how far-reaching their influences are as human motives. McDougall was peculiar in associating emotion intimately with all instinctive action. This was a weakness of his earlier view which was criticised from the first and which he has since considerably modified [1].

Apart from this, McDougall's general point of view was widely accepted by educational writers, and much of the post-war literature on education reveals an emphasis upon the importance of innate tendencies and of enlisting these spontaneous tendencies of the child in the work of education. McDougall, in his later books,

[1] An exposition and criticism of McDougall's view was given by J. Drever in his book, *Instinct in Man* (Cambridge University Press), an important contribution to educational psychology, which ought to be mentioned, though it was published just before the end of the war, 1917. See also the fourth edition of G. F. Stout's *Manual of Psychology*, revised by C. A. Mace in collaboration with the author (Clive, 1929), Book III, Part II, Chapter II. A remarkably clear account of McDougall's "Hormic" psychology is given in J. C. Flugel's *A Hundred Years of Psychology* (Duckworth, 1933).

particularly in his *Energies of Men* (1932), has modified both his views and his terminology, abandoning the use of the word "instinct" because of the diverse interpretations of that term by biologists and psychologists He now uses the term "innate propensities," a better term, because there are undoubtedly many impulses which are innate in man, and yet which do not involve those highly specialised mechanisms which are found in conjunction with instincts proper in the lower animals

As a result of these and other modifications McDougall's views on innate impulses are broadly acceptable, with certain interpretations and provisos to be mentioned shortly

In *The Energies of Men* (page 97) McDougall gives the following list of these *innate propensities* found in man, strong tendencies which do not depend for their existence on experience, and most of which are also found in all higher mammals

(1) To seek (and perhaps to store) food
(2) To reject and avoid certain noxious substances (disgust propensity)
(3) To court and mate (sex propensity)
(4) To flee to cover in response to violent impressions that inflict or threaten pain or injury (fear propensity)
(5) To explore strange places and things (curiosity)
(6) To feed, protect and shelter the young (protective or parental propensity)
(7) To remain in company with fellows and, if isolated, to seek that company (gregarious propensity)
(8) To domineer, to lead, to assert oneself over, or display oneself before one's fellows (self-assertive propensity)
(9) To defer, to obey, to follow, to submit in the presence of others who display superior powers (submissive propensity)
(10) To resent and forcibly break down any thwarting or resistance offered to the free exercise of any other tendency (anger propensity)
(11) To cry aloud for assistance when our efforts are utterly baffled (appeal propensity)
(12) To construct shelters and implements (constructive propensity)
(13) To acquire, possess and defend whatever is found useful or otherwise attractive (acquisitive propensity)
(14) To laugh at the defects and failures of our fellow-creatures (laughter propensity)
(15) To remove, or to remove oneself from, whatever produces discomfort, as by scratching or by changing of position and location (comfort propensity)
(16) To lie down, rest and sleep when tired (rest or sleep propensity)
(17) A group of very simple propensities subserving bodily needs, such as coughing, sneezing, breathing, evacuation

On the whole, the influence of this psychology of instinct on education has been good In the past the appeals to innate tendencies, apart from fear and ambition, have been too slight.

Unfortunately, however, the use in educational writings of McDougall's psychology of instinct often involves fallacies of the type which we shall discuss more fully under the heading of Formal Training and the Faculty of Psychology. They must, however, be referred to briefly here Sometimes in books on education and method we read of the "development of curiosity" as though

curiosity were one general function and the exercise of it in *any* direction added to its development in *all* directions. Curiosity, however, is a term which covers many specific impulses, some of which may be present in a given individual, while others are absent. Thus a child may be very curious about animals and about the behaviour of people, and the way they live, but have little or no curiosity as to words and their origin, or as to numbers In another person the situation may be reversed

An even more serious error is made when it is assumed that the cultivation of curiosity in one particular direction—curiosity, say, in reference to words—will result in a greater *general* intellectual curiosity in the child So far is it from this being the case, that there is probably even a tendency in the other direction , so that curiosity propensities, as perhaps we should call them, tend to become so specialised that they are apt to crowd out interests in other departments of knowledge Even McDougall himself speaks of curiosity growing stronger through exercise It often does, of course, in the particular direction in which it reveals itself—that is, so far as the mental activity promoted by such curiosity leads to further satisfaction and yet not to such complete satisfaction as to rule out the fascination of the still unknown

A further fallacy often found in educational writings in connection with the psychology of instinct is that which is due to a loose general use of various terms For example, an instinct of acquisition is assumed to be at work wherever we use the word " acquisition," as in " the acquisition of knowledge " No doubt there are innate acquisitive tendencies , probably they were originally directed to the storing of food and any objects useful for self-preservation But this does not mean that there is an innate tendency in all persons to acquire anything and everything In other words, acquisitive tendencies also are usually specific , and ideas and facts may be too remote from the original objectives of these innate impulses to stimulate any such impulse at all McDougall's most recent description of the " acquisitive tendency," it will be seen, refers only to " what is found useful " Unfortunately not all knowledge appears either useful or attractive to most of our pupils [1]

III. The New Psychology of the Unconscious

We now come to a part of our subject in which the recent developments since the war are relatively more important than they are in the psychology of instinct It is true that the startling doctrines of Sigmund Freud had already been promulgated before the war.

[1] Further discussion of instinctive tendencies will be found in McDougall's *Outline of Psychology* (Methuen, 1923), Godfrey Thomson's *Instinct, Intelligence and Character* (Allen & Unwin, 1924) and J Drever's *The Psychology of Education* (Arnold, 1922) The view I have suggested above is somewhere between that of McDougall and that of E L Thorndike, who gives a long list of highly specific innate tendencies,

Some of his main work was published in English before then But the extensive practice that was unhappily available for our specialists in nervous diseases during and just after the war, led to a more intimate connection of some of the ideas of Freud with the study and treatment of various kinds of mental troubles and nervous diseases in this country It also led to the development of somewhat independent lines of thought, as, for example, those expounded in an early book entitled *Functional Nerve Disease an Epitome of War Experience from a Practitioner's Point of View*,[1] which included among its contributors such eminent psychologists as W H R Rivers and W McDougall About the same time there also appeared the English translation of Freud's important *Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (1922) and the *Collected Papers on Psycho-Analysis* (1918) by Dr Ernest Jones With great rapidity some of the fundamental ideas of Freud became familiar to most students of psychology and of education, and indeed to many readers of the daily press Unfortunately, as often happens with new movements of thought, many misconceptions and exaggerations spread abroad Some enthusiasts, with little caution or criticism, accepted the most extreme statements based upon Freud's work, and attempted to apply them unwisely as a basis of an exaggerated doctrine of freedom in education

On the other hand, some of the ideas embodied in the psycho-analytic doctrines, and in particular, the prominent place given to the sex impulse and its many supposed ramifications, have led to a violent antagonism in the minds of others—even to the extent of a refusal to study at all the work of Freud and his disciples.

This is surely a wrong attitude, so far as teachers and other educationists are concerned If there are extreme and unjustifiable educational views, based upon the doctrine that all repression is harmful, it is surely at least desirable to study this new psychology of the unconscious, if only to be able to criticise revolutionary views based upon it

This is not the place for a discussion of the actual development of extreme doctrines of freedom in the schools, based partly at least upon Freud's psychology[2] But by some prominent persons all punishment, or even restriction of the freedom of children, is said to be really harmful, and this does make it important for us to consider the psychological basis of such a view Here, however, we can only deal with it very briefly and refer the reader to other books which discuss this important topic more fully.

One cannot avoid the appearance of dogmatism in attempting to

[1] Edited by Dr Crichton Miller (Henry Froude, 1920)

[2] The problem of freedom in education is very sanely discussed by Prof Cavanagh elsewhere in this YEAR BOOK It is a main theme of Sir Percy Nunn's comprehensive work *Education its Data and First Principles* (Arnold, 2nd Edition, 1930) A full and scholarly exposition of the subject will be found in Prof MacCallister's *The Growth of Freedom in Education* (Constable, 1930), which includes a chapter on " Freedom and the Unconscious "

give brief observations on the Freudian psychology and its influence on educational thought My only excuse is lack of space and the fact that I have elsewhere attempted to judge the evidence for some of Freud's views more fully

Almost all contemporary psychologists would, I think, agree that certain facts are well established of which the importance had not been realised until Freud began to write about them One of such facts, for example, is that intense emotional experience may be repressed to the extent of complete forgetting, or of almost entire dissociation from our ordinary mental life, and yet may continue to influence our conscious processes A second fact is that recovery from various kinds of mental disorders does sometimes follow the recall of such repressed experiences and the readjustment of the mental attitude towards them The continued repression of some emotional experience may reveal itself as a " complex " which may result in irrational actions or exaggerated emotional experience In applying the Freudian psychology to educational matters, and to questions of child development, we have, however, to remember several important things First, in so far as Freud's position is based upon the importance of sex development, we have to remember that ordinary school and home discipline is concerned with repression not of sex, but of impulses less fundamental and powerful if we except the impulse of self-assertion, to the repression of which Adler attributes so much that goes wrong in mental development

As regards the great significance of sex development in early childhood, it does not seem that the evidence for it is at all convincing except in a relatively small number of abnormal cases. One has to guard against the danger of assuming that what is found in connection with persons who were studied primarily because they needed to be treated by a doctor, is true of all individuals Apart from such evidence the idea of the sexuality of the young child seems to be chiefly a hypothesis to explain " the trivial mistakes—and the dreams of healthy persons " [1]

Then again, there is a popular confusion as to what actually is meant by " repression " and what harm attaches to it It is doubtful whether we have sufficient proof that the wasting of energy supposed to be due to repression is not due as much to the conflict immediately preceding it. W. H R Rivers has emphasised the fact that unconscious or non-deliberate repression may be useful in the development of the child as it is with some animals Again, even Freud himself holds that the harmfulness of repression is a question of *proportion*—the proportion of the amount of conflict or repression to the strength of the nervous system of the individual concerned. Yet again, Freud himself points out that mere licence is not a solution ; for that means the repression of higher impulses. The harmfulness of repression so far as it does exist seems to be rather due to a kind of shirking of the problem of conflict, a healthy solution being the

[1] See the statement from which these words are quoted, in *Psychoanalysis for Teachers*, by Anna Freud (Allen & Unwin, 1931)

frank recognition of the alternatives, and the deliberate choice of one where the two are absolutely incompatible

A further possible solution, however, is by "*sublimation*," which means the deflection of an impulse from its original outlet on to a higher level, or at least a not less desirable level, as when the childless woman finds satisfaction for the maternal instinct in caring for the little children of others Such sublimation does seem possible, but we must not assume that it is always present when one activity is substituted for another There is a good deal of rather loose discussion in recent educational writing which tends to identify true sublimation and what may better be called "*substitution*"; we may substitute one kind of activity for another, though the substitute does not really supply scope for the same innate propensity involved in the former activity

So far as there is a *general* fund of energy, a boy might be led, by being made to dig in a garden, to expend some of this energy that might otherwise be used in punching another boy's head But so far as this aggressive desire is due to a strong innate pugnacious instinct, that particular instinct is not satisfied, and it may reveal itself on some subsequent occasion. On the other hand, I think that those who insist upon the specific satisfaction of innate impulses do not allow sufficiently for the extent to which the mere happy occupation of the time of children does itself act as an effective substitute for undesirable tendencies For we do not yet know the extent to which many of the innate tendencies of the mind must *insist* upon expression Nevertheless, we have to recognise that in most children a strong impulse of self-assertion exists—an impulse closely associated with what is ordinarily called pride, or a desire for success This is not necessarily a bad thing in itself; and it is to be carefully distinguished from pugnacity, with which, in some educational writings, it is unfortunately confused

The supreme importance of the self-assertive impulse has been stressed, indeed over-stressed, by Alfred Adler [1] In his view the problem of self-assertion is the central problem of discipline in the home and in the school Failure to satisfy to some extent this strong self-assertive impulse is thought to lead to an *inferiority complex*. This again is a term which is often misinterpreted in everyday discussions. One sees the word used sometimes in the daily press as indicating a subservient and modest behaviour; whereas an inferiority complex in the true sense is more likely to reveal itself in an assertive and boasting manner For the term implies the following process. There is first of all some failure to achieve success, some realisation of lack of capacity. This when too painful to be borne is thrust out of mind, "repressed," and as a counterbalance to it, and possibly as a means of keeping it out of consciousness, there is an exaggeration of the appearance of self-confidence, a boasting attitude and an emphasis upon all points in which the individual does seem to get the better of his fellows. In connection

For references see end of this section.

with this problem of self-assertion it is, however, possible to go to extremes just as it is in connection with Freud's views upon sex In the first place, we have to recognise the co-existence of an impulse of self-abasement, the actual desire for discipline, for control, for guidance This seems, indeed, to be stronger in some children than is the impulse of self-assertion Again it is a mistake to assume that boisterous or excessively assertive conduct is necessarily due to some inferiority complex which can be got rid of by finding its cause and by giving the child more opportunities of self-display and of success The assertiveness may rather be due to an excessively strong *innate* assertive impulse , and it is by no means an easy thing to decide whether the giving of scope for this will not lead to an even more pronounced habit of assertion and perhaps bullying, rather than relieve a repression and so lead to more satisfactory conduct It would seem that every individual case must be considered in itself and an attempt at a balance made What the new psychology of the unconscious has made clearer is that unnecessary restriction and discipline—discipline for its own sake—should be avoided , and that every child at home and at school should have certain times and places where he can " let off steam " Also work should be so graded that there can be continuous and perceptible progress, so that the child does not become hopeless about his studies Children who indulge in misdemeanours of an extreme and peculiar form, as, for example, stealing particular kinds of things, though not stealing in general, being resistant to discipline in certain particular ways or to certain individuals though generally amenable, and so forth, such children are best dealt with in the new Child Guidance Clinics by one who has had wide experience with children combined with a thorough training both in general psychology and in the newer psychology of the unconscious, in conjunction with the co-operation of a medical man unless all these qualifications can be found in the same individual Such peculiar and highly specific misdemeanours may very well be due to maladjustment or to wrong influences, unwise discipline in the home and so forth, rather than to special innate peculiarities It is dangerous, however, to assume that most misdemeanours can be attributed to such early errors in education or to unfortunate environment, as some advocates of the Child Guidance Clinics are apt to suggest

In school, when the deficiency is intellectual, there is a danger of constant discouragement and of the establishing of a genuine inferiority complex through repeated failure to grapple with the work The situation may be saved partly, if not entirely, by the introduction of some subjects (perhaps practical ones) well within the reach of the pupils concerned, which may help the child to retain some self-respect.

Certainly the newer psychology would be emphatic on the foolishness of openly labelling a child as stupid or charging him with any of his defects which are not curable by his own effort. Adler is no doubt right when he says that a child is depressed more by being

called stupid than by being called lazy, and possibly laziness may be sometimes a pose to prevent lack of capacity being revealed. It is surely absurd, however, to say, as some writers do, that *all* laziness is a mere cloak for stupidity

It is difficult to know which side to stress when estimating the psychological backgrounds of the idea of discipline, as it exists in the minds of different types of teachers It is probably safe to say that still, in the minds of many older teachers, the ideas of the value of " grind," of difficulty and of discipline for its own sake, and also the indifference to discouragement, are still too predominant On the other hand, among others, the idea has got abroad that everything in the way of discipline is objectionable, and that the child should not learn or study anything of which the immediate appeal is not sufficient as a motive for study Both these extremes, I think, are psychologically unjustifiable

Further References on the Psychology of the Unconscious

Freud's own exposition is perhaps still best represented by his *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (Allen & Unwin, 1922) translated by Joan Rivière) See also J C Flugel's *A Hundred Years of Psychology*, Chapter VIII An excellent introduction to the psychology of the unconscious, stressing the medical side, is Bernard Hart's *The Psychology of Insanity* (Cambridge University Press) A critical exposition of the psychology of the unconscious will be found in W McDougall's *Outline of Abnormal Psychology* (Methuen) An important but somewhat difficult book, approaching the subject from a biological point of view, is *Instinct and the Unconscious*, by W H R Rivers (Cambridge University Press) The influence of conflict and of unconscious factors is dealt with in various parts of a recent book by C Burt, *The Subnormal Mind* (Oxford University Press, 1935) I have attempted to give a brief critical introduction especially for the teacher and general reader in my *New Psychology of the Unconscious* (Christophers' Revised Edition, 1928) Adler's doctrine may be studied in his books *Understanding Human Nature* (Allen & Unwin) or *The Science of Living* (Allen & Unwin), and especially *The Education of Children* (Allen & Unwin) A recent book by Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (Kegan Paul, 1928), contains a large section dealing with the bearing of his views on education Jung's early work, *Analytical Psychology* (Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1916), is a collection of essays, some of which are of little relevance to our subject, but some deal with the fundamental ideas of his psychology

IV. Suggestion and Imitation

Psychology has long been familiar with the phenomena of hypnotism which showed that persons when hypnotised were susceptible to suggestions to a remarkable degree If during hypnosis an idea were suggested to them that they should carry out a certain action some time after waking from the hypnotic sleep, that action would usually be performed, however absurd and meaningless it might be. For this condition of hypnotism to be reached it is necessary for the patient to submit himself willingly to the influence of the hypnotiser and to inhibit contrary and critical ideas [1] The whole process gives

[1] On hypnosis and suggestion, see W McDougall's *Outline of Abnormal Psychology*, Chapters 4 and 5.

us some idea of what may take place in a somewhat lesser degree in the process of normal suggestion. Suppose, for example, a crowd is listening to a political speaker who is greatly admired The listeners know that as the speaker belongs to their own party, he is likely to put forward their own beliefs They have not time to think out his arguments or to see their weakness They are perhaps captivated by his charm and eloquence, yield themselves willingly to them; and tend to accept his conclusions without adequate logical reasons That is, they are in a suggestible mood.

The child appears to be even more suggestible than the adult. Here, of course, there are rational grounds for the adoption of the ideas and opinions of adults The children have little experience on which to base criticism of the ideas of adults, and they so often have to accept things on authority which later they have found to be true, that they not unreasonably come to the conclusion that everything told them by grown-ups is true, and indeed that grown-ups know everything Apart, however, from this rational ground for the acceptance of ideas presented, the child is more suggestible in the true sense of the term This may be partly because of his impulsiveness, his tendency to act on the spur of the moment, and partly because as a little child he feels so inferior to these adults he admires and loves or fears A mere desire to please and be in accord with those we love, or even those we fear, also brings in the influence of desire upon belief, a general tendency no doubt to mould our belief to the heart's desire Experiments, however, suggest that there are further causes underlying the phenomena of suggestibility Sometimes concentration upon an idea of movement tends to its issuing in action Another type of suggestibility was shown in Binet's famous experiment with schoolboys who were shown a series of lines and made to draw them The results showed that the idea of increasing lines could be so " fixated " that some boys went on increasing their lines long after the model lines had ceased to increase

Other experiments have been done on suggestion by means especially of pictures Children and adults have been shown a picture for a few minutes and then have been asked questions about it. Some of these questions have related to actual parts of the picture, others have referred to objects that were not in the picture at all, for example: " What was the colour of the little child's dress ? " when there was no child in the picture " How many cows were there in the field ? " when there were no cows there. It is found that a very large number of children respond to these suggestions [1] Even in an experimental class of students who knew that an experiment of this kind on suggestion was being done, I have known some who have been unable to resist the suggestive effect of questions.

Some interesting experiments made by F. Aveling and H. L.

[1] A graded list of such " suggestive " questions is given in *Experimental Psychology*, by Mary Collins and J Drever, page 184. (London, 1926.)

Hargreaves [1] on children between 12 and 13 years of age revealed that about 30 per cent of the children were suggestible to such an extent that when told that they could not close their hands they could not do so, or in some cases could only do so with considerable effort Similar results were found with the raising of the hand Where influence of personal prestige was an important factor, a negative response developed sometimes owing to " contrary suggestion ", so that subjects could be classified into two groups—the suggestible and the contra-suggestible

The evidence of this enquiry was in favour of a " general factor " of suggestibility, complicated by " group factors ", that is, the child who is suggestible in one particular way would tend to be more suggestible also in other ways, but not to the same degree

McDougall describes similar successful experiments with adults who were told by a medical man of repute that they could not move [2]

The great enemy of suggestibility seems to be the self-assertive impulse, which sets us against the surrender of our own ideas or our own will The teacher therefore must try to avoid arousing antipathy to his personality Suggestion is apt to fail, too, if it is repeated to the extent of boredom With regard to the stimulation of intellectual interest by suggestion, that boredom may sometimes be avoided by bringing forward the idea very gradually " If possible it should be introduced so that its very insufficiency makes the mind ask for more The most suggestive teacher is he who makes his pupils feel that he is keeping back from them something of value that they can have if they ask for it and are worthy of it The suggestive book is often one that just glances at a certain topic, then deals with other matters and then skilfully returns to it again " [3]

The tendency to yield to suggestion is probably associated with the gregarious instinct there is a strong tendency to imitate the group and particularly the leader of the group One can see how such a tendency could be of biological value to animals of the pack and men under primitive conditions and in time of war Dominance of leaders tends to bring about a unity through this imitative and suggestible tendency

In a wide sense suggestibility may be regarded as partly dependent on the mood in which the individual is at the moment. Accordingly the effect of beautiful surroundings or of the beautiful expression of ideas is worth mentioning If these are themselves appreciated and find response, they are a means of appeal, and anything introduced through them is more likely to be accepted. Modern advertisers who have studied the psychology of advertising know how to make use of this fact [4] I think it was J S. Mill who said

[1] See their article on " Suggestibility with and without Prestige in Children," *B J P*, vol XII

[2] See *The Energies of Men*, page 254

[3] Quoted from M W Keatinge's *Suggestion in Education* (2nd Edition, London, 1911), still the most valuable book on the subject

[4] See *Psychology applied to Advertising*, by A P Braddock. (Butterworth, 1933)

that if an idea is expressed clearly, many people will believe it simply for that reason. Whether this be true or not, I think it is certainly true that if an idea is expressed clearly *and* beautifully, there is much more likelihood of its being accepted.

Much of what has been said in connection with suggestion is true also of the *imitation* of action, and for that reason I have not treated imitation separately or in the section on instinctive tendencies

There seems to be, especially in early infancy, an innate tendency to imitate actions for which there is a latent predisposition, a tendency waiting to be roused by the sight of a similar action, as, for example, when a duck takes its first dive into the water at the sight of its mother doing so ; or when a baby imitates, without understanding, the words repeatedly spoken by its mother To appeal to this primary impulse, however, the stimulus must absorb the interest and attention of the child at the moment [1]

Conscious or deliberate imitation is more predominant after the early stages of childhood, though the former type remains But what we have said about the influence of prestige on suggestibility to ideas also applies to the imitation of actions Both of these types of imitation—the imitation of thought and of action—are again intermingled with a very important psychological tendency that McDougall has called the " sympathetic induction of emotions," a frequent (though not invariable) tendency for one person to feel an emotion which is being experienced by others around him In view of the influence of feeling on thought and action, this will encourage the adoption of similar ideas and the imitation of actions [2]

V. The Faculty Psychology and the Doctrine of Formal Training

Most people to-day regard the mind as consisting of a collection of " faculties," such as memory, will, language, etc These are thought of as units in themselves units of such a nature, that if, for example, you " train the memory " upon any particular kind of work, say Latin verbs, you improve it for all kinds of memory work Until recently most teachers and even philosophers believed in this faculty psychology Already, before the war, this view had been largely undermined by the work of psychologists , and in the educational field particularly, the late Prof Sir John Adams had shown that observation, for example, was not a general faculty, but rather involved many specific elements, dependent upon special interests and knowledge [3]

[1] Evidence as to early imitation, and its bearing on the theories of imitation held by Thorndike and some of the Gestalt psychologists, is given in my paper " The Psychology of Imitation with Special Reference to Early Childhood," *B J P*, vol xxi, 1930

[2] Under the general term *mimesis* Sir Percy Nunn discusses both the non-deliberate type of imitation and also the more conscious type in reference to action, feeling and thought (See *Education, its Data and First Principles*, Chapter X)

[3] See his book *Herbartian Psychology applied to Education* (Heath)

The first fallacy of this old popular psychology was that it did not sufficiently analyse the various supposed faculties. Memory, for example, can be first analysed into (*a*) substance or logical and (*b*) rote memory Rote memory can be further analysed into visual, auditory, motor and other types of memory, and even the term " visual " memory covers two relatively independent memory functions—memory of colour and memory of form These various aspects of memory are to a very considerable degree independent in this sense, that if one tests a large group of people, one may find that certain persons are very good compared with others in visual memory, but very poor in auditory memory and vice versa

In other words, the supposed faculty of memory includes really a group of independent functions, though there is apparently some common element also entering in a slight degree into all kinds of memory work

There is also evidence that one particular kind of memory exercise does not provide a general training of all these various memory functions This was especially demonstrated by the important work of Dr W G Sleight [1] Though Sleight tended to generalise rather too freely from what he had found in connection with memory to other supposed faculties, his work upon memory-training was the most substantial and reliable of its kind Since then investigations as to the specific or general training of supposed mental faculties have been developed chiefly in America (Thorndike's work being especially important), and it is not our province to describe that Discussion of the whole subject, however, has continued in this country Indeed, the subject was felt to be so important that the Education Section of the British Association appointed a special committee to draw up a report upon the question of " Formal Training," that being the term commonly used to express the doctrine that by one particular kind of training of a supposed " faculty " (as, for example, through a particular school subject) one could give a *general* training of that faculty so that the result of the training appeared in any kind of work which that faculty performed The committee published in 1929 a report entitled " Formal Training," from which we may quote some sections [2]

> " The traditional view, known as the doctrine of ' mental discipline ' or ' formal training,' assumes that the effects of mental exercise are general It maintains that, by practising a mental capacity on some particular subject, we strengthen that capacity as a whole, and so improve its efficacy for any subject on which it may be employed in future Thus it has been claimed that the teaching of mathematics trains the ' powers of reasoning,' so that the child becomes more logical, not only in dealing with other branches of the curriculum, but also in dealing with the problems of everyday life

[1] See his *Educational Values and Methods* (Clarendon Press, 1915)

[2] The Committee consisted of Dr C W Kimmins, Chairman , Mr H E M Icely, Secretary , Prof R L Archer , Prof Cyril Burt , Prof F A Cavenagh , Miss E R Conway , Sir Richard Gregory , Prof T P Nunn , Prof T H. Pear , Prof Godfrey Thomson and Prof. C W. Valentine.

" In the past this doctrine has been widely held among teachers and educationists; but during the past twenty years it has been severely criticised on the basis both of general theoretical principles and of experimental results

" The current view can be summed up as follows Transfer of improvement occurs only when there are *common usable elements*, shared both by the activity used for the training and also by the activity in which the results of that training reappear The more the influenced and the influencing activities resemble one another, the greater the influence is likely to be Practice in subtraction will improve accuracy in division, because the latter involves the former, but it may have little or no effect on accuracy in multiplication The study of Latin will aid the study of French, because many French words are derived from Latin roots, and because many of the methods of work used in learning Latin—e g the use of a dictionary—will also be required in learning French

" On the other hand, the fact that the functions employed in both training and test are popularly called by the same name—' imagination,' ' observation,' ' memory,' or the like—is no guarantee that general improvement will be secured Transfer of training appears, to put it cautiously, to be much less certain and of much narrower spread than once was believed " [1]

It is sometimes stated by psychologists that it is now unnecessary to criticise these ideas of formal training and the Faculty Psychology, but those who come into close contact with teachers in schools or universities know that this is by no means the case These old ideas are still maintained firmly by many such teachers They justify the teaching of mathematics on the ground that it " trains the reasoning ", of Latin because it " trains observation " and is a unique " mental gymnastic " and so forth [2] An insidious fallacy is apt to creep into these discussions, the fallacy of assuming that, because in ordinary language the same term can be applied to various mental processes, therefore the processes are identical Some distinguished thinkers who have recently been conducting a valuable campaign in favour of better and more universal physical training have fallen into the fallacy of assuming that increase of " control " of the body increases the power of " control " of the mind (apart from the effect of the general improvement in health). Indeed, if one may judge from press reports, even a President of the Board of Education has spoken as follows.

" It was not only in its effect on the body, mind and spirit of the individual that physical education was of value, by requiring the *harmonious working of individuals in concert* with the rest of their class or team, it aided the *harmonious co-operation* of man in society and so played a great part in fostering a healthy public spirit " (Taken from a report in *The Birmingham Post* for October 14th, 1933, of Lord Irwin's address in opening the Carnegie Physical Training College at Leeds)

[1] These quotations are given from the section of the Report dealing with the psychological aspect, written by Prof Burt, and generally approved by the Committee.

[2] As regards the latter, I may refer the reader to a discussion of mental training in connection especially with the study of Latin, which I have given in a recent book, *Latin, its Place and Value in Education*, Chapters IV, V and VI. (London University Press, 1935.)

There would seem to be no psychological justification for the idea that because boys and girls have learnt to do physical movements together in their gymnasium such exercises will train them to co-operate in general social or political affairs.

Similar fallacies occur where such terms as "imagination" and "judgment" are used, as though wherever applicable they covered precisely the same type of mental process, and as though anything which gave an opportunity of exercise of imaginative process of a certain particular kind develops imagination in general

If one wishes, then, that training in a particular subject should have a wider effect on various other kinds of work, it should be remembered that present-day psychology emphasises the importance of the teacher formulating, and of the pupils grasping, as clearly as possible any general ideas of method and ideals of work which can be applied in other activities of an allied though not identical type [1]

VI. The Psychology of Infancy

No aspect of psychology in close relation to education has been more actively developed in the period since the war than the study of very young children Three things have recently emphasised the importance of the study of the earliest years of life The first of these is intimately related with the psychology of the unconscious which we have just been discussing Some of the leading psycho-analysts hold that the first four or five years of life are the most important of all in the development of character Thus Freud stated that the "little human being is frequently a finished product in his fourth or fifth year" [2] Adler goes so far as to say that one can determine "how a child stands in relation to life" a few months after he is born [3]

I am far from wishing to underestimate the importance of these first few years of life—indeed, I believe it still needs emphasising. Nevertheless, as I have suggested elsewhere,[4] "it seems impossible to state, on the evidence we have before us, that the first four or five years of life are more important than, say, the years of adolescence What exactly is meant by the assertion where it is made? It is rather like saying that the safety of a house-roof depends more

[1] The problem of "formal training" is further discussed in the following. "The Training Value of Exact Studies," by Helen Wodehouse, *F of E*, vol I, 1923 "The Disciplinary Value of School Studies I by R L Archer, II by F A Cavenagh, *F of E*, vol III, 1925, III by M W. Keatinge, *F of E*, vol IV, 1926 *The Changing School*, by P. B Ballard (London, 1925), Chapter XI G P Meredith, "Consciousness of Method as a Means of Transfer of Training," *F of E*, vol V, 1927 "The Discernment of the Disciplinary Value of Studies," by Helen Wodehouse, *B J E P*, vol I, 1931

[2] *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, 1921, page 298

[3] *Understanding Human Nature*, translated by W B Woolf, page 42

[4] In "The Foundations of Child Psychology" Presidential Address to the Psychology Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1930

upon the foundations than it does on the stability of the walls of the first or second story

"The Freudians have certainly shown that in many cases the experiences of the earliest years may continue to exert a profound influence on the life and character of the child when he grows up, though he may have forgotten those experiences It may also be admitted that if bad social relationships—say with parents—are set up in the first few years, those relationships may be fixated so that the parents' efforts later to change them may be futile

"What is not proved, as it seems to me, is that if a child suffers from any injurious social environment, or erratic and foolish discipline until, say, 4 or 5, but enjoys a favourable environment thereafter, he is necessarily more handicapped than a child who has a satisfactory environment till that age, and then comes under wrong discipline or vicious influences continuing through the unstable period of adolescence"

Jung, indeed, though he also stresses the profound and permanent effects of early home conditions, gives an example of a boy whose conduct was extremely unsatisfactory in early childhood (it is reported he had attempted to violate his sister at the age of 7, and to have made a murderous attack on his father at the age of 9), who, however, was developing normally at the age of 18 [1]

Again, it seems unnecessary to make extreme statements about the fixation of character by the age of 4 or 5, it is enough for the purposes of education if the psychologists can show, as I think they have shown, that it is foolish to suppose the earlier years can be ignored provided the later educational influences are sound Undoubtedly the study of infant psychology indicates that this early period (say from 2 to 6 or 7 years) is far more important for later development than was at one time thought [2]

A second recent development which has greatly stimulated the study of infant psychology has been the appearance of the school of psychological thought known as *Behaviourism* The leading exponents of this psychological method are in America (and even there its influence seems to be declining), and so do not properly come within our scope I must, however, mention that English psychologists generally have been very critical of Behaviourism, and have insisted upon the necessity for introspection as well as for the study of external behaviour, as foundations for psychology

On the other hand, the behaviourist method has of course been widely used, as indeed it was before and must be, in the study of young children ; though English psychologists have long ago pointed out the danger of assuming that a child's actions can be interpreted in terms of the motives and ideas which might lie behind similar actions in adults

[1] *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, page 335 (Kegan Paul, 1928)

[2] An exposition of the development during the earliest years, and especially from the Freudian point of view, will be found in the chapter by Dr Susan Isaacs in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1935

A characteristic view of some Behaviourists is that there are very few innate tendencies in man The consequential inference is made that any infant, if taken in hand sufficiently early, can be trained or " conditioned " into almost any type of character Apart from such evidence as is given by McDougall and others of the existence of many innate tendencies in human beings, the careful day to day observation of infants, from the first week to the second or third year, affords, I believe, convincing evidence against this view of the Behaviourists [1]

The whole question is intimately bound up with the problem of the relative importance of heredity and environment The observation of children who have lived almost from birth in the same institution, where their environment is the same, shows that such children reveal marked individual differences as regards impulses, emotions and interests

The study of twins shows similar facts, pointing to the importance of heredity, which cannot be swamped by environmental influences Indeed, even the observation of, say, half a dozen children in one family may, I think, convince one that all individual differences as to impulses and emotions, or as to intellectual processes and interests, cannot possibly be ascribed to training, even allowing for those differences in environment due to the child's particular order in the family Also we know that at birth children vary enormously in size and weight, anatomical post-mortem examination shows them to vary in brain structure, at a month or two it is clear that some will be imbeciles while others are bright and alert It is only in accordance with the constancy of Nature that there should be similar innate individual variations in the elements that go to make temperament and character

A third important department of early child psychology which has stimulated its recent development is the devising of tests of intelligence suitable for children of 1 year, and even for 6 months of age Here Dr Arnold Gesell has done valuable pioneer work [2] In particular he and others have shown in a limited number of cases that performance at the age of, say, 6 months may be a fairly reliable indication of what will be the later intelligence quotient of the child I have myself found a close co-relation between the intelligence quotient for an infant as young as 3 months with the average intelligence quotient tested about every quarter of a year up to the age of 3, and this remained again roughly the intelligence quotient of the child up to the age of the last testing—at about 8 years The educational application of such early diagnoses has not yet been carried out except as far as it is done in a practical way in the discernment

[1] Dr J B Watson's method of testing for the existence of innate tendencies sometimes does not allow for the influence of maturation I have discussed this more fully and given evidence contrary to Watson's views in a paper on " The Innate Bases of Fear " (*Jour of Genetic Psych*, vol xxxvii, 1930)

[2] See his books *The Mental Growth of the Pre-school Child* (Macmillan, 1925) and *Infancy and Normal Growth* (Macmillan, 1928)

and separation of the more intelligent and the less intelligent infants in the nursery school Some day the educational and social application of such early diagnosis of intelligence may be far-reaching. At present it is limited by the existing lack of knowledge as to how far other characteristics of maturity appear concomitantly with the development of intelligence

Intellectual Development in Early Childhood

As regards the development of intellectual capacities and interests, work in this country in recent years, though not so great as that in America and elsewhere, has been significant in that it has brought out the very early development of mental functions which have previously been thought to appear only much later As long ago as 1919, Prof Burt, as a result of applying tests of reasoning to young children, came to the conclusion that in children of about 8 years of age all the various types of reasoning processes may be found, provided that the material is sufficiently within their comprehension and experience [1] Dr Susan Isaacs has given many examples of reasoning in children of 4 and upwards [2] In observations on my own children I have found that one may observe occasional occurrences of the apprehension of all the various relations which Spearman has catalogued (e g similarity, causality, etc) and indeed their explicit expression in speech, as early as 2 years of age for most of those relations, and a little over 3 for others, that is, in children with an intelligence quotient somewhat above the average Even the idea of relative proportion may appear in simple form as early as $2\frac{1}{2}$

Some of these processes, however (such as the grasping of the causal relation and relation of evidence), only occur occasionally, development seeming to begin in a sporadic fashion At times the child rises to a level of mental efficiency from which he seems to drop again for a time, until the particular function is thoroughly established If this principle of the sporadic early appearances of new functions applies at this early stage, there seems no reason why it should not continue to apply at a later stage In that case it is very suggestive for all educational work possibly up to the end of the period of adolescence. The study of children in the home seems to produce examples of a mental performance at times of a definitely higher level than can be sustained in formal tests in school. Thus the assertion by Piaget that a hypothetical supposition cannot be made by the child of 7 or 8 is shown to be incorrect by the observation of children of 3 and 4. But these revelations are made under conditions of keen interest, and in particularly comfortable circumstances. Probably it is the extreme poverty of the child's experience and knowledge, and the simplicity of his ideas, and the fact that he has not yet built up complex concepts, that frequently give rise to

[1] See his article on " The Development of Reasoning in School Children," in the *J of Exp. Ped.*, vol v.

[2] In her book *Intellectual Growth in Young Children.* (Routledge, 1935.)

his naiveté, and to his apparent incapacity to think intelligently.[1] At later ages than the ones we are considering, say between 6 and 7 to 14 or over, children often fail in their reasoning, for several reasons First because they are often set to deal with abstract and complex topics beyond their own experiences, or where the essential *facts* are not known. Second : in speaking to children we often use words for which they have no corresponding concepts which are adequately clear and definite Third : we set them problems which do not interest them, so that the necessary mental energy is not roused Fourth the irrationality of some early school work (e g of our English spelling) and the fact that the children are sometimes told to accept, on the basis of authority, things which are incomprehensible to them, may discourage their attempts to try to understand the true inter-connection of things and may encourage haphazard guessing Fifth we may rush our pupils through difficult reasoned material so quickly, that they try to memorise without understanding, and so give an impression of stupidity

It must not be supposed, however, from what we have said, that modern educational psychology suggests that early education should be more intellectual On the contrary, we have to bear in mind, not only what particular functions are developed by a given period, but what are the most efficient *relatively to other functions* at that same period as compared with such relative efficiency at other periods. The child may, for example—let us say at the age of 6—be capable of beginning to reason about numbers, as well as able to observe the characteristics of animals and plants and the processes of everyday life around him, but the capacity for dealing with figures may be much greater, relatively to the other mentioned, at the age of 12 ; so much so that it might pay in the long run entirely to neglect arithmetical work at 6 or 8, and to substitute for it more nature study. This is not a pronouncement of opinion, but merely an illustration of this important principle

Experimental enquiries have shown that young children, on entering the infant school at the age of about 6, may be astonishingly ignorant concerning objects and simple ideas with which teachers are apt to assume they are thoroughly familiar

Thus Stanley Hall in his essay on " The Contents of Children's Minds on entering School "[2] gave the result of one investigation where it was found that of a group of children entering the primary school, only 54 per cent. had any real practical knowledge of what a sheep was; 35 per cent. did not know what clouds were; about 50 per cent did not know what a river was, and so forth. I felt so doubtful as to whether such ignorance could be revealed in this country by children of similar age, that I had a similar test applied with the co-operation of the headmistress of an elementary school in a large

[1] I have given examples of these early appearances of the apprehension of relations in the paper already referred to on *The Foundations of Child Psychology*.

[2] In *Aspects of Child Life and Education*

city, and the results were remarkably similar. This suggests that at this early stage (about 5 or 6), a wider acquaintance with the things of everyday life is more important than the beginning of formal studies.

Indeed, that the very early beginning of formal studies (in, for example, reading and arithmetic) may be of little or no value was indicated in a pre-war book entitled, *When should a Child begin School?*,[1] by W H Winch, who found that children who entered elementary schools in London and began formal studies about the age of 5 were by the age of 12 or so not ahead of their fellows (of the same age) who had entered school a year later He attributed this fact to several causes

(1) Possible harm to physical health by the earlier entry to school

(2) The distaste caused by starting subjects too soon and the development of confusion of ideas which may get fixed

(3) The loss of novelty at too early a stage when progress was slow, and so the loss of interest

Winch's enquiry, however, was made in elementary schools in the pre-war period It seemed to me that modern improvements might entirely change the results to-day A similar enquiry was accordingly carried out with somewhat more explicit details by E M Rhodes [2] Rhodes enquired into the progress of children who entered the elementary school at the age of 4 instead of 5 or, in a few cases, 6 He found that at about the age of 12 the earlier entrants compared with the later entrants as follows

1 There was equality as regards pure memory work, which we should expect in view of our previous doubts as to the possibility of a general memory-training

2 The early entrants were worse in arithmetic, although they had begun it earlier, which bears out the point which we have just emphasised

3 The earlier entrants were rather better at handicrafts Here they had the advantage of a longer training in work which they were capable of doing with some satisfaction, even at the earliest age of entry

4 The earlier entrants were worse as regards general knowledge

Rhodes, however, dealt with only three schools and less than 200 pupils of the age of 12 Furthermore, it does not follow that, because these early formal studies in the schools concerned were of little or no value, we cannot find work for those early years which is of permanent value Valuable experiments on this problem are already being made in nursery and infant schools, and further "follow-up" studies of these should be made At the back of many of these experiments is a conviction of the tremendous importance of spontaneity, and of the mental attitude which is displayed in play, the psychology of play, therefore, we shall now briefly discuss [3]

[1] Warwick & York, Baltimore

[2] See his article in the *F of E*, vol iv, 1926

[3] For a further general discussion of the psychology of infancy see also Victoria Hazlitt, *The Psychology of Infancy* (Methuen, 1933) and W Stern, *The Psychology of Early Childhood* (Allen & Unwin, 1924)

VII. The Psychology of Play

Three main theories have been set forth to explain the phenomena of play Herbert Spencer regarded play as a means of releasing an excess of energy This view has been criticised on the grounds that play may be carried almost to exhaustion, as, for example, when children tired with wrestling continue to wrestle Furthermore, the question remains as to why the release of the energy takes the particular forms it does.

A second well-known theory of play was that of Karl Groos His view briefly was that play is a biological device for practising the young in those activities which will be useful to them in later life The kitten, for example, in chasing a paper ball goes through the movements, e g the crouching and the spring, which later on he will use in catching his prey Most psychologists, I think, would agree that there is an element of truth in this view, but it does not seem to be a complete explanation of play The little girl's passionate devotion to her doll surely teaches her little of the actual bringing up of babies Even if she does incidentally learn a few useful facts as the result of conversation with her mother about the dolls, one can hardly suppose that such a training through play has been of so great importance in the past that these play tendencies have been biologically selected as of value for the survival of the race We shall see later, however, how the element of truth in Groos's theory does reveal itself

The third theory is that of " biological repetition " The suggestion is that the various capacities and functions develop in the child broadly as they developed in the race, and so appear in childish activities Again, there is undoubtedly an element of truth in this, though as stated it does not explain why these functions are active before they are really needed

To these theories we must add one or two other ideas, which seem to be necessary if we are to understand the problem of play

The first is the fundamental one that there is joy in mere successful activity, and this will tend to be especially strong in the exercise of some new capacity Here also there is likely to be an overpowering flow of energy, so that Spencer's theory makes a contribution here, and also there will be play with each impulse, capacity and instinct as it develops, which links us with the theory of biological repetition

If one observes the development of active young children in the first year or two, it is notable how every new function, whatever it may be, seems to be played with for a considerable time New movements, new sounds that the child can make, the use of names, the use of new complexities of language, all these are repeated over and over again with delight when the new activity is discovered Even at times there seems to be play with a new-found emotion or instinctive tendency

Here we must add a further reflection, namely, that play, when

there is an element of make-believe, is a means of more vivid realisation of things, and so in a sense of satisfying curiosity. The boy who plays at being a schoolmaster is able more vividly to realise what the position of authority involves.

The little child who likes playing at "lions," even if it leads finally to screams of fear, is in a sense enjoying an experience which is relatively novel Even if such experiences do not always give a very specific "training," in such activities (as with the little girl and the doll), it is possible that there is real developmental value in such activity, in that it gives a natural outlet for the impulse or capacity developing in the child and so assists its normal growth In this way we can link up the theory of Karl Groos, and the theory of biological repetition

We have not yet finished, however, because the play activities at a later stage lose their novelty, and play sometimes continues through adulthood with the same kind of game or sport Here we find help in the view presented by Sir Percy Nunn, when he emphasises the fact that games such as football and dancing, and sports such as hunting and fishing, give an outlet for fundamentally primitive types of activity,[1] and thus take the mind away from the more complex affairs of modern life in which the higher processes are so much more involved

It is interesting to notice, however, that even in connection with those types of sports and games which appeal to primitive impulses, the element of novelty which I have mentioned does not seem to be entirely lost As regards many games and sports, the likelihood of boredom is lessened by necessary limitation to certain seasons (as in cricket, skating, football, etc), or by conventional seasons Tops and marbles, for example, have their seasons Some games would seem to enjoy perpetual popularity, such as football in the north of England and Scotland, and such quieter games as chess and cards These involve as a rule an element of competition, and indeed self-assertion seems to be the only instinctive appeal that some of the more intellectual games have It is difficult, in fact, to bring these latter under the theory that play is essentially dependent on instinctive urge, and it would seem that here again we must fall back upon a more general tendency of the mind, namely that activities, so far as successful, are enjoyed, especially when they are sufficiently difficult to stimulate effort [2] Undoubtedly, however, such games as bridge and chess do appeal also strongly to the self-assertive impulse The attempt to explain play by any one theory is, however, probably a mistake We must again avoid assuming that a name applied by common speech to many different types of activity (in this case the term "play") necessarily covers only such activities as have one main element in common, and that element a genuine unitary psychological element If, however, we insist upon finding one

[1] See *Education, its Data and First Principles*, Chapter VII

[2] See *Manual of Psychology*, by G F Stout, 4th Edition, revised by C. A. Mace, 1929, Book I, Chapter I.

characteristic of all play, we are safe in saying that it is always an activity which is undertaken largely for its own sake It may be replied that such a definition would fail to distinguish it from much work which is enjoyed, but that may be readily admitted Indeed, when thinking of the *educational* application of play methods, I think it would be both correct and expedient to speak of " work for its own sake " rather than play. Conservative sceptics would be less affronted! Again, to those who object to the view that play is primarily activity enjoyed for its own sake, and who say that play is often activity with a very serious end in view and that the whole process is taken seriously both by children and adults, there is a further reply No doubt the child is serious in trying to build its castle and the youths are intent to win their football match , but the serious end is itself adopted without external constraint or economic necessity, and is adopted largely because it is required to stimulate those activities which are enjoyed for their own sake

So far, however, from stressing any single explanation of play, it would seem that its complexity and variety should be stressed. Any games or sports which continue to hold the interest of adults even to late in life will, I think, be found to be complex in their appeal If we take, for example, golf, there is the realisation that it is healthy exercise, there is enjoyment of at least some skill involved in the game , then there is the element of competition if not against others against " bogey," there is greater beauty of scenery on the links than is found in the town, there is the pleasure of companionship and so forth

This is all being stressed because it has important educational applications often overlooked in studying the use of the " play method " in education When we examine actual play, we find that the enjoyment of mere exercise and skill does not retain a game long in favour, unless there is added the element of novelty or the limitation by season, actual or artificial, or a strong element of competition or other supplementary motives This should lead us to suspect that the mere adoption of what would seem to the adult a " play attitude " to work does not necessarily lead to the child enjoying, over a long period, arithmetical games, or even *persistently* doing what for a time he very strongly wishes to do for its own sake

The positive side, on the other hand, of the psychology of play is this . that if the play attitude can be secured and if activities of educational value are undertaken by the child with readiness and pleasure because of their own immediate appeal—because of the enjoyment of the activity itself, we shall apparently call upon sources of energy otherwise untapped and there will be in learning and study no wastage of energy involved in constantly bringing back an unwilling attention to the work in hand [1]

[1] Useful discussions of the psychology of play will be found in the following · Sir Percy Nunn, *Education · its Data and First Principles*, Chapter VII. McDougall, *Social Psychology*, Chapter XV M J Reaney, *The Psychology of the Organised Group Game* (Cambridge University Press, 1916) (By means

[*Continued on page* 316

VIII. Middle Childhood (Ages 6 or 7 to 11 or 12)

(*a*) *Transition Period*

We discuss play at this stage because it is specially important in the development of very young children, though its treatment has taken us beyond the period of infancy

Somewhere about the age of 7 it is thought that there is a period of transition, though all these limits to periods must be regarded as very variable with different children and our knowledge of them is still somewhat hazy Such transition as there is may occur with the more precocious child one or even two years before the average , with a retarded child a year or two later than the average It has been suggested that at this period the child ceases to be satisfied with mere activity for its own sake and needs a purpose for it It is, however, surely wrong to suppose that the child's pleasure in activity for its own sake disappears, for, as we have seen, it is an essential characteristic of play which continues long after infancy Some other writers give this period as merely a passing over of interest in means to interest in an end I should prefer to say it is a period when the child is able to look farther ahead and when ends tend to become more remote

(*b*) *The "Stable" Period* (8 *or* 9 *to* 12 *or* 13)

Physically this is a comparatively stable period The relative growth in height is not so great as before, the brain reaches its maximum size somewhere about the beginning of this period, and sense development, though it continues, slows down after this, being largely completed by now The child seems to fatigue rather less rapidly in the stable period than in the period of transition or in the later adolescent period, though this again must be taken as only a very general statement with many exceptions in connection with various activities · and it does not, of course, mean that the adolescent of 16 cannot walk farther without being fatigued than can the boy of 10 During the period the various capacities present in the later infant period are developing fairly steadily, with no sign of sudden changes at any particular age within the range

The most interesting studies of children during this period are connected with their special interests and ideas, with the actual content rather than the mechanism of their thought The most substantial studies available in English of the development of the thought of children during this period are those by Piaget As he is a

of a widespread questionnaire addressed to the schools, Dr Reaney found that on the whole the boys and girls above the average intelligence play group games better than the others But there were obviously great individual variations) M J Reaney, *The Plan of Play in Education* (Methuen, 1926) Drever, *Instinct in Man* (see index references) W Stern, *Psychology of Early Childhood*, Part VI A book just to hand as this is being prepared for the press, *Play in Childhood*, by Margaret Lowenfeld (Gollancz), gives an account and an analysis of the play of 200 children, and on this basis discusses the functions of play.

Swiss psychologist, they might be thought to lie outside the scope of our treatment; but they have stimulated enquiry in this country even if they have not modified greatly our conception of this stage of the child's development More careful examination of Piaget's method and results generally tends towards the conclusion that he exaggerates the difference between the child mind and that of the adult We have already intimated this in connection with the beginnings of reasoning and the apprehension of relations even during infancy Broadly speaking, it may be said that many of the things which Piaget says characterise the child mind between 6 or 7 and 11 or 12 may be found on enquiry to be more characteristic of the earlier age Piaget, however, has done a real service in calling attention to many of these characteristics, particularly in the somewhat earlier period Some of Piaget's generalisations would not, I think, have been made if he had been able to make (earlier than he did) day to day observations of the development of young children in the home Take, for example, his view that the child really believes that he thinks with his mouth It may be that a child of 5 or 6, when asked, " What do you think with ? " cannot do better than reply, " With my mouth," or other words which suggest identification of thought and speech; but a child of 4 put spontaneously to me, at a time when I was quite silent, the question, " What are you thinking about, Daddy ? " and again a 3-year-old child, who had himself been silent for some time, said, using his own name, " Tommy think about steamer " Here we can surely see that even a younger child need not really identify thought with speech, and must not be supposed to identify them merely because he cannot give a good answer to what is after all a very difficult psychological question, " What do you think with ? "

One of the characteristics of a child's thought which Piaget has emphasised is animism, and here again more detailed enquiry and cross-examination of the children concerned suggests that the child during this period is not so genuinely animistic as Piaget's first results suggest [1]

In his most recent book, dealing with the moral judgments of the child, Piaget reveals that he has had the opportunity of following the development of his own little children, and it is interesting to notice that he tends to date various points of development at somewhat earlier stages than he did before In this latest study of the moral judgment of the child, he makes interesting observations on the development among children of the rules of games of play, he finds an interest in the rules as such only at about the age of 11 or 12. During this period of from 8 to 11 or 12 there is also development away from the view that whatever conforms to the dictates of authority is just, and the beginning of the taking into account of extenuating circumstances in the ideas as to what is wrong.

[1] " An Enquiry on Animism in Young Children " is reported in a Thesis for the M A degree by R. M. Askar, and lodged in the library of the University of Birmingham.

There are three other enquiries dealing with children during this period which may be described briefly In a study of " The Development of Knowledge of Time in Children," by Miss E. C Oakden and Dr. Mary Sturt,[1] the authors concluded, as regards children between 8 and 13 or 14 years of age, that such children usually attach little importance to dates in relation to persons When asked to " date " an epoch, they prefer to give the name of some contemporary character They distinguish between those epochs which are most remote from our own—the earliest distinction being between the present and *a* past which is " mainly negatively characterised " Subdivisions of the past are attended to only after the age of about 11 years The children tested included high, preparatory and elementary school children

Two experimental enquiries as to *bi-lingualism* during this period and the possible effect upon development of bi-lingual children may be referred to Frank Smith, through an enquiry in four different parts of Wales, came to the conclusion that monoglot children between the ages of 8 and 11 make better progress than bi-lingual children, in their use of language and in accuracy of thought, so that bi-lingualism did not seem to produce any intellectual gain [2] Prof Smith's results agreed broadly with those of D J Saer, who dealt with bi-lingual and monoglot university students as well as children [3] These enquirers used chiefly tests that involved the use of language Miss Ethel F Barke, using non-language mental tests, found the bi-lingual children in one Welsh district slightly superior in these tests to children in two monoglot schools in the same county [4] Of course, there may be great variation in the average intelligence of children of different schools, but if anything the home environment of the bi-lingual children seemed on the average better than that of the monoglots Even so, Miss Barke's results do not conflict with the conclusion as to the effect *on language* of bi-lingualism

There are other interesting studies of children at this period dealing with their special interests and attitude to their studies The results of these, however, are chiefly descriptive, somewhat disconnected and by no means as yet worked up into a coherent psychological study of the period We must therefore be content to give references to some examples of enquiries that have been carried out in this country. Such enquiries, while they include the period we are concerned with at the moment, sometimes overlap with the period of adolescence and form a link with it Apart from this type of study, the period is so admirably dealt with in a brief

[1] *B J P*, vol xii, 1922.

[2] " Bi-lingualism and Mental Development," *B J P*, vol xiii, 1923

[3] D J Saer . " An Enquiry into the Effect of Bi-lingualism upon the Intelligence of Young Children," *J of Exp Pedagogy*, vol iv, 1922, and also " The Effect of Bi-lingualism upon Intelligence," *B J P*, vol xiv, 1923

[4] See her article, " A Study of the Comparative Intelligence of Children in Certain Bi-lingual and Monoglot Schools in South Wales," *B J E P*, vol iii, 1933

and accessible form in the first two references below, that I shall not discuss it further here [1]

ENQUIRIES AS TO THE IDEAS AND INTERESTS OF YOUNG CHILDREN

"The Resources of Children's Imaginations," Ethel M King and J Ridley Thomson, *J Ex Ped*, vol v, 1920

"An Enquiry into Children's Ideas on Social and Industrial Questions," W Wadmore, *J Ex Ped*, vol vi, 1922

"Some Social, Age and Sex Differences shown in Children's Choice of Ideals," Eve Macaulay, *F of E*, vol iii, 1925

"An Investigation into the Development of the Moral Conceptions of Children," Eve Macaulay and Stanley H Watkins, *F of E*, vol iv, 1926

"A Study of the Appreciation of Beauty in School Children," Edith Newcomb, *F of E*, vol ii, 1924

"An Enquiry as to the Æsthetic Judgments of Children," M H Bulley, *B J E P*, vol iv, 1934

"A Statistical Account of the Preferences of Pupils in Higher Grade Schools for Subjects of Study and for Pairs of Subjects," J Don and J Grigor, *J of Ex Ped*, vol vi, 1922

IX. Adolescence and Juvenile Delinquency

Perhaps the most striking example of the general spread and acceptance of earlier work in educational psychology is given by the psychology of adolescence Already in the earlier part of this century the discoveries of enquirers, in particular the famous work of Stanley Hall,[2] had built up a large body of knowledge concerning mental development and especially of the emotional storm and stress during the age of adolescence In spite of the fact that everyone passes through the stage of adolescence himself, there had seemed to be little realisation of the extent to which the characteristic experiences of adolescence were general The individual tends to think he may be peculiar, and also there is evidence of the repression in some people of the memories of adolescent experience The period of adolescence extends on the average from about 13 or 14 in boys to about 18 or 19, in girls the period is about two years earlier There are, of course, great individual differences Thus while the average age of the onset of puberty among about 500 high school girls was $13\frac{1}{2}$ years, the lowest age was only 10

Somewhere during adolescence there is usually a marked increase in the rate of bodily growth The period is marked by the development of sex capacities and interests, and this we might expect to have a profound influence on the emotional life. Its connection with intellectual development is less certain the age of onset of puberty in imbeciles has been found to be about the same as for normal girls [3]

[1] An excellent survey of this period is given in the Board of Education Report on *The Primary School* (1931), Appendix III by Prof C Burt Another most useful treatment of the subject is *The Children we Teach*, by Dr Susan Isaacs (London University Press, 1932)

[2] See his two large volumes on the *Psychology of Adolescence*. his smaller book, *Youth*, contains a briefer treatment of the topics of most concern to the teacher

[3] See P Popenoe: *The Child's Heredity*. (Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1929)

Statistics as to religious experience show that marked and sudden changes of this kind occur most frequently about the middle of adolescence—the peak for the girls here again being a year or two earlier than for the boys [1]

The questionnaires used by Hall and other workers revealed the fact that this period is marked by impulsiveness and intensified emotions; at times there is elation, then contrasting periods of depression Even such extremes are really remarkably frequent among normal individuals This was familiar material to those who were lecturing in psychology, say in the early years of this century, but I myself have found, and no doubt all did who were then giving public lectures on the subject, that the facts seemed to surprise even audiences of teachers The importance of adolescence and its peculiarities have since become much more familiar in educational circles, although the logical consequences have hardly been put into force

The study of the adolescent has been further developed in this country since the war, and many of the results of Stanley Hall and his collaborators have been confirmed and extended This has been useful and indeed necessary, because the method of the questionnaire on which so much of the psychology of adolescence is based has its grave dangers If the questionnaire is submitted to a large number of people indiscriminately and they are asked to reply, there will always be a tendency for those who have not much of interest to record to withhold their reply The consequence is that the results are based on a selected group who do not represent the whole With this in mind, and being doubtful whether Stanley Hall's results would be found true for the type of young people found in our English universities, I gave questionnaires to a series of my own classes of graduate students (about 300 in all) at the University of Birmingham The whole of each class was required to fill in the questionnaire, and consequently we had the records even of those who had not much to report I was surprised, however, to find that the general results gained in America were broadly true even of an educated group of British students For example, over one-third had felt such profound depression during the period of adolescence to the extent of even feeling at times a strong inclination to suicide; and a similar proportion had felt a strong impulse, at some time, to run away from home The intensification of religious interest and of athletic interest also appeared in a marked degree at this period

An important recent book dealing with the psychology of adolescence is one by Prof Olive Wheeler, entitled *Youth* [2] Dr Wheeler

[1] See E D Starbuck *The Psychology of Religion*. (4th Edition, London, 1914, Contemporary Science Series.)

[2] *Youth*, 1929 (University London Press) Other details of Dr Wheeler's enquiry were recorded in an article by her in the *B J E P* (vol 1, 1931) entitled "Variations in the Educational Development of Normal Adolescents" Another valuable book on the adolescent is that by Dr Leta Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Adolescent* (Partridge, 1929).

dealt with university students and groups of workers, and her findings not only confirm some important results of Stanley Hall, but also reveal further suggestive facts Here again we find large percentages of thes tudents and workers who record an outburst of hero-worship during the period of adolescence, intensification of interest in the opposite sex, a deepening of religious experience and an intensification of the appeal of Nature, music and poetry, though the last mentioned is small among the workers, no doubt partly for lack of opportunity for its cultivation. Dr Wheeler thinks that a sex difference appears in connection with the development of girls compared with boys More boys than girls, proportionally, reveal an intensification of those emotions which are " directed away from the self " In the case of boys, the sex impulse rather reinforces egoistic tendencies

Prof Wheeler points out that the numbers on which her results are based are not sufficient to be conclusive, but so far as they go they are very suggestive

The attitude towards the opposite sex is an important change in the adolescent period At first there seems to be something of an antipathy towards members of the opposite sex by both boys and girls. Only during the middle or later part of adolescence appears, as a rule, an interest in members of the opposite sex The attraction towards members of the same sex is sometimes felt in a very high degree This fact is already generally familiar among girls Such feelings are often frowned upon by mistresses and known jocularly among the girls as " G.Ps " I have been impressed, in reading many essays describing the experiences of the writers during adolescence, by the fact that such homo-sexual attractions are by no means confined to girls of inferior character or intelligence Some of my ablest women students reported such experiences which had been so intense as to cause genuine mental distress during their adolescence. What surprised me, however, was to find the frequency with which a somewhat similar feeling, though usually less intense, is experienced among boys It does seem to be commoner in boarding schools, and yet it is clear to me from reports I have received that among day schools the phenomenon is not unknown I have talked intimately with some who have passed through these experiences, and I believe that there are more than is usually supposed who pass through some homo-sexual stage, of a perfectly innocent type, and yet disturbing to peace of mind.

It is an interesting and significant fact that in the case of girls this affection by a member of the same sex is felt by the girls towards an older girl or most often towards a mistress, in the case of boys almost invariably I have found it is felt by the older boys towards the younger, and very rarely towards a master. This in itself suggests that the feeling is a substitute for genuine affection for a member of the opposite sex, for there is usually more of the protective element in the affection of the male towards the female and more of the attitude of respect and " looking up " in the attitude of the female

towards the male. One senior boy, at a public school, told me that he had found that a disturbing affection for a young boy disappeared during the time when he himself was away from school and was brought much into the society of a friend's sister for whom he developed an affection The affection for the boy, however, recurred again when this feminine influence was removed and he returned to school

By an enquiry in three of my classes of graduate students (267 in all), over one-quarter of whom had been in co-educational schools, I found that, while 45 per cent of the women educated in girls' schools had experienced a very strong attraction towards one of the mistresses, only 27 per cent of those educated in co-educational schools had felt this Among the men only 5 per cent had felt any such attraction towards a man teacher, but 34 per cent of them had felt it towards a fellow-pupil I may add that only seven out of the seventy-two students who had been educated in co-educational schools were definitely against co-education

As to *intellectual development during adolescence*, there are, of course, new interests that develop at this time, as we have indicated, and certain specific abilities make perceptible advances There is no evidence, however, that general intelligence takes a sudden leap at this stage Indeed, there is some evidence that at the outset of puberty there is such a disturbance that intelligence, or the efficiency of intellectual work at least, remains at a standstill if it does not actually recede Possibly the disturbances are chiefly emotional What the intelligence tests seem to reveal in the main is that general intelligence goes on increasing up to middle or late adolescence, and possibly, in the case of the more intelligent, slowly increasing even after that The statement that intelligence does not increase much, if at all, after mid- or late-adolescence must not, however, be misunderstood Intelligent dealing with ideas or with objects may go on improving indefinitely through life because of the greater familiarity with the material and with the modes of dealing with it, whether that be mathematical symbols, historical facts, foreign languages, chemical experiments or craft work Mental testers only assert that innate inborn ability has reached complete *maturity* by that stage , that is, the development merely due to growth is completed [1]

Juvenile Delinquency

Important additions have been made since the war to our knowledge of juvenile delinquency. Here the most notable contribution

[1] Other interesting aspects of adolescence are dealt with in the following Margaret Phillips *The Young Industrial Worker* (Oxford Univ Press, 1922) Homer Lane . *Talks to Parents and Teachers* (Allen & Unwin, 1928) F M. Austin · "An Analysis of the Motives of Adolescents for the Choice of the Teaching Profession," *B J E P* , vol 1, 1931 Mary E Matthews "Some Sex Differences in the Appreciation of English Literature," *F of E* , vol. iii, 1925. R A. Pritchard : "The Relative Popularity of Secondary School Subjects at Various Ages," *B J E.P* , vol v, 1935

in this country was made by Prof Burt in his book, *The Young Delinquent*[1] Dr Burt studied two hundred juvenile delinquents and a control group of four hundred non-delinquent children coming from similar homes in the same districts of London Dr. Burt gathered information as to the heredity of the young delinquents, the conditions of poverty or otherwise of the family, the relationships between husband and wife or between parents and children, the presence of alcoholism in the parents and as to the conditions of discipline in the home and whether there was excessive severity or the reverse towards the children The intelligence of the young people and their positions in school, backward or otherwise, were also noted We may summarise the more important results

The existence of actual criminality in the parent did not seem to be a dominant factor in causing crime On the other hand, minor lapses in moral behaviour or conduct did appear in 54 per cent of the families of the delinquent, and as many as 11 per cent of their relatives were actually sentenced for crime Temperamental disturbances with " moral symptoms " occurred more frequently in the families of the delinquents Yet in spite of all this, removal to another and better environment often brought about a complete reform in the young delinquent

The following table gives a selection of the most striking differences between hereditary traits appearing in the families of the young delinquents, as compared with those of the non-delinquent

	Delinquents Per cent	Non delinquents Per cent
Sex irregularity in mother	18 0	4 0
Alcoholism in mother	12 2	3 2
Alcoholism in father	13 7	5 7

There may be, as Dr Burt points out, hereditary traits which favour criminal tendencies without being in the full sense " moral taints " Indeed, I would suggest that sometimes a quality which may in itself be a desirable one when held in check by some other qualities, may nevertheless be conducive to crime when unaccompanied by those qualities I have known, for example, of a youth whose impulsive generosity and love of being hospitable to friends actually led sometimes to petty theft, sometimes even to theft of money from his friends themselves in order to spend it upon them !

Fifty per cent of the young delinquents, Burt found, came from poor or very poor homes, while only 30 per cent of the population as a whole could be classified thus by similar standards Yet as half of the young delinquents came from homes described as " comfortably off," poverty could not be regarded as the most influential cause Defective family relationship seemed to be a most important influence , not only alcoholism, but friction in the home and various troubles caused by overcrowding were pre-eminent.

[1] University of London Press, 1926.

Excessive severity in the discipline of children was reported in 10 per cent. of the cases studied, but the laxity of discipline seemed more injurious, as it occurred in 25 per cent. of the cases, the highest correlation of delinquency with any one factor This is of interest in connection with what we have said earlier about the relative harmfulness of excessively severe and of very lax discipline

Maladjustment of the delinquent to his particular employment seemed to be one factor in causing crime, but not nearly so important as the home conditions; nor does mental inferiority seem to be adequate to account for the backwardness at school. Even temporary ill-health resulting in backwardness at school seems to bring at times a state of disheartenment that is conducive to crime

Emotional instability was a marked characteristic of the young delinquent, the figures being as follows.

	Ordinary Population Per cent	Young Delinquents Per cent
Temperamentally defective	1½	9
Unstable . .	10	34

Among 200 consecutive Juvenile Court cases in Birmingham, Dr G A Auden found that half the children came from " broken homes "—one parent dead, parents separated, or the child illegitimate. The absence of a father seemed specially significant for the age-period 14–16 [1]

A more recent enquiry into juvenile delinquency was that made by W Chinn in Birmingham [2] The survey was made of 966 male juvenile delinquents appearing before the Juvenile Court in Birmingham over a five-year period Larceny and " breaking and entering " were the chief forms of juvenile delinquency " Breaking and entering " was primarily a gang activity and often begun almost fortuitously by the co-incidence of leisure and opportunity

Of these delinquents 31 5 per cent came from homes with abnormal conditions, 9 6 per cent came from homes where the father was dead and was unreplaced by a stepfather. Illegitimacy appeared to be a potent predisposing force in production of anti-social conduct.

A control group of non-delinquents showed that twice as many non-delinquents as delinquents belonged to voluntary social agencies for the sake of some leisure-time occupation Many children had apparently drifted into delinquent conduct for lack of other major interests

Delinquency appeared most frequently in the second child in a family. In but 3 5 per cent. of the cases were the delinquents only children. A greater number of delinquent children come from homes where there are four or more children.

[1] See G A Auden: " The Maladjusted Child," *B J E P*, vol 1, 1931

[2] Reported in a thesis, " A Juvenile Court Survey," presented for the degree of M.A in Education at the University of Birmingham, and lodged in the University Library

X. Some Applications of Intelligence and Other Tests

Already before the war the mental tests devised by the French psychologist, Binet, had created something of a stir Binet adopted the simple idea of finding various things which could be done, or questions which could be answered, by the great majority of the children of a given age, say 6, that could not be done by most children of 5 ; and so on for each of the ages A child who was only able at the age of 6 to do the tests which were suited to the majority of children of 5 would be described as having a mental age of 5 and an intelligence quotient of only 5/6

Since the time of Binet, the work on intelligence tests has enormously advanced in this country All that we can do here is to state, first, some of the essentials underlying the whole idea of intelligence testing, and secondly, to indicate briefly some of the main ways in which they have been successfully used [1]

The essential idea of an intelligence test is that it should be a measure of *innate* intelligence and that the result should not be affected by different types of education or even of environment Of course it is impossible in testing to avoid the effects of education, but a good test will only involve such experience, knowledge or training as children of the given age may all be assumed to have had For example, many tests involve the ability to read simple words, but that may be assumed of normal children of say 8 or 9 [2] Some types of tests, however, do not involve even this elementary knowledge, as, for example, the special tests devised for testing the deaf and the many types of performance tests [3]

The newer types of intelligence tests used chiefly in this country include simple reasoning problems, the giving of the opposites of certain words, the finding of analogies, the detection of absurdities, the maze test, the grasping of number series and the use of codes

We shall consider shortly the interpretation of the term " general intelligence," but we may say at once that in every test we have

[1] An extensive and technical survey of intelligence tests and other kinds of tests (including tests of temperament, æsthetic appreciation, vocational tests and tests of special abilities) will be found in the section by Prof H R Hamley, Dr F J Schonell, Dr P E Vernon and others in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935 · also now issued separately under the title *The Testing of Intelligence* (Evans Bros) Useful books on the subjects of testing are the following As an introduction, R Knight, *Intelligence and Intelligence Tests* (Methuen, 1933), P B Ballard, *Mental Tests* and *Group Tests of Intelligence*, C Burt, *Mental and Scholastic Tests* (P S King, 1931) *Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity* (London, 1924), is a valuable report by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education *Talents and Temperaments*, by Angus Macrae (Nisbet and Camb Univ Press, 1932), links up the study of tests of intelligence and special abilities with problems of vocational guidance

[2] That children brought up under exceptional conditions may lack even the minimum of knowledge required was shown by Hugh Gordon in his enquiry among gipsy and canal-boat children See *Mental and Scholastic Tests among Retarded Children*, Board of Education Reports, 1923

[3] See, for example, *Performance Tests of Intelligence*, by J Drever and Mary Collins. (London, 1928.)

reason to think that not only " general intelligence," but some kind of special abilities are involved When the object is to find the general intelligence of a group of children rather than any special abilities, a series of tests are given, half a dozen or more (involving perhaps hundreds of single problems), as different in type as possible, provided that we have reason to think they involve general intelligence to a high degree In this way it is hoped that the effects of the special abilities involved will be more or less cancelled out in a large group of children It is important to bear in mind that no psychologist would dream of regarding any one test as a fair estimate of intelligence of the children concerned

One great advantage of intelligence tests is that they can be standardised and made more constant in difficulty than can examinations, and tests can be much more exactly marked without so many errors due to subjective variations in the examiners

A further advantage of mental tests as compared with examinations is that by their means we are able to make some estimate of the innate capacity of children and to allow for differences due to special training When, for example, the children are being picked for secondary education, but are drawn from very different types of schools and homes, intelligence tests will help to counterbalance differences of opportunities and such special aids as coaching out of school Results seem to show that for such a purpose the addition of good intelligence tests does slightly improve the selection of children, even when the ordinary examination in arithmetic and English has been efficiently conducted That the results are not better is probably due to the fact that we need at this stage also (*a*) tests of the special abilities required for doing much of the ordinary secondary school studies, and (*b*) more attention to qualities of character which affect the work of the school [1]

Mental tests have also been used for the following purposes

(1) The detection of mental deficiency and the differentiation between genuine deficiency and mere " backwardness " in school work

(2) For estimating the comparative intelligence of the sexes If one allows for the earlier maturing of young girls, the main result seems to be that, as regards actual performance in intelligence tests, particularly those tests which involve to the highest degree general intelligence, as in tests of reasoning, the sexes are remarkably alike In some linguistic tests girls may surpass the boys , in others in which numbers are involved, the boys tend to be better [2] The

[1] This bears on a difficult and important question It is discussed, and the correlation between intelligence tests and other types of examinations with subsequent performance at the secondary schools are given in *The Reliability of Examinations*, by C W Valentine in collaboration with W G Emmett (Lond Univ Press, 1932)

[2] Burt's *Mental and Scholastic Tests* and most of the books and articles dealing with the results of the application of tests deal with these sex-differences An early article on the question was that by C Burt and R. Moore. " Mental Differences between the Sexes," *J. Ex. Ped*, vol. 1.

definite superiority of girls in English and of boys in mathematics in the School Certificate Examination is probably due, therefore, to different specific abilities and interests [1]

(3) For studying the hereditary transmission of intelligence. There is accumulating evidence that children from the lowest social grade are on the average less intelligent than those of the middle and professional grades, this, it should be noted, is quite consistent with the ablest children of the lowest social grade being far more intelligent than is the *average* of the higher grade Burt found the lowest average intelligence quotient in families with the most children [2] Other investigators have found a correlation between intelligence and social class These are obviously very serious facts, as the birth-rate tends to be higher in the lowest social and economic grades of society [3]

It should be added, however, that part of the inferior performance in some tests may be due to the inferior training in language of children in the poorer homes

(4) Intelligence tests can be used by the teachers themselves within the school It is frequently difficult to tell whether a child is of good ability, but lazy, or a rather dull child who is making up for that by conscientious effort The repeated concurrence of high intelligence test results with low examination results would show almost certainly that the child was not doing his best unless other causes of backwardness at school could be adduced, for example, illness and the consequent missing of essential parts of the work

In the comparison of one class or school with another, the concurrence of higher intelligence with low performance of the class (or school) as a whole in examinations might indicate less efficient teaching, but it might be due to bad examining, or to the fact that the teaching and plan of work were not dominated by the examination syllabus

A further value would be the use of tests to compare the average intelligence of children in different schools in the same area I have several times had a complaint made to me that inspectors expected in a particular school a similar level of performance to that obtained elsewhere, although the headmaster was convinced that children coming from his poorer area were not of the same level of intelligence, and testing has sometimes supported the view of the headmaster

[1] As to the different performances of boys and girls in various subjects of the School Certificate Examination, see *Secondary School Examination Statistics*, by J M Crofts and D Caradog Jones. (Longmans, 1928)

[2] See *Mental and Scholastic Tests*, page 191

[3] On the relation between intelligence and social status, see E J G Bradford "Can present scholastic standards be maintained?" (*F of E*, vol III, 1925) D Caradog Jones and A M Carr-Saunders "The Relation between Intelligence and Social Status among Orphan Children," *B J P*, vol XVII, 1927 R A Davis· "The Influence of Heredity on the Mentality of Orphan Children," *B J P*, vol XIX, 1928 Evelyn Lawrence: "Investigation into the Relation between Intelligence and Inheritance," *B J P*, Mon Sup XVI, 1931.

(5) A fifth use that has been made of tests has been to examine the different levels of ability in different areas of a county, comparing especially the large towns, the country towns and the remote villages One such enquiry was carried out in Northumberland,[1] and resulted in the finding of very frequent high levels of ability in the well-to-do suburbs, a lower level in the moderate-sized small market town and large-sized mining villages A high degree of intelligence was found least frequently of all in the poor suburbs of Newcastle On the other hand, the highest percentage of very able children was found in small country towns and remote valleys of the Cheviots, the suggestion being that these had not been drained of the ablest pupils through migration to big towns

(6) A sixth use of intelligence tests is with students seeking admission to a university In this country this is being tried, I believe, only in certain education departments, but some American universities have been bold enough to base their admissions partly upon intelligence tests, and such tests have proved of greater reliability as prophecies of university success than did the entrance examination itself[2] In this country tests have, however, been applied to undergraduates while at the university Miss Barbara Dale, for example, found that differences of degrees of general intelligence as indicated by intelligence tests could not be the main cause of differences in the Cambridge Tripos results It would seem that specific abilities in these advanced studies are extremely important and that differences in general intelligence, considerable as they may be, are not sufficient to balance the effect of differences in special abilities and of interest or degrees of devotion to work[3]

Another application of mental tests to university students was that by Dr H G Jennings White Dr White was able to reveal that many of the discrepancies between performance in the university examinations and performance in the intelligence tests could be attributed to faulty teaching at school or college, to the counter attraction of vocational interests, or to over-indulgence in the distractions of college life. On the other hand, where intelligence was not especially great but high results in examinations were gained, students were often found to have concentrated upon the narrower work of the curriculum and to have avoided social distractions[4]

(7) The use of intelligence tests in conjunction with other tests in the process of *vocational guidance* must also be mentioned · for though the problems of vocational guidance are not problems of education, they are becoming closely related in practice Some progressive local education authorities are offering vocational guidance to the young people in their schools, and are aiming at

[1] See "The Social and Geographical Distribution of Intelligence in Northumberland," by J. F. Duff and G H Thomson, *B J P*, XIV, 1923

[2] See R Pintner *Intelligence Testing* (Lond. Univ. Press, 1924)

[3] See "The Use of Mental Tests with University Women Students," *B J.E P*, vol. V, 1935

[4] See the article, "An Application of Mental Tests to University Students," *B J.E.P.*, vols. I and II (1931, 1932).

having in every senior school a teacher with some training in the application of vocational tests, for a preliminary estimate of the abilities of the children The knowledge of the character as well as of the abilities of the children gained by teachers in the school is also being used

This is not the place to discuss the application of such vocational tests , though it is evident that progress in the diagnosis of vocational capacities may eventually have an influence on the planning of the later stages of the education of the child But those most experienced in the work of vocational guidance protest against the idea that tests alone can provide such guidance The National Institute of Industrial Psychology, for example, in its vocational guidance work, not only applies a series of general intelligence and vocational tests, but obtains a detailed report as to qualities of character and temperament from the school or the parent, and from the individual himself It also stresses the value of the impressions gained as to the personality of the youth during the actual process of testing, and of the knowledge as to his wishes gained from conversation with him

There is already ample evidence that a youth given, and acting upon, such expert vocational guidance is more likely to find himself in a few years in an occupation in which he is successful and contented than is one who picks his job without such advice or against it [1]

XI. General and Special Abilities

A large amount of work has been done on this topic in recent years We can here only indicate briefly some of the main results. The term " general intelligence tests " suggests that, through all the various intellectual processes involved in the tests, there runs some *general* element or " factor "—or perhaps several general factors On the other hand, certain mental performances seem to involve to a considerable extent more specific factors which are not found in

[1] A useful chapter on Vocational Tests, by Dr F M Earle, appeared in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1935 On Vocational Guidance, see *A Contribution to the Problems of Vocational Guidance in Great Britain* (published by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London, 1933) Dr Angus Macrae's book *Talents and Temperaments* admirably links up the study of tests of intelligence and of special abilities with problems of vocational guidance The Report (No 5) of the Nat Inst of Indust Psych on *Research Work of the Institute* during the years 1921–34 includes valuable chapters on Vocational Guidance, General and Special Abilities, Temperament and Character, and allied topics *A Vocational Guidance Research in Fife*, by F M Earle and J Kilgour (Nat Inst of Indust Psych Report No 6, 1935), includes a useful chapter on the age at which vocational guidance studies should begin The authors concluded that mechanical ability (as distinguished from manual dexterity) could not be readily judged, by the tests they used at least, until about 12 or 13 years of age An earlier work, by Dr C Burt and others, is *A Study in Vocational Guidance* (Industrial Fatigue Research Board Report 33) Evidence as to the inadequate reasons on which are based most of the unguided choices of occupations by secondary school pupils is given in " Reasons for the Choice of Occupations among Secondary School Pupils," by C W. Valentine and F M Ritchie *F of E*, vol. v, 1927.

most other performances One well-known view is that there is one general factor, which Spearman symbolises by " g " and regards as probably a form of general mental energy involved in all mental performances.

It is impossible here to go into the intricate evidence for such a general factor or the alternative explanation of the mathematical and experimental data; but it should be mentioned that Prof Godfrey Thomson and others have maintained that these data, while *consistent* with the view that there is such a general factor, are also consistent with there being no absolutely general factor Thomson prefers " to think of a number of factors at play in the carrying out of any activity such as a mental test, these factors being a *sample* of all those which the individual has at his command " His theory " does not deny General Ability, for if the samples are large there will, of course, be factors common to all activities On the other hand, it does not assert General Ability, for the samples may not be so large as this, and no single factor may occur in every activity If, moreover, a number of factors do run through the whole gamut of activities, forming a General Factor, this group need not be the same in every individual In other words, General Ability, if possessed by any individual, need not be psychologically of the same nature as any General Ability possessed by another individual " [1]

Perhaps we may agree with Burt, that at least the general factor theory provides a good " working hypothesis " [2]

In addition to any general *ability* or abilities, it seems clear there are factors of a non-intellectual type, such as persistency in effort, and conscientiousness, that may affect all intellectual work Again, in addition to these, there are *special* capacities, which enter into certain intellectual processes, but not into all · possibly there are some special abilities which affect only a small range of mental activities

Let us, for example, consider the learning of a school subject Some mental element which appears also in other subjects of school work seems to be present to a considerable degree—whether it be a general element used in the learning of all subjects, or a wide " group factor " which reveals itself in such different subjects as Latin, mathematics and so on. For it is found that these subjects

[1] Quoted from *The Essentials of Mental Measurement*, by W Brown and G H Thomson (Camb Univ Press, 2nd Edition, 1921) p 188–9

[2] See his booklet *The Measurement of Mental Abilities* (Univ of London Press, 1927) As to the evidence for general and specific factors and the various interpretations of the data, see C Spearman, *Abilities of Man* (Macmillan, 1927) which assembles a vast amount of results of researches by Spearman and his pupils, W Brown and G H Thomson, *Essentials of Mental Measurement*, the section on " The Testing of Intelligence," by H R Hamley in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935 A general exposition of the work of Spearman and his collaborators is given in a recent book, *Ability and Knowledge*, by F C Thomas (Macmillan, London, 1935) Prof Thomson's most recent summary of the relation between his " sampling " theory and the " factor " theories is given in his paper, " On Complete Families of Correlation Coefficients," *B J P*, vol xxvi, July 1935, especially § XI

usually do correlate substantially, though by no means completely. In other words, if we take a large number of children, we shall find, in the junior schools especially, that there is some tendency for those who are good in one subject to be good in others those who are very good in, say, mathematics tend to be better than the average even in other subjects, unless the children are a *selected* group

On the other hand, we also know well that there are some boys who are very good in languages and literature, but are definitely weak in mathematics, compared with their fellows In other words, there must be some specific ability or abilities, which are required for mathematics, on the one hand, but are not needed for languages while on the other hand there are also specific linguistic abilities Such a term as " linguistic ability " may itself cover a number of elementary functions for example, (*a*) the mere rote memory of word sounds, (*b*) the visual memory of words seen, (*c*) the grasp of the relation of a word to another And these may be relatively independent We find, for example, in experiments on memory, that whilst there is some slight tendency for those who are good in one kind of memory to be good in another, there is by no means a complete correlation ; for some who are very good in visual memory are very weak compared with others in memory of things heard

We know, also, from observation of abnormal persons that a specific ability may be present sometimes to a high degree when more general capacities are lacking For example, one may find a mental defective who has nevertheless an extraordinary calculating power, a remarkable memory for figures and ability to manipulate them.

Recent researches support the view that in addition to a possible general factor or several general factors running throughout all cognitive processes, there are also broad group capacities entering into a considerable number of performances of a somewhat similar type [1] The work of Spearman and his collaborators seems to be consistent at least with the existence of the following " group " factors [2]

(1) Mechanical talent, including constructive ability, " putting together," assembling mechanisms, for example, and also more routine manual activities

(2) " Social factors "

(3) A group factor involved in all arithmetical performances.

(4) A group factor in all memorisation · further interconnection with certain sub-types of memory, for example, verbal memory

(5) Linguistic capacities

(6) Musical capacity, and one or two less important group factors [3]

It will be seen that all this has a close bearing on what was said in the section dealing with the faculty psychology As regards

[1] Godfrey Thomson has always stressed the importance of group factors. See *The Essentials of Mental Measurement* (1921), page 189

[2] Summarised in F C Thomas's book, *Ability and Knowledge*

[3] The special capacities and group factors are admirably discussed in C Burt's *Measurement of Mental Capacities.* (Oliver & Boyd, 1927)

" mental training," we have no evidence that any such general factor, as Spearman and others assume, is capable of training. Indeed, if his view is correct that it is a form of energy, it is presumably invariable, apart from physical conditions The specific abilities, on the other hand, are probably of a very specialised type, very remote from the old supposed " faculties " of memory, perception, language and so forth Consequently popular ideas as to the functions involved and the training given by any particular form of school work may be very erroneous

The study of specific abilities or " group " factors, and the devising of tests for isolating them, is an important work for the future that has already begun Thus, for example, special tests of abilities for foreign languages and for mathematics have been devised and used, though at present they are only in an experimental stage [1]

A fundamental idea which it is important to grasp in connection with the study of special abilities is that of a true elementary function

In considering the question " Is X an elementary function ? " we must ask : " Can we analyse X into two further elements, A and B, of such a nature that a man may be good compared with other persons in A, but relatively weaker in B ? " If so, then A must involve some element which B does not contain, and A and B are, or contain, distinguishable elements In other words, X is not an unanalysable elementary function

A second question is this : " Is X of such a nature that any exercise of X, in any given kind of work, results in improvement of X for *all* kinds of work ? " If not, here again we must suspect that X is not an elementary function in the sense we have indicated

From the practical point of view—whether as to school work or as to other activities—we have also to bear in mind this fact . that weakness in the specific abilities involved in the study of a given subject may to some extent be compensated by a high degree of the general ability, and vice versa This possibility, however, will vary with the kind of work involved Thus in mathematics rote memory for figures is undoubtedly useful ; but a boy with a high degree of general intelligence is likely to surpass in mathematical work another boy with a very good memory for figures, but with low general intelligence On the other hand, high intelligence will not compensate much for poor specific abilities in such a pursuit as music [2]

Finally, of course, all mental work may obviously be affected by qualities of character such as conscientiousness, though the influence

[1] The use of tests for specific abilities for various school subjects (Reading, Spelling, Arithmetic, English) is dealt with in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935, Part II, Section 3, by Dr F J Schonell Prof Burt has dealt with tests of Educational Attainment in his *Mental and Scholastic Tests* The Board of Education Report *Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity* gives a good bibliography of tests of educational abilities and attainments.

[2] Spearman deals with the method of estimating the relative amount of " g " involved in various kinds of mental work in his *Abilities of Man*, but the results given for some subjects (e g Classics) are based on very small numbers Classics is dealt with in the article in the American *Journal of Psychology* referred to on page 75 of the book.

of such qualities varies greatly with the quality of the mental task, and in some cases is of no avail when the general or specific abilities are inadequate

XII. Experimental Enquiries into the Psychology of Learning and other Related Processes

On topics covered by this heading there has been such a large amount of work done that we can only here touch lightly upon the most important and leave the reader to follow up his special interests

Imagery.—In the study of imagery the great differences between individuals have been made clearer Some attribute to their own vivid visual imagery a great deal of their efficiency in certain types of thought and of their enjoyment of literature, others declaring that they get along with practically no visual imagery [1] The presence of vivid auditory and kinæsthetic imagery, and in some persons vivid images of taste, touch or smell, has been revealed beyond expectation [2] On the other hand, the limitations of imagery in the process of reasoning have also been brought out [3] Eidetic imagery in children (which has been brought to prominence by some German investigators) has also been studied in this country Eidetic imagery is a particularly vivid kind of image which can be definitely "placed," as it were, on actually seen backgrounds It does not, however, seem to be of great importance from an educational point of view [4]

In experiments in the appreciation of poetry, it has been found that, with some persons, vivid visual imagery may be a chief factor in the appreciation of poetry in which the description of Nature is a prominent element

The effort to form images in the reading of poetry generally has the immediate result of spoiling appreciation, but in time, the custom of developing appropriate images may be cultivated so as to increase the enjoyment of such descriptive types of poetry [5]

The possibility of imagery sometimes affecting the process of reading, and on the other hand of its forming an important basis for meaning, has also been clearly brought out in experiments in the reading of prose [6]

The control of kinæsthetic, and possibly of auditory, imagery seems to be an important factor in increasing the slow speed of

[1] Prof Pear especially has expounded in a most vivid and interesting way the functioning of visual imagery See his book, *Remembering and Forgetting* (Methuen, 1922) and his article on "Imagery and Mentality," *B J P*, vol XIV

[2] See C Fox *Educational Psychology*, pages 76–77 (Kegan Paul, 1925)

[3] See F C Bartlett "The Function of Images," *B J P*, vol XI

[4] See G W Allport "Eidetic Imagery," *B J P*, vol XV, 1924, H Teasdale "A Quantitative Study of Eidetic Imagery," *B J E P*, vol IV, 1934

[5] See Olive A Wheeler "An Analysis of Literary Appreciation of Poetry," *B J P*, vol XIII, C W Valentine "The Function of Images in the Appreciation of Poetry," *B J P*, vol XIV

[6] See R W Pickford "Some Mental Functions illustrated by an Experiment on Reading" (Part II), *B J P*, vol XXVI, 1935

reading of some in whom such imagery is strong and always accompanies the process of reading [1]

Memory—We have already touched upon the various types of memory and the question of the possibility of a general training of memory Other interesting results which have been gained in experiments on memory are the following There seems to be a process of *consolidation* after memorising Thus it has been found that, among young children especially, material imperfectly learnt one day may be perfectly remembered twenty-four hours later, even though it has never been revised in between Recall may even be better two days after learning [2]

The distinction between vivid visual imagery and visual memory should be borne in mind It is made clear by experiment Thus students with very vivid visual imagery may be very poor in visual memory, and so with other forms of imagery This of course is in spite of the fact that imagery may itself be a help towards memory [3]

The independence of memory and imagery is also brought out in an enquiry on *Imagery and Learning*,[4] in which also words rather than images were shown to be more effective in the formation of new concepts [5]

As to the method of learning poetry, experiments have shown that the "whole method" is surprisingly efficient By the whole method is meant the reading of a poem continuously through and through, instead of learning it a line or two at a time Recent investigations in this country showed that the particular kind of poem and the interest of the learner in it were important factors in deciding which method was better [6] The most recent enquiry shows that with pupils of above the average intellectual level and with poems of adequate unity of thought the whole method is definitely more efficient even for young pupils [7]

[1] I have dealt with this problem in a paper on "Some Experiments on the Speed of Reading and its Improvement," *F of E*, vol I

[2] See P B Ballard "Oblivíscence and Reminiscence," *B J P*, Mon Sup No. II.

[3] See C W. Valentine *Experimental Psychology and Education* (W B Clive, 1926, page 165)

[4] By Miss A M Jenkin, *B J P*, vol xxvi, 1935 See also *Memory and Mental Imagery*, by Henry Bowers, *B J P*, vol xxi, 1931

[5] For a full study of the development of concept under experimental conditions the reader must be referred to a pre-war book by F A Aveling, *The Consciousness of the Universal* (Macmillan, 1912) See also A W Wolters, "On Conceptual Thinking," *B J P*, vol xxiv, 1933 The place of the concept in the whole process of the development of knowledge is luminously expounded by Sir Percy Nunn in Chapter XIV of *Education its Data and First Principles*

[6] See C Fox "The Influence of Subjective Preference on Memory," *B J P*, vol xix)

[7] See E W Sawdon "Should Children learn Poems in 'Wholes' or in 'Parts'?" *F of E*, vol v, 1927

An important recent book on memory in addition to those already mentioned is Prof F C Bartlett's *Remembering*, a study in experimental and social psychology

Fatigue —The recent trend of thought as to mental fatigue has been as follows .

(1) That genuine fatigue due to mental work, in the sense of a *real* reduction in capacity for work (as shown by output), is slower in onset and less in amount than used to be supposed This has been called " *objective* " fatigue

(2) That much of the supposed fatigue is only " subjective "— feelings of fatigue which may be largely boredom If a new interest is provided, mental work may proceed efficiently again

(3) That the genuine cases of overwork in school are largely due to such causes as deprivation of fresh air and exercise, or to worry and fear due to inability to cope with the work

Prof J C Flugel tested a number of school children in continuous performance of simple additions and secured constant effort by the offer of money if the children beat their previous performance [1] Under these conditions of eager pressure Flugel noted a considerable drop after the first minute of work, but the average percentage decline in a twenty-minute period of intensive work was slight The abler pupils fatigued less rapidly than the duller ones Miss F M Ritchie had the Kraepelin multiplication tests worked by several subjects for prolonged periods continuously, one as much as ten hours The results suggest that even such monotonous work can be continued for these prolonged periods without appreciable signs of mental fatigue, and also that improvements due to practice continue much longer than might be expected in a simple arithmetical operation [2]

Shepherd Dawson found that the *mental* efficiency of school children over nine remained constant between 9 30 a m and 2 30 p m , as tested by simple arithmetical work, but there was evidence of fatigue in children under nine after a five-hour day [3]

Fluctuations in the efficiency of work during the day and during the school term are dealt with in an article on " Rate of Work in Schools," by W J Stainer [4] In a school (with pupils of ages 10 to 16) where special care was taken to provide recreation periods, it was found that in most classes work suffered in a long afternoon. On the other hand, there was no sign that the term of thirteen weeks was too long

There is evidence that " objective " fatigue is partly general (so that it will, to some extent, affect any kind of work undertaken) and partly specific Particular persons also seem to be liable to become fatigued especially for certain particular types of mental work, whatever the work which has caused the fatigue [5]

[1] See " Practice, Fatigue and Oscillation," *B J P* , Mon Sup XIII

[2] See " Some Effects of Prolonged Unvaried Work," *F of E* , vol II.

[3] " Variations in the Mental Efficiency of Children during School Hours," *B.J P* , vol XIV, 1924

[4] *B J P* , vol XIX, 1929

[5] See C Spearman, *Abilities of Man*, Chapter XVIII. On mental fatigu see also C. Fox, *Educational Psychology* (1925 edition), Chapter XIII.

XIII. Two Recent Contributions to the Psychology of Cognitive Processes

(*a*) *Spearman's Principles of Cognition*

Even a brief account of psychology since the war would not be complete without a reference to the " principles of cognition " which have been enunciated by Spearman as fundamental to all intelligence. There are three of these, but from our present point of view the second and third are the more important. They relate to creative processes (what Spearman calls noe-genetic) not merely reproductive. Avoiding technical terms, we may indicate these two principles as follows

(i) If there are presented to the mind two qualities or objects, the mind tends to apprehend a relation between these two objects Thus, if the ideas " good " and " bad " are presented we tend to think at once of the relation of " opposites " A photograph of a friend is shown to me and I apprehend it as " like " or " unlike " my friend (Spearman calls this " *eduction* " of relations.)

(ii) The other principle is this: If an idea or quality or " character," to use Spearman's term, is presented to my mind together with the idea of a relation, then some second related idea tends to be thought of. Thus, if we think of " goodness " and the relation opposite, the opposite term " badness " tends to be thought of.[1] It is impossible in a short space to indicate the suggestiveness and usefulness of these relatively simple statements of mental processes , but without endorsing entirely Spearman's claim as to their supreme importance, we can say that many thought processes can be analysed much more readily into their simpler elements by means of these two principles Thus Spearman claims that all processes of imagination so far as it is creative are resolvable into these two, and for the study of imagination they are practically of great value ; though it is not clear why a constructive thinker being given an idea (a " fundament," as Spearman calls it) to begin with, should then think of one particular relation rather than another in connection with it Such springing up in the mind of the idea of a relation connecting two objects of thought (or a correlated idea) may be a genuine new occurrence and not dependent on mere association : and the first occurrences of such a type in the mind of a child are genuinely creative imagination, even if they have occurred in the minds of millions of others before—that is, of course, supposing that these processes take place in the mind spontaneously and are not presented to the child.

These principles of Spearman are not, of course, new discoveries in themselves. " Psychologists have already recognised the

[1] The principles are fully expounded in Spearman's book, *The Nature of Intelligence and the Principles of Cognition.* (Macmillan, 1923)

emergence of the apprehension of relation as an important process, and some modern psychologists have shown that it is a process which cannot be reduced to mere association of other elements Similarly, the " eduction of correlates " is familiar in the process of production of analogies, the importance of which has already been emphasised by Stout in his discussion of " relative suggestion " with certain types of which the eduction of correlates seems to me identical.

" The originality of Spearman's volume then lies not so much in the enunciation of a new law or tendency, but in the wide scope which Spearman gives to these three tendencies and his emphasis upon their fundamental nature It is partly in his elimination that Spearman's characteristic views are novel, especially later in his subtle analysis of memory, reasoning and imagination into these fundamental processes. But intelligence implies surely *relevant* relation-educing and *right* correlate-educing This brings us to the crucial question as to what are the conditions which favour eductions and right eductions " [1]

Extremely suggestive and valuable as these principles are, then, we have to recognise that from the practical point of view of the study of intelligence, they do not seem to carry us the whole way

(*b*) *The Relation of the Psychology of " Form," or " Configuration " (Gestalt) to English Psychology*

A note must be added on this topic because the reader will often meet the term " Gestalt " or " Configuration " in recent educational psychology. Although the special term originated in Germany, important works have been translated into English and the basic ideas have received widespread attention.

Unfortunately, the beginner is apt to be very much misled if he reads the translations of the German writers ; for they speak as though the discoveries of the Gestalt psychology were new and revolutionary. It is true that the German psychologists have obtained valuable experimental results which are new ; in particular Kohler, by his famous experiments on apes, has thrown new light upon the interpretation of animal learning. To the English psychologist, however, who was brought up on the writings of such great psychologists as James Ward and G. F Stout, some of the fundamental ideas of the Gestalt psychology are not unfamiliar.

[1] Quoted from my review of Spearman's book, " The Nature of Intelligence," in *Mind*, January 1924 In addition to Spearman's own book already referred to, a summary of his views is also given in S. E. Thomas's *Ability and Knowledge* A remarkably clear introductory exposition will also be found in an article by Dr. P B Ballard in the *Journal of General Psychology* (October 1929) Spearman has applied his principles in the study of the fine arts in *Creative Mind* (Nisbet, 1930)

The main principle is that mental development does not proceed by " the bringing together of separate elements but the arousal and perfection of more and more complicated configurations " Configuration may, perhaps, be best understood by thinking of the form or shape of a series of musical notes which enter into a melody. Such a configuration is more than the sum of the elements It remains even when the melody is played in a different key, *though the notes are entirely different* The Gestalt psychology maintains that from the earliest beginnings of learning in the infant, objects are apprehended as in some sense " configurations " The baby's mind is not an original chaos—a buzzing confusion—to use James's term, which afterwards gets sorted out by the adding of one elementary item to another The statement of the main principle given above is quoted from a book by Prof Kurt Koffka [1] He goes on to say that a " certain order dominates experience from the beginning " Thus single stimuli are not the ones which first arouse the interest of the child, but rather such object as the human voice, which is complex Even animals, as experiments show, apprehend things in relation

The students of English psychology have long been familiar with the idea that knowledge may grow by the further differentiation of a whole apprehended in a sense as whole, but increasingly analysed and regrouped As to the important experiments by Kohler, we may grant that they show that such animals as apes do not always learn merely by the " method of trial and error " But this does not prove that the method is not sometimes used both by animals and human beings Finally, in spite of the value of emphasising the importance of the grasp of relations, which, as we have seen, Spearman has also placed in the supreme position in mental development, the work of the Gestalt psychologists does not seem to have done away with the fundamental importance of association In what sense can the association of an English word with a foreign word (not from a similar root) be in any way due to the clearer elucidation of an existing configuration ? True, in the earliest psychological experience there may be a " configuration " or " whole " But development consists in emphasising and analysing out certain elements of this whole—apprehending some relation between them and so " associating " them that they are bound together in a way they were not before this separating out . from the same " whole " at another time, instead of the elements A and B being selected, A and D might be selected, and so a different association set up and a different " whole " formed.

On the other hand, the Gestalt psychology has been useful in so far as it has brought more clearly to light the value of the presentation of individual impressions in relationship to one another, leading to their greater ease of learning. Generally, we may say it

[1] *The Growth of the Mind,* translated by R. M. Ogden. (Kegan Paul, 1924)

strengthens sometimes the case for the use of " *whole* " methods of learning rather than purely analytical methods [1]

I wish to express my thanks to my colleague, Mrs F M Austin, for her kindness in reading this chapter in typescript and for many helpful comments

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[1] For further reading on this topic, see Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology* (London, 1930), C Spearman, " The New Psychology of Shape," *B J P*, vol xv, 1925, Marjorie Hammond, " ' Gestalttheorie ' its Significance for Teaching," *B J E P*, vol II, 1932, J C Flugel, *A Hundred Years of Psychology* (London, 1933), Part IV, Chapter IV, James Ward, *Psychology applied to Education* (Camb Univ Press, 1926), Lecture 2 on " The General Nature and Growth of the Mind " see especially the footnote by the Editor, page 25

CHAPTER FOUR

American Philosophy of Education

(*See* Year Book 1932, *pages* 878–902 , 1933, *pages* 486–99 , 1934, *pages* 116–21, 368–82 *and* 607–18 , 1935, *pages* 134–8 *and* 360–73)

It is difficult in considering a country as vast as the United States, in which so many different traditions of culture, outlook and beliefs are woven together, in which there is an absence of centralised control, in which there is further an absence of uniformity of standards of educational organisation and practice, to single out any philosophy of education as the particular American philosophy, or to say that any one philosophy of education dominates the whole of American education The only statement that may be hazarded is that one group is more vocal than another, that there is going on at present a conflict between those who are labelled as traditionalist, conservative or even static, and those who claim to be progressive, revolutionary or dynamic, between the idealists and the pragmatists, between those who believe in the slow, emergent influence of education on social progress and those who regard education as an instrument for changing the social order Torn between these two methods of approach, school practice, subject to the characteristics of local administration and immediately under the control of the tax-paying public, often remains rooted in established ways of routine

The American Mind

There is a sense, however, in which one may speak of an American tradition in education which has affected the character of the organisation of the school system and its practice This tradition has grown out of the eighteenth-century belief in the perfectibility of man, out of which were developed the ideals of democracy, faith in education as the essential foundation upon which democratic government rests, and the desire to implement these convictions by providing equality of educational opportunity These ideals had, however, to wait for the development of a social system which after the first third of the nineteenth century began to differentiate itself from the system which had been transplanted from Europe The new social system, and with it the new outlook, accompanied the rise of the common man and the conquest of the frontier The new outlook represented a revolt against absolutism, conservatism and the control of tradition In religion the revolt against an established church and authority had already taken place in the eighteenth century Autocracy in government had been shaken by the Revolution, and what survived of it disappeared in the Jacksonian period

The dissolution of the theological and political ties which still bound the country to European traditions was hastened by the new

outlook and new sentiments which arose out of the new conditions of life imposed by the conquest of the frontier. It was in this struggle with nature that there were developed an independence, vigour and self-reliance which in turn resulted in new attitudes towards external control, authority and government It was out of these conditions, rather than out of the eighteenth-century philosophy, that the common man derived his feeling for equalitarianism and his demand of the right to make the most of himself by his own efforts with a minimum of interference from without The exigencies of the frontier which demanded individual initiative and resourcefulness, immediate action rather than theory, cultivated a certain shrewdness and capacity in the individual to turn his hand to any task, and developed, as a consequence, a certain faith in the untutored intelligence trained by direct and immediate grappling with a concrete situation rather than by the formal agency of the school or of books At the same time, the great variety of activities in which the conquerors of the frontier engaged produced a type of versatility and flexibility before which no task appeared too formidable and which engendered some scepticism, if not actual contempt, for book learning, intellectual pursuits and academic training

In the attack which the present economic crisis has produced against the American tradition of rugged individualism, it is not without interest to recall the views on the subject of Lincoln, who cannot be accused of lack of sympathy with the common man

> " I take it that it is best to leave each man to acquire property as fast as he can Some will get wealthy I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich, it would do more harm than good. So while we don't propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with anybody else When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition, he knows that there is no fixed condition of labour for his whole life I want every man to have a chance—and I believe a black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition —when he may look forward and hope to be a hired labourer this year and the next, work for himself afterwards, and finally to hire men to work for him That is the true system "

The vast resources of the country, the *unbegrenzte Moglichkeiten*, the extent of free land, developed a buoyant optimism in what tomorrow would bring, a practical and inventive turn of mind, a belief that life is an adventure and a restless nervous energy But with these positive qualities there were also cultivated contempt for the restraints of law and authority, mistrust of traditions and customs, a demand for ideas and ideals that will work and yield immediate returns The American mind tended under these conditions to turn away from the past to the future and to develop a readiness to try anything that is novel, which at its worst meant too often the cult of sensationalism and at its best an attitude of experimentation.

Out of these conditions arose the American tradition to have no tradition (or in the words of Henry Ford, " History is bunk ") and to look upon the present merely as an incident on the way to change.

It is here that the real difference between the European and American attitudes emerges, a difference which has nowhere been so well expressed as by Henry Van Dyke in his poem, *America for Me*

> I know that Europe's wonderful, yet something seems to lack,
> The Past is too much with her, and the people looking back,
> But the glory of the Present is to make the Future free—
> We love our land for what she is and what she is to be

Here, too, may perhaps be found one reason why Walter Hines Page thanked God for the Atlantic Ocean And yet there are a few who deplore " the tradition of rootlessness," as Van Wyck Brooks has described it, for, as he writes, " a rootless people cannot endure for ever, and we shall pay in the end for our superficiality in ways more terrible than we can yet achieve " In a more recent novel, *The Man Who Had Everything*, Louis Bromfield puts the following criticism of the American in the mouth of a Frenchwoman " You haven't any roots, dear Tom You never had any I knew it long ago You've got ambition and restlessness, and a passion for success, but you haven't any roots You never had any, and to build families and traditions and inheritances and a life that goes on and on, you have to have roots and be attached to things " And the hero of the book, the American, after a futile search for peace and solitude, reaches the same conclusion " These people—his people—were nomads, from those who wandered across the vastness of their own country in broken-down Fords to those who moved restlessly from place to place in luxury over the whole face of the earth When they grew roots, they were miserable He wasn't the only American who had been practically active all his life without ever having lived at all "

In *Grandsons*, Louis Adamic, in trying to find the meaning of life in the country of his adoption, develops what he describes as his " shadow idea "—" that most people in America were shadow-persons, with nothing substantial and permanent in their lives, nothing to hold on to— that most Americans had no consciousness of any vital background, no sense of continuity in their lives, no roots, and were not geared to, or affiliated with, anything bigger or more important than their individual selves "

This analysis of the American background and these quotations furnish the setting for the present conflicts in philosophy of education which, it may be said, few American educators appear to understand and which transcend the differences between traditionalists and progressives, absolutists and pragmatists

The American Tradition in Education

Whatever the conflicts may be in the philosophy of education, there is unanimity of faith in equality of educational opportunity [1]

[1] During the current depression some criticisms have been heard of the growing cost of education, but few have been disposed to attack the tradition of providing equal opportunities of education for all To give practical and effective reality to this faith it is urged that larger areas for the financial support of education be created

This faith was already well established in American thought even before the close of the eighteenth century It was adopted as a fundamental political doctrine by all publicists and statesmen from George Washington down to the leaders of to-day [1] The provision of equal educational opportunities for all is justified on two grounds · first, because a democratic form of government depends upon an informed and enlightened body of citizens, and, second, because through education opportunities are created for the unfolding of the fullest potentialities of the individual , in other words, whether viewed from the standpoint of the welfare of society or the needs of the individual, the provision of education for all on equal terms, irrespective of wealth or class, is justifiable From both points of view—the social and the individual—the provision of education is looked upon, to use the title of a book by Prof T H Briggs, as *The Great Investment*, producing wealth—material, civic and spiritual—for the individual as well as for society Because education is looked upon as a means of developing democratic ideals and social equality, there is a tendency to regard the public school as the sole agency to which this task can be entrusted and to look upon the private school as somewhat un-American in character and as the only justification for its existence the opportunity to experiment

Control of Education

The control of American education is in a very real sense in the hands of the public The Federal Government as such, while it participates in aiding certain types of education, chiefly vocational in character, has no voice in its control, which is vested in each of the States and is thence delegated in greater or lesser degree to the local authorities. While education is thus in principle a State concern, in practice it is administered and controlled by the local areas, varying in size from small districts to the largest cities Technically, local administration is in the hands of boards of education, constituted in different ways , in practice, the public, either directly or through group organisations, brings its influence to bear on its schools, which more truly belong to the public than in those systems in which they are controlled by central governmental authority The history of education in the United States has accordingly been the history of the education of the public itself as the essential basis for legislative action In this task individual citizens, societies, " service " clubs, working-men's associations, organised labour, political leaders and organisations have participated

The progress of education thus depends in a very real sense upon the ability of the public to appreciate the significance of education and the objectives of its school system Hence there have been developed all types of methods of enlightening the public on educa-

[1] See U S Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1913, No 28, *Expressions on Education by American Statesmen and Publicists*

tional matters—public meetings, parent-teachers' associations, school demonstrations and educational exhibits, newspaper publicity, educational weeks and official reports of those charged with administration. Here, indeed, lies one of the chief distinctions between education in the United States subject to the control—direct or indirect—of the public and education in the hands of a Governmental or bureaucratic authority. In practice this means that the public may bring pressure to bear upon the schools in return for the financial support which it gives, at its best, such pressure, where it is definitely employed in the interests of education and of the public as a whole, is desirable; at its worst the pressure may be exercised by special groups which seek to control education in their own interests. There have been examples of this in the attempt of public utility companies to introduce propaganda into the schools in their own favour and against any movement to bring such utilities under public ownership More recently in the unrest which has resulted from the depression, patriotic organisations and economic groups have sought to control any discussion of current controversial issues in the schools on the ground that the results are or may be subversive of the present political or economic order.

The Position of the Teachers

One of the anomalies of the educational situation is that this public faith in education has not led to the spread of a similar faith in the teachers who are responsible for its daily conduct There are several reasons to explain this anomaly In the first place, until quite recently the standards of teacher-preparation have been low. Secondly, partly to offset these low standards and partly as a result of the general efficiency movements in business and industry, the pattern of administration which had been developed in these fields was applied to education so that leadership in both administrative and instructional matters was entrusted to the leader or superintendent and his staff and the teachers' function was (and in many places still is) to carry out orders (in the form of curriculum, courses of study and methods of instruction) handed down from above A third reason for the concentration of control at the top and the lack of confidence in the teachers has been the short duration of the teachers' career, due in part to its over-feminisation, in part to its use as a stepping-stone to other careers. Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that participation of teachers in administration or in the preparation of curricula and courses of study has been slight until very recently. From these conditions there has resulted in the last three years a movement demanding not only greater participation on the part of teachers, but proposals which, though not described as such, are syndicalist in nature and insist that teachers as a profession should undertake to define educational policy and, if necessary, create a new social order through the schools. As a first step in this direction resolutions have recently been passed by the largest

educational association to secure academic freedom and protection of tenure for teachers

Social Influences on Education

While the control of education is vested directly in the public, and although teachers have on the whole had little to do with the determination of policies, the absence of a central authority, whether for the nation as a whole or for each state, with power to define and suggest or dictate policies, has led to the development of other agencies to provide such leadership. In the nineteenth century this leadership was provided in the United States, as in England, by outstanding men and women, both lay and professional Since the beginning of the present century, as the study of education was organised in its own right and distinct from the formal necessity of training teachers, and with it every aspect of education became the subject of research, this leadership has come from a number of professional institutions in universities, such as Teachers' College, Columbia University, the Schools of Education at Harvard, Yale and Chicago Universities and in a number of state universities ; or it has come from bureaus of educational research attached to school systems ; or from educational foundations, such as the General Education Board, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Commonwealth Fund and many others Educational associations and societies, if they have not themselves conducted research, have stimulated and disseminated it It is out of this general advancement of the study of education and research in it that specialised preparation has been provided, not only for the classroom teacher, but for administrators, psychologists, curriculum makers, vocational counsellors and so on The responsible leader in a local system of education is the superintendent of public education, a position which has become increasingly professional in character in the past two decades, although here and there it may still be at the mercy of the whims and caprices of the public.

Comparisons with other Countries

In attempting to understand the philosophy of education, it is, therefore, necessary to appreciate the background which differentiates education in the United States from education in most countries on the European continent There the philosophy of education is defined in the main by the bureaucratic authority in control of education The characteristic system of administration is hierarchical ; the preparation of teachers is controlled by the same authority and is more often dominated by the principles of the positive state than by the speculations of philosophers. There will be found in each of these countries certain well-defined goals and objectives for the different branches of the educational system. And even in England, where the central authority defines the conditions upon which grants are paid, where there exists a national

system of inspection, where neither the central nor the local authorities prescribe the details of curricula and courses of study, and where each school is virtually an independent unit, it is possible to detect a certain community of purposes, aims and objectives underlying which there is a common philosophy, even though the individual teacher may define this in terms of character-training or of the acquisition of a certain body of knowledge

For the United States, however, no categorical statement about the philosophy of education can be made except that from one end of the country to the other there is an abiding faith in democracy, which itself is accepted without definition, and in the right of the individual to receive the best education of which he is capable from the kindergarten to the university But beyond this it would be hazardous to claim that there is a common underlying philosophy governing the whole of education It may range in the same branch of education, elementary, for instance, from a philosophy which accepts the transmission of a set body of knowledge, facts and information to be studied from textbooks and " recited " in the classroom to a philosophy which stresses the " whole " individual, minimises the importance of the acquisition of knowledge, and emphasises " activity " as the essential basis of growth The philosophy of secondary education again may differ from that of elementary, and higher education in turn may be subject to a philosophy different from both

There are other important differences which must be taken into account Not the least important of these is the fact that the public school system is intended for all the children of all the people and that it is open under the same conditions at all levels from the kindergarten to the university without any distinctions of class or, with certain exceptions at the college and university level, of intellectual ability The American school has further undertaken a far greater multiplicity of tasks than the schools of any other country The churches, with the exception of the Roman Catholic, no longer exercise the educative influences which they once did, although the secularisation of public education has stimulated many to devote greater attention to the problems of religious instruction The family as an educative institution is also disintegrating rapidly, and the disappearance of its disciplinary influence has to be compensated for by other agencies, especially the school The disappearance of apprenticeship and the rapid mechanisation of industry common to-day the world over imposes a further obligation on the school The changing character of the home and the cheapness and accessibility of commercialised forms of recreation confronts the school with the latest problem of preparing for the use of leisure Finally, the fact cannot be ignored that there do not exist in the United States as readily definable concepts and standards of culture as are found in European countries, and, although these concepts are to-day beginning to be subjected to criticism, the fact remains that they have in the past defined, and still define, the standards of the

school. To put this idea in more concrete terms, there does not exist in the United States an education for status such as is represented in Germany by *Berechtigungen*, in France by *sanctions* or in England even by secondary school certificates.

Concept of Philosophy of Education

Until the close of the nineteenth century the philosophy of education in the United States was dominated, as elsewhere, by various forms of idealistic, transcendental or absolutistic philosophies closely intermingled in some cases with theology It sought to define education in relation to the whole of reality and in terms of universals or standards or ideals which are gradually realised in the individual by means of experiences carefully selected and organised in advance for the attainment of the desired ends While this interpretation of the philosophy of education has continued to exercise a considerable amount of influence in the practice of American education, its validity has been contested by another school of thought or philosophy which may be regarded as characteristically American De Tocqueville had already recognised nearly a century ago the essentially practical emphasis of the American mind and a certain avoidance of theoretical speculation , " general ideas," he wrote, " alarm their minds, which are accustomed to positive calculations, and they hold practice in more honour than theory " From another point of view this meant that in the conquest of the frontier, when the individual was confronted by constantly changing and novel conditions, he could feel little confidence in, and rely to a very slight extent on, traditions, principles and theories which had originated under different conditions and in other environments With Isocrates the common man may have felt that " that which is of no immediate use either for speech or for action does not deserve the name of philosophy," and that " philosophers are those who occupy themselves with those studies and pursuits from which they will most quickly obtain this practical wisdom or capacity for forming judgments " It is, therefore, in direct line with this concept of philosophy that John Dewey, the leading exponent of pragmatism, regards the Sophists, who " began to apply the results and methods of the natural philosophers to human conduct," as " the first body of professional educators in Europe "

Philosophy, according to Dewey, can only be described in terms of the problems with which it deals, and these problems originate in the conflicts and difficulties of social life

> " The problems are such things as the relation of mind and matter , body and soul , humanity and physical nature , the individual and the social , theory—or knowing, and practice—or doing The philosophical systems which formulate these problems record the main lineaments and difficulties of contemporary social practice . Whenever philosophy has been taken seriously, it has always been assumed that it signified achieving wisdom which would influence the conduct of life "[1]

[1] Dewey, J.. *Democracy and Education*, page 378. (New York, 1916.)

The sciences give us the facts and generalisations tenable about the world,

> . . . but when we ask what *sort* of permanent disposition of action toward the world the scientific disclosures exact of us, we are raising a philosophic question [1]

Philosophy must accordingly be practical in its effects and, like thinking, with which it is connected, it is prospective in reference , it is " thinking what the known demands of us—what responsive attitude it exacts It presents an assignment of something to be done—something to be tried " And it is this quality of the practical, of dealing with life-situations of which one becomes conscious when they become unsettled and result in a disturbance to be overcome that distinguishes the pragmatic concept of philosophy from the traditional metaphysical and speculative

> The student of philosophy " in itself " is always in danger of taking it as so much nimble or severe intellectual exercise—as something said by philosophers and concerning them alone . Unless a philosophy is to remain symbolic—or verbal—or a sentimental indulgence for a few, or else mere arbitrary dogma, its auditing of past experience and its programme of values must take effect in conduct [2]

The essence of these definitions is the view that, as contrasted with any transcendental or idealist metaphysics which posit an Absolute or finality or fixed ends or values, philosophy deals with what is uncertain in the subject-matter of experience and " aims to locate the nature of the perplexity and to frame hypotheses for its clearing up to be tested in action " Philosophy thus originates not in wonder about reality, but in its breakdown, in uncertainties, in conflicts, in the desire to remove obstacles to an ongoing process of thought or action Hence values do not exist in advance , there are no eternal verities ; values are only relative to man and are subjective ; they are intrinsic in themselves or are instrumental in the sense that they lead to other experiences

> To value, says Dewey, means primarily to prize, to esteem , but, secondarily, it means to appraise, to estimate It means, that is, the act of cherishing something, holding it dear, and also the act of passing judgment upon the nature and amount of its value as compared with something else To value in the latter sense is to valuate or evaluate The distinction coincides with that sometimes made between intrinsic and instrumental values. . . In the abstract or at large, apart from the needs of a particular situation in which choice has to be made, there is no such thing as degrees or order of value.[3]

The following quotations from Dewey's writings may be cited to summarise his concept of the significance and function of philosophy :

> As long as the notion persists that values are authentic and valid only on condition that they are properties of Being independent of human

[1] Dewey, J : *Democracy and Education*, page 379. (New York, 1916.)
[2] *Ibid.*, page 383. [3] *Ibid.*, pages 279 f.

action, as long as it is supposed that their right to regulate action is dependent upon their being independent of action, so long there will be needed schemes to prove that values are, in spite of the findings of science, genuine and known qualifications of reality itself . . . If they (people) are forbidden to find standards in the course of experience they will seek them somewhere else, if not in revelation, then in the deliverance of a reason that is above experience [1]

The philosophy of education neither originates nor settles ends It occupies an intermediate and instrumental or regulative place Ends actually reached, consequences that actually accrue, are surveyed, and their values estimated in the light of a general scheme of values

But if a philosophy starts to reason out its conclusions without definite and constant regard to the concrete experiences that define the problem for thought, it becomes speculative in a way that justifies contempt As far as ends and values are concerned, the empirical material that is necessary to keep philosophy from being fantastic in content and dogmatic in form is supplied by the ends and values which are produced in educational processes as they are actually executed [2]

Prof William H Kilpatrick, a disciple of John Dewey, who more than anyone else has helped to popularise Dewey's philosophy among teachers, has stated that a problem in philosophy arises when an individual or a group is confronted by a difficult situation and asks, "What shall we do?" or, "What policy shall we adopt?" The solution to such a problem may be found by a rough-and-ready common-sense method or by a philosophical procedure; the difference, says Dr Kilpatrick, is only one of degree The philosopher has to scrutinise facts, and philosophising on them "is essentially a careful effort at establishing policies or decisions of personal conduct," which recalls William James's definition that "philosophy is an unusually stubborn effort to think consistently," except that Kilpatrick with Dewey would recognise the existence of purposeful thinking only This position may be illustrated by two quotations:

We ask then, What shall I do? when we face a situation of varied and more or less conflicting wishes Or, since everything we wish has at least that much value, we may say that varied and more or less conflicting values are at stake In such cases of conflict a "solution" is finding a path or line of conduct which promises to take satisfactory care of the values at stake, to harmonise the wishes into or under one wish.[3]

Philosophy in contrast (to science) faces a situation of necessary action It says, "The case is doubtful There is apparent conflict of values Any course seems likely to bring good or evil What shall I do?" Note that any such situation confronting is actual and must be met, and that any choice or course whatever, including refusal to act, is *an* answer which carries with it its appropriate harvest of consequences. Philosophy then asks, "In the light of all this, what shall I do?" . . .

For philosophy, on the other hand (in contrast to science), consequences of value and import are integral in its purview. It is just the consequences that follow because people see and feel that most of all constitute the data which concern philosophy.

[1] Dewey, J · *The Quest for Certainty*, page 44. (New York, 1929.)
[2] Dewey, J.. *The Sources of a Science of Education*, pages 56 f. (New York, 1929)
[3] Kilpatrick, W. H. . "A Defense of Philosophy in Education." *Harvard Teachers Record*, November 1931, page 118

> Science concerns itself with results that follow in terms of " causation " Philosophy must know and use these, but its final concern is with consequences that follow because these things have *meanings* for the people variously concerned
>
> The effort (of philosophy) is, as far as may be possible, to find a course of action which will save all the interests, which will integrate all into one course of action that best saves all [1]

The basic assumption in these statements is that one does not think so long as life proceeds smoothly and undisturbed The stimulus to thinking arises when the impulses to action are thwarted or confronted by obstacles, hindrances or disturbances , thinking then becomes an attempt to plan the next step in action in such a way as to overcome the obstacles or difficulties The validity of the thinking is gauged by success in overcoming these, or, in other words, values are not predetermined, but emerge from successful attainment of purposeful activity " That which guides us truly is true," and mental integrity or a unified mind is attained only when conscious intent and consummation, that is, purposeful activity and success, are in harmony with the consequences actually affected [2]

This theory accordingly denies both the possibility and the necessity for a theory of reality since the world in which we live is one of process and change A theory of reality would be possible only in a " fixed-in-advance universe " [3]

All that philosophy need concern itself with are " methods of enquiry, observation, experiment, of forming and following hypotheses," and the security of procedure or the *method* of attaining and testing beliefs is enough to guarantee intellectual and emotional peace To those who object that pragmatism is not a philosophy, but a methodology, the explanation is given that the philosophy of experimentalism is itself a way of looking at the world. To accept the world or life or reality as a datum fixed-in-advance is to perpetuate old assumptions or hang-overs and to ignore the factor of change or the precariousness of existence, of which novelty and variety are more characteristic than completeness and certainty In the words of Prof John L Childs

> Existence in its ultimate character is thus seen to be changing, uncertain Hence life itself is inherently experimental A fundamental aim of education is to enable men and women to make that experiment—which is life—more intelligent [4]

Accordingly, when applied to education, the function of philosophy is not to discover extrinsic values, universals or eternal verities, to

[1] Kilpatrick, W H. " Philosophy and Research " *School and Society*, July 12th, 1929, page 41.

[2] Dewey, J *Individualism, Old and New*, page 58 (New York, 1930)

[3] Faced with the definition of philosophy as the study both of what can and of what cannot be known, the pragmatist would say that any attempt to study the latter is vain, futile and barren, while nothing can be known except as it arises through action, conduct or experience

[4] Childs, J. L. . *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, page 55. (New York, 1931)

frame curricula and courses of study to incorporate these, and to devise methods by which they will be attained by the learner, but to define the procedures by which the learner will be placed in the position of developing his own values and securing " a better balance of interests " by reconstructing his own experiences

> Philosophy of education is not an external application of ready-made ideas to a system of practice having a radically different origin and purpose It is only an explicit formulation of the problems of the formation of right mental and moral habitudes in respect to the difficulties of contemporary social life The most penetrating definition of philosophy which can be given from this point of view is, then, that it is the theory of education in its most general phases [1]

Educational Psychology

The philosophy of experimentalism and instrumentalism which has as its central thesis the emergence of values from the consequences of action and of thinking from obstacles and difficulties in the smooth running of life had as its counterpart and until recently its scientific corroboration in the new educational psychology Herbartian psychology and doctrine of interest began to be subjected to criticism towards the close of the nineteenth century at the same time as the abstract and metaphysical analysis which posited certain fixed psychological entities or faculties A new direction was given to the study of psychology by William James, who insisted that psychology must rest on a foundation of biology and on objective investigations of activities.

The outstanding contributor to a new scientific psychology of education was Prof Edward L Thorndike, who redirected thought on the concept of original nature, individual differences, laws of learning fundamental to teaching, rates of learning and the whole theory and practice of tests and measurements He took the study of psychology out of the laboratory into the schoolroom and made it objective and experimental According to Thorndike—

> Psychology is the science of intellects, characters and behaviour of animals, including man Psychology makes ideas of education clearer Psychology helps to measure the probability that an aim is attainable Psychology enlarges and refines the aim of education Psychology contributes to understanding the means of education . . Psychology contributes to knowledge of the methods of teaching The modification of instincts and capacities into habits and powers are the subjects of research

In Thorndike's psychology the counterpart of the experimental, instrumental philosophy of thinking as the result of hindrances to the ongoing process of life or action is the theory that mental processes are forms of adjustments to stimuli. The development and growth of the individual result from the interaction between his original nature and his environment which furnishes the stimuli ; they are, in other words, responses to situations Habits and think-

[1] Dewey, J. *Democracy and Education*, page 386.

ing are the results of such responses and are encouraged or discouraged according as a situation is satisfying and pleasurable or annoying and painful. From this theory were developed the laws of learning—the law of readiness, the law of exercise (use and disuse) and the law of effect (satisfaction and annoyance). On this psychology was built a theory of education which was analogous to the pragmatic

> The ultimate aim of education is to realise a condition in which human wants must be fully satisfied Human wants are given this position of supreme importance for the reason that any thing, act, condition or event in life has importance, value, interest or significance only as it tends to affect—to satisfy or thwart—man's cravings Human wants become the central concern of the process of education because they are the primary and essential factors in initiating and sustaining actions of all kinds Thinking, imagination, feeling, acting, forming and breaking habits are subordinate to the dynamic factors—which may be termed wants, urges, cravings, impulses, interests—which generate and maintain them To change a want is to make the most fundamental of possible changes Once a want is changed, all sorts of subordinate changes in thought, feeling and action occur as a result Each individual will secure the fullest realisation of his wants when they harmonise with and facilitate the fulfilment of the wants of mankind as a whole [1]

As in the pragmatic philosophy, education is the reconstruction of experience or the redirection of human impulses, urges and interests, but without any statement of the direction of the goals and without any theory of values other than " the wants of mankind as a whole "

The psychology of education propounded by Thorndike was for a long time accepted as the scientific justification of the philosophy of education which gained wide acceptance at the same time—the emphasis on growth and development, on education as the action and reaction between original nature and environment, and on the influence of satisfiers and annoyers as factors of readjustment or reconstruction of experience Recently this stimulus-response psychology has been subjected to criticism even by those who based part of the philosophy upon it It is criticised as too atomistic, as too abstract, as dealing with the individual only partially In the definition of the growth of the individual as the result of his reaction to the environment there is considerable danger of implying that the environment is itself static If the development of the individual depends upon his environment, then the function of psychology is to study how the dynamic qualities of the individual may be released so that he not only grows through interaction with his environment, but also helps to reconstruct it. The change demanded is that psychology must look upon the individual not as a bundle of atomistic responses, but as an organismic whole, as a unique personality within the total situation.[2] So, too, the whole so-called

[1] Thorndike, E L , and Gates, A. I. . *Elementary Principles of Education*, pages 30 ff. (New York, 1929.)

[2] See Kilpatrick, W. H. edr. . *The Educational Frontier*, pages 70 ff. (New York, 1933) , and Kilpatrick, W. H. : *A Reconstructed Theory of the Educative Process* (New York, 1935).

scientific movement in education (tests and measurements) are subjected to the same criticism—that they derive the data to be tested and measured from the environment as it is, fixed and static, and make no contribution towards change and reconstruction, to a dynamic society [1]

Rise and Progress of Pragmatism in Education

Pragmatism is an indigenous American product It differs from traditional schools of thought in that its central contribution is a method for the constant reconstruction of experience and therefore of values , to that extent it refuses to accept any predetermined, finite body of doctrines , it is not interested in universals, but in particulars ; abstract thought has no place in its system, which seeks to develop an attitude of mind and a method, that of experimentation, for dealing with concrete situations and problems of immediate concern, whether in the social, political or educational realm It rejects as vain and futile the attempt to consider life *sub specie æternitatis* and concentrates on the precarious, changing, ongoing nature of life and of man in it It is not interested in closed systems of thought, but in " the universe with the lid off " Nothing can, therefore, be regarded as preordained, and to attempt to adjust life in its many aspects to anything preordained is to perpetuate insoluble dualisms which can only be resolved by regarding life and experience as continuing, ongoing process Thus the pragmatist refuses to recognise the traditional dualisms of thought and action, theory and practice, knowing and doing, mind and body, intellectual activity and physical activity, subject-matter and method, leisure classes and masses, school and society, child and curriculum, and so on These dualisms disappear when experience is defined as something that is itself active

In stressing life as changing and moving onward, pragmatism is the rationalisation of that American tradition of rootlessness which has been described earlier It also represents in a sense that strong faith in human progress and the perfectibility of man which accompanied the original faith in democracy and its ideals Other factors have also entered into the formation of the pragmatic point of view. With Charles Peirce, the founder of what he called pragmaticism, it took the form of applying the scientific-experimental method to the development of sound methods of thinking , truth and clarity can only be attained by the experimental method of arriving at knowledge, and meanings can only be tested by their consequences It was, however, through William James rather than Peirce that the term " pragmatism " came to be accepted as a theory of truth. The scientific-experimental method could accordingly be applied to the study of the mind and of human relations and to the control of human affairs.

[1] See Kilpatrick, W H , edr *The Educational Frontier*, pages 85, 171 f , 210, 258 , and Commission on the Social Studies, *Conclusions and Recommendations*, pp 86 ff (New York, 1934)

The Darwinian theory of evolution was also drawn upon to prove that nothing is static, that everything is always in a process of change and growth, and therefore dynamic The American scene itself furnished ample proof of change as it moved from an agrarian form of society to an increasingly urban and highly industrialised type of organisation And this change was accompanied by a change in the character of democracy itself—politically and economically Further, the rapid industrialisation of the country was itself the result of the application of technology to one aspect of man's concerns All these changes had not been produced by an attempt to adjust life to a preordained plan, but were the result of thinking or invention applied to the reconstruction of the economic situation and therefore bringing forth something new, which had not been fixed in advance Accordingly the world is not something that is predetermined or absolute, but indeterminate and ongoing, and its characteristics are not fixity and certainty, but novelty, change, growth, adaptation and adjustment, and values do not exist in advance, but are created in and through human experience Here was proof that thought and activity are one and mutually interactive, this might be true in human affairs and relations, as in science, but to be fruitful thought and action must be applied to concrete events and situations They are not concerned with surveying the past, except as the past has something to offer in dealing with an immediate situation, nor are they so much concerned with the present except in so far as the progress of the present is confronted by difficulties and obstacles that prevent its flowing on into the future Intelligence is accordingly not something that is passive, but its essential quality is creation, the selection of means and ends for action The application of scientific method to the material environment had produced a new civilisation, until the same method is applied to the spiritual environment, there must necessarily result a cultural lag which inevitably results in maladjustments, social and individual Social health and social welfare cannot be attained until cultural, spiritual life is continuous with the material environment The life of the individual and of society is likely to be out of joint if any attempt is made to apply outmoded, traditional ideas and ideals, evolved and developed under one type of civilisation to another which has already changed In other words, there are no eternal verities and no fixed values; values and meanings can only have validity in the light of the consequences of action

Change and precariousness, then, are the characteristics of modern life, and if man is to control the machine and technology, the greatest factors in producing this change, he cannot be content to operate with outworn methods of thought and action, but must constantly be prepared to meet the unknown future. In the words of Prof Kilpatrick—

> We face an unknown future, not fixed as to goal. Whether we like it or no, a philosophy of change is the only one that can so deal with our

world as to give us guidance The present intellectual problem of man is to bring his thought world abreast of his scientific discoveries Logic, ethics, religion, philosophy, need to be remade into consistency with the situation Otherwise they fail us in our need

Education, therefore, must consciously face its highly unknown future Our situation while shifting is, however, flexible and within limits amenable to our control The factors which mainly guide us are suggested by such terms as change, increasingly rapid change, unknown future, thought, control within limits, experimental method, testing thought by results, methods approved by test As we recall the uneven cultural advance, our emphasis must be upon social moral outlook and effective grasp in order to bring and keep these abreast of the rapidly moving " materials aspects " of our civilisation [1]

While professing a refusal to accept values fixed in advance, the pragmatic philosophers have in the last few years discussed education as a force for moulding a " better " civilisation But first of all the unsatisfactory economic system must be reorganised , such a reorganisation can be brought about by harnessing the promises of the new technology to the reconstruction of material civilisation While it was the vogue, " technocracy " with its promise of shorter hours of labour, an income for every family, ranging according to various calculations from $4,000 to $20,000 a year, secured the allegiance of some leaders of this school When technocracy was discarded, attention was devoted to a new programme of education for " a new social order " To quote some theses recently put forward by Profs Kilpatrick and Childs

While the achievements of our American civilisation and culture are in comparison with others highly significant, it still remains true that our present social situation is seriously awry

The crucial element and factor that most accounts for this existing evil state of affairs is, it seems safe to assert, our unsatisfactory economic system It has got out of order It thus upsets nearly everything else When we shall have straightened it out and so have reduced it to its proper subordination, then civilisation too can give first place to finer and better things [2]

It would seem that the use of the terms " better " and " finer " imply a standard of values, but it is doubtful whether the pragmatist would admit this and whether he would not still insist on his definition that " the good life is the life good to live "

The same refusal to countenance a system of values leads to a similar inconsistency Thus Dewey, criticising American life for its quantification, mechanisation and standardisation, which in themselves imply standards of values, deplores the fact that—

With an enormous command of instrumentalities, with possession of a secure technology, we glorify the past, and legalise and idealise the *status quo*, instead of seriously asking how we are to employ the means at our disposal so as to form an equitable and stable society [3]

[1] Kilpatrick, W H *Education for a Changing Civilization*, pages 83, 84 f (New York, 1926)

[2] From a mimeographed statement on *The Rôle of Education in the Present Social Situation* (New York, 1935)

[3] Dewey, J *Individualism, Old and New*, pages 16 f. (New York, 1930.)

Emotionalism, unreality and discontent cannot be eliminated until the individual has some secure objects of allegiance as the basis of his stability and self-possession. The individual is lost through detachment from acknowledged social values. But society must be remade to serve the growth of a new type of integrated individual correlative to the realities of the age

> The future is always unpredictable Ideals, including that of a new and effective individuality, must themselves be framed out of the possibilities of existing conditions, even if these be conditions that constitute a corporate and industrial age The ideals take shape and gain a content as they operate in remaking conditions [1]

Obviously there is in these statements a nostalgia for values toward which the world is to move Nowhere has this changed point of view, which the pragmatists themselves do not seem to recognise, been better expressed than in the concluding paragraphs of *The Educational Frontier*,[2] a volume prepared by William H Kilpatrick (editor), Boyd H Bode, John L Childs, John Dewey, H Gordon Hullfish, R B Raup and V. T Thayer The volume undertook " to deal directly with the social-economic situation and its interaction with education, and in this way to show the philosophy of education properly at work " It concludes as follows .

> It is possible to put the processes of social change and of education in opposition to one another, and then debate whether desirable social change would follow education, or whether radical social change must come before marked improvements in education can take place We hold that the two are correlative and interactive No social modification, slight or revolutionary, can endure except as it enters into the action of a people through their desires and purposes This introduction and perpetuation are effected by education But every improvement in the social structure and its operations releases the educative resources of mankind and gives them a better opportunity to enter into normal social processes so that the latter become themselves more truly educative
>
> The process of interaction is circular and never-ending We plead for a better, a more just, a more open and straightforward, a more public, society, in which free and all-round communication and participation occur as a matter of course in order that education may be bettered We plead for an improved and enlarged education in order that there may be brought into existence a society all of whose operations shall be more genuinely educative, conducive to the development of desire, judgment and character. The desired education cannot occur within the four walls of a school shut off from life Education must itself assume an increasing responsibility for participation in projecting ideas of social change and taking part in their execution in order to be educative The great problem of American education is the discovery of methods and techniques by which this more direct and vital participation may be brought about We have conceived that the office of a philosophy of education at the present time is to indicate this pressing need and to sketch the lines on which alone, in our conception, it can be met The method of experimental intelligence as the method of action cannot be established as a constant and operative habit of mind and character apart from education But it cannot be established *within* education except as the activities of

[1] Dewey, J · *Individualism, Old and New*, page 169. (New York, 1930)
[2] Chicago and New York, 1933.

the latter are founded on a clear idea of the active social forces of the day, of what they are doing, of their effect, for good and harm, upon values, and except as this idea and ideal are acted upon to direct experimentation in the currents of social life that run outside the school and that condition the effect and determine the educational meaning of whatever the school does [1]

From an educational theory which urged closer integration of school and society as the only reality through a theory which advocated education for a changing civilisation, the adherents of the pragmatic philosophy of education have joined hands with those who advocate a new planned order of society, based on the abolition of the profit motive and on collectivism, who urge teachers to seize power and make the most of it, and who in pressing for academic freedom for teachers have in mind the right of teachers not only to discuss contemporary controversial issues, but to present their own points of view [2]

The present status of educational theory, which is the outcome of pragmatic philosophy directed to social reconstruction, is perhaps best summarised in the following theses put forward by Prof. John L Childs [3]

1 It is through the nurture of the culture that human beings are developed
2 To be a moral undertaking, education must accept responsibility for the development of the whole child
3 Genuine selection among cultural-ends and life-values is inherent in organised education
4 Selection of materials and purposes for the school always involves the interpretation and appraisal of our culture
5 Although thus dependent upon a particular culture, education also provides from within its process certain standards by which it is to be judged
6 Education can never be made into an exact social science
7 Responsibility for educational selection and rejection becomes critically important in a period of cultural transformation
8 Authentic elements in American culture are now in such deep-seated conflict that the educator is compelled to choose between them
9 Choices between cultural patterns as basic as these are bound to bring cleavages into the American culture
10 Education will fail to make an important contribution to the reconstruction of our culture if it seeks to move no more rapidly than approval of the whole community will permit

Thus an educational philosophy which started out with an emphasis on growth as the cumulative movement of action toward a later (but undefined) result becomes an educational philosophy which advocates social change and the selection and rejection of

[1] Kilpatrick, W H , edr *The Educational Frontier*, pages 318 f
[2] See Counts, G S *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York, 1932) , Committee of the Progressive Education Association *A Call to the Teachers of the Nation* (New York, 1933) , Commission on the Social Studies *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission* (New York, 1934)
[3] Childs, J L *Ten Theses on Education and American Culture.* (Edgewood School Press, Greenwich, Conn , 1935)

cultural patterns Is there not evidence here of the acceptance of a philosophy of values (better, finer, nobler things , a new social order, etc) fixed in advance, to which the process of education should be directed ?

Educational Implications

From the pragmatic point of view the only data of education are the organism and its environment , man is a behaving animal endowed with a nervous system ready to respond to stimuli from his environment The organism strives constantly to establish an equilibrium between itself and its environment As the equilibrium is disturbed, the existing strain expresses itself in a need, want, drive or urge to restore the equilibrium Thus the organism is affected by its environment and affects it , it is both passive and active, and in the movement or activity called forth by a situation of strain it learns to modify and control its environment This interaction between the organism and environment is experience, and since it is individual and unique it cannot be imposed or transmitted from without Since the environment in which human experience takes place is social in character, the child develops as a social being in sharing in social experiences (thinking, feeling, acting) as an active partner Education accordingly starts with the impulses and the nature of the learner and is the process of remaking and reconstructing them through direct and active participation in social experiences Education is, therefore, its own end and cannot be controlled by aims external to the learner , it is a process of development from within

The child is plastic and consequently adaptable for growth , it has the ability to learn from experience and through this ability to secure control of new experiences as new meanings are acquired Growth is synonymous with life and is stimulated by continual increase of meanings through experience and continually increased sharing of interests The very quality of plasticity which makes growth possible may result in conformity or habituation to the environment or to control of the environment , in other words, it makes possible both the adjustment of the organism to the environment as well as ability to adjust the environment to the individual. Growth, like education, does not have an end in itself, but is synonymous with the continuous reorganisation and reconstruction of meanings It is an intrinsic process and cannot be promoted by external pressure which results in conformity to a fixed, static environment, to ends and purposes outside of the growing organism Given the proper environment, growth means growth in organic control, in intelligence

What, then, stimulates growth ? Not pressure from without, not the imposition of external standards, not the coercion of authority, but a disturbance of that equilibrium between the organism and its environment which causes annoyance and the recognition of a need

or inability to satisfy a want, drive or urge The organism grows or learns when it has a felt need , a need is felt when the organism is confronted by a novel situation, by a difficulty, by obstacles to its own smooth-running progress The novel situation is the stimulus and is novel to the extent that available responses are inadequate In order to remove the difficulty or obstacle or to solve the problem so created, the organism is stimulated to " contrive " a new response in order to secure control of the situation which blocks the ongoing process If the new response removes the difficulty and enables the organism to control its environment with full satisfaction, then the organism has come out of the experience with new meanings, attitudes or dispositions which will enable it more easily to avoid or overcome a similar difficulty in the future The process of readjusting in such a situation is an act of learning , if properly conducted this experience has involved thinking, activity, the use and development of knowledge, the formulation of a hypothesis, idea or ideal, and, if the consequences have been satisfactory or successful, the reorganisation and reconstruction of meanings for future use The whole process has modified the organism Hence the important element in the process of growth or education is not knowledge fixed-in-advance, but training in the method of acquiring and using it Again, since the organism itself enters upon the activity of learning in the light of its own felt needs, there can be no predetermined objectives

The educative process must accordingly centre round the child's own needs, interests and purposes , they cannot be assigned or transmitted by the teacher , automatic growth is possible only as the child's purposes are spontaneous and wholehearted and originate in his own felt needs stimulated by a problematic situation The assignment of purposes, predetermined objectives and subject-matter fixed-in-advance or set-out-to-be-learned can only produce docility, encourage passive rote-learning and end in conformity with things as they are Activities in which the child engages because he sees in them a purpose—the solution of difficulties and the removal of obstacles to further action—help to adapt the child to changing conditions, which are characteristic of the modern world and develop in turn a dynamic habit of mind The best, if not the only, conditions of learning are present when the child is ready to learn, that is to say, is engaged wholeheartedly in what he wants to do, has definite purposes in mind, and wishes to satisfy a need If such purposes are absent and coercion or dictation is resorted to, the child does not devote his whole attention to the task, and is likely to hate the subject, the teacher and the school " When the purpose has gone," says Kilpatrick, " the learning process has much deteriorated The excellence of the purpose definition is that it calls attention to this essential attitude on the part of the learner " [1]

It will be noticed that in this description of the learning process or growth, there is no reference to knowledge, intelligence, mind,

[1] Kilpatrick, W. H. . *Foundations of Method*, page 349. (New York, 1926.)

subject-matter, values, interest, discipline, effort or aims The use of the term " organism " has also been adopted recently to indicate that it is the whole child that is being educated and learning affects both body and mind, both intellect and emotions The avoidance of the terms mentioned is due to a refusal to recognise them as existing prior to the act of learning, but as a part of and emerging out of the process of itself, since the organism and the environment are continuous " Knowledge " is not something which has to do with the past, but with the future , it is not a quantum which exists prior to action, but grows out of it and is itself active in selecting purposes and employing available resources in order to create new knowledge to meet new situations and demands The statement that " knowledge is power " is true only to the extent that it is action and in active use ; in other words, knowledge has significance only in the instrumental sense " Intelligence " in the same way is not some pre-existing quality or endowment of an individual, but is itself activity, doing, the conceiving of purposes, planning of ends, selection and adaptation of means and arriving at a solution, or, in the words of William James, " the pursuance of future ends and the choice of means for their attainment are thus the mark and criterion of the presence of mentality in a phenomenon " So growth in intelligence is growth in organic control, and " mind is the name we give to the way in which one grapples with the stream of novelly developing situations " (Kilpatrick) " Subject-matter " as an educational term is also discarded as representing bodies of knowledge, facts or skills fixed-in-advance and irrespective of the context in which they may be needed , or else it is criticised as a result of logical compartmentalisation, while thinking, learning, activity, problems and situations demand freedom to draw upon whatever type of experience may be necessary for solving the task in hand To learn " subjects " is not to learn in the sense of organising experiences into one's structure, but to memorise under some kind of external pressure—coercion of teacher or parents, or the exigencies of examinations or of promotions " Interests " and " discipline " are eliminated for the same reason—that they are extrinsic as used generally ; " interest " and " discipline " properly conceived are intrinsic in the learning process only when the child is wholeheartedly engaged in solving a problematic situation Nor can " values " be conceived of as existing in advance , from the point of view of behaviour they represent things that " promise help with certain recurring upsets These helpful things are desired for what they promise The things themselves we call ' goods,' their recognised promise (especially after criticism) we call ' value ' " (Kilpatrick) The ultimate test or value of all ideas, principals, ethical situations, according to Childs, is " their ability to make good " Hence there can be no hierarchy of values among subjects and Spencer's question, " What knowledge is of most worth ? " has no meaning. Finally, " aims " cannot be defined in advance , it is of the essence of the learning process that the child recognises a

purpose, a difficulty or a problem and defines his method of attack and his ends or aims which guide and direct his activity

Criticising the graded school based on learning as acquisition, Prof Kilpatrick writes

> Knowledge as something existing before the act of study can begin, learn (in the traditional sense as described above), typical rote memorisation, testing, promotion—these four fit as do hand and glove Each implies and fits into the other But once let learn mean the creation of a novel plan of action to fit a novelly unfolding situation, on the one hand to grapple consciously with the situation, and on the other to enter pervasively into the remaking of the self—let learn mean these things (as it does, in fact) and all this older hand-and-glove arrangement is upset [1]

Uncertainty, indecision, difficulties and obstacles to the ongoing life process create needs, wants, drives and urges in the organism to correct the situation, "in order to move on," that life may itself become more adequate This process once started is the spring or activity which releases creative intelligence to discover the knowledge to solve the situation, here is engendered true thinking and through true thinking applied to a variety of situations the habit of using the experimental method is acquired The thinking process then consists of (1) a felt difficulty or need, (2) analysis of the difficulty or need to locate the problem, (3) a tentative solution or hypothesis, (4) trial of the hypothesis and substitution of another, if the first does not work, (5) application and verification The only test of the solution planned or tried is whether it will work, that is, whether it will give satisfaction or restore the disturbed equilibrium Through such a process in what is called a life-situation the pupil will learn more than from the acquisition of subject-matter set-out-to-be-learned Further, the process is self-directing and trains in action and conduct "in the light of foresought, foreseen and foreweighed consequences" (Kilpatrick) The individual again is not subject to that warping which may result from having ends imposed upon him externally, and this freedom from external control helps to build up a free, integrated and well-adjusted personality, because there is no conflict between the organism and his environment, and the organism learns to control its environment The organism, having restored the equilibrium through its own creative act, has enriched life and attained happiness, for "it appears that the most defensible and satisfying quality of life is found when life itself is of the kind to lead to the increase of the life quality itself" (Kilpatrick).

Pragmatic philosophy of education would, therefore, discard curriculum and courses of study based on subject-matter fixed-in-advance and put the pupil into learning situations which would release his creative intelligence and provide a succession of novelly developing experiences. The extreme application of this doctrine has in some places led to exaggerated interpretations of freedom;

[1] Kilpatrick, W. H. · *A Reconstructed Theory of the Educative Process*, page 18. (New York, 1935.)

in its more moderate interpretation attempts are made to provide a place for the teacher as adviser and guide Subject-matter is then replaced by activities which stimulate searching, handling, construction, use of evidence and testing The school as a co-operative community must reproduce the characteristic methods of social life and must be practical in character In this theory there is a certain nostalgia for the days when children participated in activities about the household and acquired knowledge through practical, shared experiences The emphasis must be removed from traditional subject-matter and transferred to problems that have social meanings and significance

> As we plan for a better world, to deal with the old is difficult, but for the young prospective social problems furnish us the best intellectual subject-matter they can have
>
> If some wonder how, in an already crowded curriculum, we can find time for the extended study of social problems here demanded, one answer is clear Rid the schools of dead stuff With those who are in fair touch with educational thought the opinion grows that the present secondary curriculum remains not so much because it is defensible as because we do not have assured material in workable form to put in its place For most pupils, Latin can and should follow Greek into the discard Likewise with most of mathematics for most pupils Much of present history study should give way to study of social problems (where more history will be gained than in the old way) Modern foreign languages can hardly be defended for most who now study them With reference to English and the sciences, they need remaking from within rather than rejection To speak thus in terms of subjects must not be taken to imply that the separate subject is the best teaching unit [1]

The theory of learning is applied to the problem of moral training Here, too, the young must establish their own standards of conduct with nothing fixed in advance or imposition of external authority This follows not merely from the theory of the learning process, but also from the fact that moral standards themselves change , in a period of rapidly changing moral standards the adult generation must refrain from setting up standards which may result in warping growth, in maladjustments of personality and in a divided self

> Several considerations lead the experimentalist to the conclusion that moral intuitions are no more to be accepted as final than any other form of immediate awareness As has already been explained, the experimentalist finds an essential unity in experience There is no specific moral realm except in so far as we, for purposes of convenience or emphasis, choose to classify certain types of behaviour as pre-eminently " moral " The desirability of thus classifying some acts as moral and others as non-moral or amora' ch "i.c.d by the experimentalist He believes that whenever a choice has to be made between a better and a worse in experience, we face a genuine moral situation [2]

[1] Kilpatrick, W H *Education for a Changing Civilization,* pages 111 f. (New York, 1926)

Childs, J L . *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism,* pages 108 f. (New York, 1931.)

Moral standards and ideals and moral conduct can accordingly be developed only in the light of a particular situation and can only be reached by weighing and evaluating the probable consequences of action The emphasis both on change and on a morality based on consequences are brought together by Kilpatrick in the following statement :

> The school must face facts as they are With questioning so abroad in the world, eager youth will question too This, then, is the demand upon us A new situation in morals confronts The old plan has broken down It does not fit the fact of ever rapid change A new procedure must be found, one that prepares for the unknown changing future. External authority gone, we must help our youth to find the only real authority that can command respect, the internal authority of " how it works when tried " Authoritarianism in morals dies A better morality must survive [1]

More fully the same theory of character formation is expressed in the following quotation from the *Tenth Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence, page 76 (Washington, D C , 1932)

> It is unnecessary and undesirable, however, to pretend to the child that questions of conduct are all settled, or that there is universal agreement upon them Before his habits have become crystallised he should be introduced to this diversity and should be led to explore the facts and arguments bearing on debatable issues The present trend in theory is to place on the child the responsibility for working out his own code of conduct with some help from teachers and other adults in analysing situations and with such light as he can get from a study of the history of mankind's experience with similar problems The authority of society or of any part of society is not presented to the child as a guide to conduct Reliance is placed on the experience of each individual child The experience of the race in discovering what line of conduct works out satisfactorily and what does not is utilised only in so far as the child sees fit to appeal to it

The pragmatist theory of education is rooted in a profound faith in democracy as a form of society which looks upon the individual as an end and not as a means " The only goal we can accept is one that values personality " (Kilpatrick), and the only way in which personality can develop is through freedom While responsibility of the individual is rarely, if ever, discussed, it is expected to result from critically weighing the consequences of action in a social environment. Like the English utilitarians, there seems to be inherent in this concept the notion that altruism is the outcome of egoism, and that interest well understood leads man to find his own delight in that of others From the philosophical side, in the refusal to consider reality as something that pre-exists, ideas, ideals, knowledge, intelligence and conduct are always in the making, always becoming and not being From the concept of democracy there is derived the principle that " true individualism is the product of the relaxation of the grip of the authority of custom and traditions as

[1] Kilpatrick, *op. cit* , pages 81 f.

standards of belief " (Dewey) Hence from a combination of both nothing must be fixed in advance , to do so is an immoral procedure.

> The experimentalist believes that any response which is so fixed that it cannot be modified in the light of consequences is a dangerous response to acquire Such fixed ideas, particularly when charged with emotion, are apt to become enslaving prejudices He believes it an immoral procedure for adults thus to seek to determine the future thought and conduct of the child As far as possible, he wants his own most fundamental values, such as faith in the experimental method and regard for the principle of social democracy, so to be accepted that the way is kept open for their further critical examination by each individual Even the process of criticism is not exempt from further criticism [1]

Conclusion

The pragmatic philosophy or the philosophy of experimentalism or instrumentalism has been described as an indigenous American product It incorporates a certain sentimentality about democracy and the place of the individual in it, and has absorbed in its theory the traditional American concept of equalitarianism, frequently disregarding or ignoring the contribution of the psychologist on individual differences The same sentimentality has affected the attitude to the child, an echo of the popular faith in the ability of every child to aspire to the Presidency The interpretation of individual equality is paralleled by an analogous concept, which is also traditional, of freedom which in its extreme form had been used to justify the complete self-determination of the child The tradition of rugged individualism was also carried over into the pragmatic views, hedged around by reservations about the social environment and its demands If it has recently been discarded in favour of some new social order which would produce a new individualism, the change appears to be an afterthought inspired by the depression As in De Tocqueville's day, so in pragmatic philosophy, practice or doing or creative activity is held in more honour than theory, and, whatever the philosophical bases for the new orientation on knowledge, intelligence and scholarship may be, the result does represent the common man's attitude on these subjects. The emphasis on change and reconstruction is an echo of that tradition of rootlessness which was described earlier and of the optimism and faith in the future which are characteristically American This faith, however, it is hoped to harness, control and direct by scientific method, experimentation and the contributions of technology. Finally, the latest phase, the note which has recently been introduced, on the needed reconstruction of the social order, places the emphasis first on material reconstruction in the full expectation that when the economic frontier has been conquered, then will come the time when all will be in a position to enjoy the " finer and nobler things of life."

Despite the apparent realism and practicality of pragmatism, it seems to have created a new mysticism and embedded itself in a mass

[1] Childs, J. L. · *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, pages 161 f. (New York, 1931)

of undefined verbiage—life, process, self, integration, growth, situation, making a " go " of life, success, consequences, facing realities, which have become as much abstractions in pragmatic vocabulary as the terms of metaphysics which the pragmatism has discarded Despite its noble sentiments, the result of a theory which stresses individual self-direction and self-regulation appears to be described in Prof Dewey's own words " Our present American ideal seems to be, ' Put it over—and make it snappy while you do it ' " [1] That the *laissez-faire* concept of pragmatism, with its rejection of anything fixed in advance or imposed from without, of anything authoritarian, has been responsible for the adoption of the line of least resistance in instruction, and a lowering of standards of achievement,[2] and in character formation and increase in crime, has been the burden of criticism of Prof William C Bagley [3] The same criticism has been made by the present writer

> Now the world is confronted with a social crisis and the causes of the crisis are individual selfishness and exploitation The cynic may be pardoned if he seeks to prick the bubble of the new enthusiasm for social reconstruction by posing a few questions What is the difference between individual selfishness and a philosophy which has been preaching the gospel of individual satisfactions as the mainspring of education and conduct, and which has made that which works synonymous with truth ? What is the difference between exploitation and a philosophy which has found a moral sanction in the gospel of success, confirmed to the satisfaction of its exponents by a mechanistic psychology ? Those who are loudest in denouncing the profit motive and the competitive spirit are fortunately able to forget that they ever propagated the theory that every child has the inherent right to ask " *Cui bono ?* " [4]

Nor have the principles of the thinking process escaped the criticism that they are too facile and simplified, adequate for lower ideational processes or animal thinking, but not for the higher processes [5]

Although the pragmatic philosophy of education has here been described as the dominant American philosophy, it is dominant mainly in theory , practice is still largely governed by survivals of an idealistic philosophy and authoritarianism Theories which have the widest currency in print do not always represent actual practice, and where theories succeed each other with the frequency that they do in the United States, there is inevitably a greater gap between them and practice than in a country like England, where theories grow out of practice, or in countries where education is governed by a centralised authority And yet while all the implications of the pragmatic philosophy have not found their way into

[1] Dewey, J *The Man and His Philosophy*, page 181 (Cambridge, Mass , 1930)

[2] MacGregor, G : *Achievement Tests in the Primary School : A Comparative Study with American Tests in Fife.* (London, 1934.)

[3] See his *Education, Crime and Social Progress* (New York, 1931) ; and *Education and Emergent Man* (New York, 1934)

[4] Kandel, I. L.. " Education and Social Disorder " *Teachers College Record*, February 1933, pages 362 f

[5] See Bode, B H.. *Conflicting Psychologies of Learning* (Boston, 1928.)

practice, it has had a great influence in breaking down the rigidity of tradition in the schoolroom ; it has inspired a freer atmosphere ; it has stimulated more friendly relations between teachers and pupils , it has broken down the tradition of bookishness and led to the discarding of much that is formal and traditional in the curriculum ; and it has encouraged the introduction of more activity on the part of pupils In other words, the contribution of the philosophy of pragmatism has been in the main on the side of method, a fact which perhaps justifies the criticism that is most frequently made that pragmatism is a method and not a philosophy, and that any system of education must have goals and direction more specific and definite than " growth " or ongoing process That it has not yet succeeded in establishing itself as " the " philosophy of education applied to practice is admitted and deplored by Prof Kilpatrick

> As long as parents and school officials think, as most of them now think, it will be very difficult to remake the schools to a more adequate point of view We need much more and much freer experiment than yet we have had The cause of better education now lags partly because there are so few examples in practice of the best as already thought, partly because we know so little of what to do Wherever " courses of study requirements " must be met, it is all but impossible to face the educational problems adequately If we could but have abundant opportunity at real education—trial at the real thing—with no such miseducative trammels as subject-matter requirements, textbooks, promotions, or grades—if we could really give time and effort to education itself, singly and alone, we could then learn somewhat of how to do it, and how not to do it We should undoubtedly find that many of our present ideas will not work, but the process of effort would itself sprout new and better ideas The old conceptions stand condemned, but the new as yet lack sureness of procedure It is only as real effort and real trial can be had that we can ourselves learn how to educate What we then learn as a result must tell us and all others that better content and procedure which now we seek [1]

In the words of pragmatism itself the pragmatic philosophy of education is still a hypothesis waiting for verification

I L KANDEL.

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CHAPTER FIVE

French Educational Philosophy

I. Historical Survey

IT would be exceedingly difficult to understand the present position of pedagogy in France without going back to the sources of the spirit, ideas and traditions which inspire those who are connected with the theory and practice of education to-day [1]

To such an extent is this true that the ideas, now held to be the most up-to-date, those, for example, of the *New Education*, are in reality the development of theories, which found a place in French thought as early as the sixteenth century

It is possible to regard education in two ways either as a systematic training imposed on the individual from without, or as a formation from within, having as its basis the desire for progress, which should consist in developing the most deep-rooted tendencies of the being These two points of view are not always visible throughout the course of educational history in a clear-cut and definite form Occasionally they are intermingled Nevertheless, the alternations of them are plainly observable during the whole of the past four centuries, the second point of view progressively overmastering the first

From the Middle Ages to the Close of the Seventeenth Century

In the Middle Ages the scholiasts taught according to the authority and works of Aristotle Above all else, they strove to form the memory and to fashion minds into machines trained in the use of the syllogism, and able to reason on words and not on things

In the sixteenth century, the Renaissance authors, Rabelais and Montaigne, showed themselves fundamentally opposed to this educational method In their view a child should know more of things than of words, and " instruct himself as though he were learning to play a game " They recommended liberty, air and life, alike for " schools and for minds "

Then the Jesuits reverted to the manner of the scholiasts, adapting it, so to speak, to the taste of fashionable society In order to form a gentleman of parts, to endow him with graceful manners and a speech suitable to his rank, there developed a tendency to replace science by Latin formulas as food for the mind The purpose was to make the child an obedient subject and an element of religious or political society With that object the Jesuits produced automatons. They made fear and emulation the mainsprings of education. Their influence was great, and destined to last long:

[1] For historical details refer to Lapie's book, *La Psychologie Française.*

indeed, their disciples are still to be found in twentieth-century France

The mind of the great Descartes then came into collision with this system, in which he himself had been reared by his Jesuit teachers at La Flèche For him, intuition and common sense should get the better of the syllogism, and knowledge be strained through the sieve of reason, for reason, he held, does not only enable man to acquire education, it is the necessary instrument of it Let personal efforts be made, let a child learn to think in an orderly manner, and the resulting right judgment will then overcome every difficulty Thus the Cartesian method, one of the fundamentals of the French spirit, a process of intuitive decisions and analytical understanding, insisted, from the early seventeenth century, on the education of the judgment and on liberty of thought Moreover, according to Descartes, this system was equally effective for all minds This idea of the equality of human natural gifts, and, above all, of the presence in all men of common sense, was to be taken up again by the men of the Revolution of 1789, developed by the leading pedagogues of the nineteenth century, and, deeply rooted in the official educational system, to run counter in the twentieth century to notions of " individuality " and " character "

The Advent of Liberal Pedagogy

The Jansenists also opposed the Jesuits, and with them, for the first time, perhaps, liberal pedagogy appeared in a practical form Their " Little School " gave free rein to the child's spontaneous activities, and aimed at the abolition of sterile effort In their " Art of Thinking " Arnault and Nicole led the subject of education from the known to the unknown, from the concrete to the abstract, from examples to rules For the first time French was taught before Latin The Jansenists were the real forerunners of the methods which we call " new " To the idea of the " formation of the mind " and the " method," both so dear to Descartes, they added this new maxim, entirely contrary to Cartesian principles . ideas cannot enter the mind without first being familiar to the senses

Fénelon can be placed in the same category as the foregoing He respected a child's liberty and thought, and was averse to a pupil being unduly pressed to learn. It was enough to profit always by opportunities, even, on occasion, to make them Study should be made pleasant, and the child led to the pursuit of knowledge by natural curiosity. The teacher should rather refrain from intervention than interfere. This theory was a reminder of Montaigne and a foretaste of Rousseau

For Mme de Maintenon learning for girls was of less importance both than character training and their manual apprenticeship. Bossuet, on the contrary, reflected the influence of the Jesuits. He shared with them the taste for classics and the belief in the uses of emulation, but his lessons were given in French, and science and philosophy were among the subjects that he advocated.

The Eighteenth Century. Struggle between the Jesuits and the "Philosophers"

Rollin, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, revealed himself as a spiritual son of the Jansenists To constraint he opposed persuasion, and to memory, reflection He certainly took from the Jesuits the idea of "repetition" for the formation of automatism, but he did so in order that by its use pupils should the better understand the significance of what they learned

In spite of these representatives of a pedagogy of life and liberty, it is nevertheless true to say that it was the Jesuits who triumphed officially during the whole of the seventeenth century, and even for the greater part of the eighteenth The first popular education was due to their influence when the Abbé de la Salle founded the Institute of the Brothers of Christian Schools, a transposition, for the benefit of the people, of the education given by the Jesuits at that time to the aristocracy and the middle class Thus the first popular education was not of a liberal kind, as can easily be understood by *a priori* reasoning, when one remembers that, in the days when the problem of educating a numerous community arose, the method, which was most likely to be easily successful, was that sanctioned by long-standing authority

Main Ideas of Rousseau's "Emile"

Throughout history one of the basic problems of modern educational theory could be expressed in these terms How is it possible to reconcile a liberal with a popular education? During the age when ecclesiastics were creating popular education, Emile, the type of the liberally educated child, had to have a tutor all to himself It was Rousseau who wrote *Le Contrat Social*, which was later (1789) to inspire *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (which led to compulsory, secular, free, i e democratic education) Yet it was Rousseau, too, who wrote a treatise on liberal education for the upbringing of a child with a tutor for himself alone! The ruling ideas of Rousseau's *Emile* are so well known that it will be sufficient merely to recall them in brief

Man is naturally good, but society has perverted him. Let us allow him, therefore, to be educated according to Nature and by things The needs and interests of a child vary with his age So, let us not treat him as an adult, but respect his nature and follow the successive stages of his development Away with swaddling clothes: allow the infant's limbs to move freely! Later on, let observation, experience and the exercise of the senses stand in the forefront of an education in which both the sanction and the lesson proceed invariably from experience itself

Astronomy should be taught from observation of the heavens, geography by means of travel, mechanics by practical working and the use of the hands, as much as by the exercise of the judgment.

Judgment itself should be " forged " rather than merely " instructed " When the child is 15, " the age of feeling," religious and metaphysical problems should be put forward and solved by the free choice either of a religion or of an outlook on the world

In the building up of his scheme Rousseau involved himself frequently in paradoxes, or Utopian ideas, sometimes, too, in contradiction or guilelessness, as, for instance, in the matter of the elaborate setting the tutor was recommended to devise in order to impart to Emile the notion of property

For all that, Jean-Jacques was a notable forerunner, and his influence was destined to be marked on Kant, Basedow, Pestalozzi, Spencer and Tolstoi, as well as on Froebel, Decroly and Mme Montessori Whilst the *Social Contract* revealed ideas of equality and liberty of thought, *Emile* disclosed quite another point of view—that of the freedom of development of the child according to his age and natural bent The first tendency resulted later, under the Third Republic, in a democratic system of instruction in accordance with the principles of 1789 from the second were to spring the works of modern psychologists and the ideas of the upholders of the *New School*

The Progressive Education of Mme Necker de Saussure constituted a further plea for respect for the spontaneity and freedom of the child The Abbé Condillac, a French empiricist and sensualist, in the philosophic acceptation of the term, based his pedagogic theories on the psychology of the child He held that it was necessary to teach the concrete before the abstract, training the senses before beginning to stimulate ideas It was important, he maintained, to study the way in which man has conducted himself in order to create arts and sciences Let us strive, he urged, after personal reflection, for " one knows more fully the things one can find out than those which one merely remembers."

The Encyclopædists

The Encyclopædists, whose ideas subsequently inspired the men of the Revolution, had great faith in legislation and education, and thought them capable of producing intelligence in everyone through a judicious use of the " interest " and the " passions," both forces which the religious tradition generally sought to kill

The Jesuits employed constraint in a systematic attempt to crush all manifestations of sensibility, which they regarded as irrational or base Helvétius and Diderot, following Hobbes, Spinoza and La Rochefoucault, in the wake of classical Epicureanism, thought that it was incumbent on the educator not to suppress passion, but to reckon with it It is in the same spirit that advocates of the *New Education* to-day seek in the real interests of the child the motive force of all moral or intellectual progress

Diderot called for public education, compulsory and free. The Cartesian idea of education for all was greatly cherished by the Encyclopædists. They were in reaction against the Church, and

the liberty, which they bequeathed to the Revolutionaries, was, more than all else, a " liberty of thought " La Chalotais, likewise, in his *Essai sur l'Education Nationale* defended the same ideas in opposition to the Jesuits He demanded, further, the teaching of living languages and of history. In the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, under the heading " Education," Voltaire quoted the opinion on Jesuitical teaching of a Councillor to the " Parlement," who said that, with them, he had learnt " neither mathematics nor a word of reasonable philosophy, nothing but Latin and foolishness " The Encyclopædists finally triumphed over the Jesuits, who, in 1763, were driven from France Rousseau was the man of the moment, and the ideas of the Encyclopædists paved the way for a system of instruction that was at once liberal and popular.

The Nineteenth Century

The grafting of liberal methods on to democratic education was the work of the nineteenth century A passage from the first article in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* reads as follows " Men are born and live free and with equal rights Social distinctions can only be founded on general utility " The realisation of this principle in the realm of education was carried out very slowly during the course of the nineteenth century Partisans of the " One School for All " maintain to-day that the task is still far from being fully accomplished

Among the men of the Revolution who worked for the fulfilment of this idea, Condorcet and Lakanal were the most prominent The former was a great organiser to whom was due the setting up of a whole chain of schools, and the institution of a number of establishments giving facilities for adult, feminine and even professional or technical education The latter was a great educationist, who reformed the prevailing methods, stressing the importance of intuition and concrete example He worked also at organising the professoriate by a system of training colleges (écoles normales)

Both men were secular and democratic in outlook But, with the coming of the Empire, education underwent a reaction There was a reversion to the traditions of the old régime, and during the period of the Restoration (Louis XVIII) this retrogressive movement was maintained.

Then with Victor Considérant and his " natural and attractive education " there came a renewal of liberal ideas Dupanloup was in conformity with the Jesuits, but he was influenced by these ideas, and, though opposed to the revolutionary system of education, he yet found some good in it. Michelet and Edgar Quinet, on the other hand, were definitely against the Church and in favour of the free development of the individual. Quinet reinstituted a popular system of education, independent of all sectarianism In 1833 Guizot established a school in every commune of France, primary and advanced schools (écoles supérieures) and training colleges. Thereafter education, in its doctrines and practices, continued to

follow the political movements After liberal theorists had held sway in education under the Second Republic, there came, during the Second Empire, a period of conservatism. Nevertheless, during the closing years of the Second Empire fresh progress was made, thanks to Victor Duruy, who brought into being establishments for feminine education and facilities for special scientific instruction. He also reintroduced philosophy and history into the curriculum The teaching of history was made compulsory in primary schools, and there was a definite gravitation towards a civic education and a democratic ideal, the realisation of which was accelerated by the setting up of the Third Republic in 1870

By the laws of 1880 and 1887 Jules Ferry established an elementary education that was secular, free and compulsory Higher education (enseignement supérieur) was organised by a law of 1896 It consisted of a number of " centres of research," the students of which enjoyed a great measure of liberty In the secondary schools the old-established tradition lost ground. Latin verse was banished from the curriculum, and the intellectual curiosity of the children was encouraged

The reform of 1902, following the example of that of 1880, advocated new and living methods, and increased the number of hours devoted in the *lycées* to practical physics and chemistry, and to scientific observations and experiments, while the reading of the works of great authors ousted the courses of literary history Lastly, pedagogic discipline was reformed.

The Twentieth Century. Results of Secularisation

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Dreyfus affair brought in its train the separation of Church and State The main watchwords became " equality of rights " and " religious neutrality " But, if liberty and equality had been attained in politics, was the same equally true of education ? Could the idea of the liberty of the child be respected, and was it compatible with mass education ?

The individual being had certainly been freed from religious constraint · but was not a social constraint about to be imposed upon him instead ? It had been very easy for the Jesuits to apply their educational method to large numbers. It is always simple to fill heads in the mass and to subdue a corresponding number of souls by constraint and the fear of punishment. But to respect the individuality, the interests and the natural bent of the child, or to stimulate him to personal effort, was a different matter, and could only be within the power of a teacher who had a very limited number of pupils. In spite of all the efforts made by the leading members of the teaching profession to make " liberty " within the bounds of public education a reality, in actual fact the ideas of Montaigne and Rabelais have not been applied. Consequently, however liberal official secular education may be, it remains to-day behind the times,

and is even stigmatised as " traditional " by the supporters of the *New Education*

The truth is, that the formation of the individual is not considered in itself What is social takes precedence of what is merely individual. Liberty is expressed simply by a respect for individual beliefs It is primarily to the teacher that liberty is allowed, for he can choose his manuals and follow that part of the syllabus which he prefers. The child finds himself absorbed in a new society, secular this time instead of religious, but it is none the less constraining, and as little respectful of his inner development as the old One result of secularisation was the disappearance of educators and their replacement by professors The Jesuits had been able to justify " moral conduct " by religious dogma But, if secularisation were to be respected, it was impossible to invoke the same moral reasons, or resort to arguments which refuted these dogmas The consequence was that moral education disappeared from the schools, despite the attempts made to teach a moral code " common to all countries and to all right-thinking people "

Recourse was had, therefore, to a practical philosophy, that of Kant, and to the notions of duty, human dignity, and moral law, the rigour of these doctrines being mitigated by appeals to certain elements of utilitarian morality and to a code based on sentiment and honour This agglomeration of theory, put forward in lessons on morals, could not create a moral atmosphere [1] Even the Jesuits, dictatorial as they were, had taken more account of the psychical life of the child In view of all this it is very easy to understand the efforts made by modern educationists to give due consideration once more to the moral and physical aspects of education (The latter feature has never been regarded in France as important Even to-day the authorities are of the opinion that two hours' gymnastics are a sufficient concession to the claims of physical culture) It was left, in short, for the parents to bring up the child, the master being concerned solely with the direction of his studies The punitive powers which he had at his disposal were intended to promote mental work and to impose silence or enforce discipline Education, in a word, was synonymous with instruction, and this, for the most part, remained verbal and abstract.

Socialisation of the Individual

The personality of the child is not much more respected by the official French régime than it was under the Jesuit system Whether it be Church or State that is involved, the individual is subject to the ascendancy of a social environment Education becomes a process of socialisation, by which each generation seeks to transfer its own traditions to its successor Each individual is only entitled to receive the sum of knowledge common to all No consideration is given to any particular being, either for his own sake or with an

[1] See, with reference to this subject, M Delvolvé's book, *La Technique éducative.*

eye to the part which his personality might fit him to play in society. This conception is at the very core of Durkheim's philosophy For him the individual was at once amoral and animal, a being to be rendered moral by civilisation and social by education According to his sociological method, education is an institution produced by society · that of the twentieth century in France is the outcome of French civilisation, and its function is to turn out men who conform with the ideal type of man envisaged by that civilisation This view of " pedagogic sociologism " was recently contested by M Bouchet in his thesis on *The Individualisation of Teaching*, in which he clearly demonstrated the lack of attention paid to the varying natural aptitudes, needs and interests of the children by the official system of instruction, and pointed out, at the same time, the notable disregard for individuality

The Liberty of the Mind

The teacher, then, in France, is left responsible for the choice of his methods moreover, he does not always have the time, nor does he always take the trouble, to study the way in which each of his pupils assimilates what he teaches them His chief concern is to present ideas to them in the most precise, the most graceful and the clearest form He is, besides, naturally induced to do so by the delicacy and the grace of the language, which invites the explanation and discussion of things rather than their realisation by experiment. If there is any experiment at all, it generally takes the form of a mental process, by which an idea is illustrated by means of various examples borrowed from life Numerous explanations are given by word of mouth, and it is undoubtedly a useful contribution to the formation of the mind to learn how to express oneself clearly in French These facts certainly explain more fully than is sometimes realised the fundamental rôle played in French educational methods by reflection, philosophy, intellect, and, in general, by verbal and abstract teaching The study of " things " and of the concrete involves a far more silent mode of instruction, distasteful to the French, for whom expression, whether in speech or writing, is a virtual necessity. Discussion is often reduced, furthermore, to a personal thought, which is in effect a discussion in the mind of the thinker himself. Alain, a noted writer, professor and polemist, condemned oral discussion as essentially sterile, and encouraged his pupils to indulge in individual thought Alain had more influence on his classes than almost any other teacher in the secondary schools (enseignement secondaire), and among his pupils were such men as André Maurois and André Malraux He created around himself regular coteries of pupils who came under the sway of his personality. For a long time he taught philosophy to students ranging from 16 to 18 years of age, and his *Remarks on Education* throw a good deal of light on his method A profound humanist, he advocated wide and rapid reading He suggested that, between the ages of 10 and 12, the pupil should read Fénelon's *Télémaque*, Chateau-

briand's *Martyrs* and similar books which appeal to the imagination, but yet contain some underlying thought For students of 17 he proposed the reading of Plato, Descartes, Kant and August Comte, or the science of Euclid and of Descartes, even though many of the ideas contained therein were erroneous and out of date. In his view it is better to understand Descartes or Newton and to consider them afresh, than to have a superficial knowledge of Einstein Latin and geometry, he maintained, teach a child to think, and therefore they must be studied before anything else But it is important, also, that the child should work in austere surroundings he will think the better Furthermore, he should not be too much attracted to his teacher it is their affection for the child that makes parents such bad masters Education, for him, is an affair of thought, a relationship of minds or rather, it is the work of one mind, that of the master who, thinking aloud and commenting on a given text in their presence, arouses in his pupils further thoughts of their own

For young children, too, he had a firm belief in example They should be made to read and write constantly, and as constantly corrected for their faults It was essential, in his opinion, to read quickly, so as to be able to grasp the general sense without boggling at individual words Every thought should start from a solid foundation and proceed from the fact to the idea The liberty which he wished to obtain for his pupils was the same that Descartes found beside his " stove," the freedom of the mind

Observation and object lessons seemed to him to confine and paralyse the mind. In his view the abstract and the general are clearer and more simple for a child to understand than natural objects which one cannot explain, and which one is content to look at or possibly to cut into pieces ! [1]

The example of Alain is striking and typical of what, under the official system, a master can achieve in the direction of liberal pedagogy by careful exercise of his judgment In most cases, however, the teacher does not possess the personal gifts, both as a thinker and as a teacher, which constituted Alain's strongest point. His work represented in some sort the maximum personal effort which a French master could obtain from his pupils ; but we can see at the same time how rigidly this effort and this liberty were limited to a purely intellectual development

The following extract from the Official Instructions to Teachers is likewise not without significance :

" Be simple · make a choice from the whole syllabus. Only retain what is suitable to the ages of your pupils and what will prepare them for

[1] Alain was opposed in this respect to certain tendencies of the *New Education* as also to the supporters of the experimental method A new system like the Montessori would, however, coincide much more nearly with his point of view than would that of Decroly. The environment in which Mme Montessori placed the child was in effect a world of simple and mathematical objects, whilst Decroly's was a natural, physical and complex universe.

life Confine yourself to the concrete , wage a merciless war on verbalism and mere parrot talk remove any possible intermediary between the minds of your pupils and the object of their study arouse their curiosity and encourage them to reflect while controlling their efforts, give them mental scope, imposing neither tyrannous direction over their thoughts nor dogmatic opinions upon them "

The official aim, then, is to combat verbalism and parrotry for the better encouragement of reflection and the free soaring of the mind If any heed is paid to life at all, it is merely in order to borrow examples from it and to talk of them, never in order to establish a real connecting link between school and life In a word, preparation for the struggle of life consists only in animating the mind

II Urgent Needs of the Present Time

It is unanimously admitted that the difficulties born of the world crisis, as well as the new rhythm of our lives, demand a change in the French system of teaching In times when new inventions incessantly create fresh needs and economic forces seem to outstrip human foresight, it is more and more necessary to develop in the individual, on the one hand, self-mastery, and qualities of initiative, tenacity and independence, which go to the making of a good and free citizen, and, on the other, to promote social sense, responsibility to the community and " the sense of power, of beauty and of the effort achieved in common " There are many who realise this necessity, but who are still prisoners of the powerful pedagogic tradition which we have defined Nevertheless, fresh ideas are beginning to make headway

The Psychology of the Child

In the first place, French educational theory has been able to evolve, thanks to the work of psychologists From Taine onwards psychological literature has not ceased to devote itself to the study of children and to describe their moral and intellectual development In Ribot's theories on the attention, the will, the memory and the feelings or the character there was already a direct bearing on pedagogy Since then, psychological analyses of exceptional richness have seen the light, relating to the speech, games, imagination, imitativeness and character of children. If France is behindhand in applying to education the results obtained from these investigations, she has at least played a very important part in researches of an international character into the nature of the child It would, however, be markedly artificial to seek to isolate French psychologists, to separate Bergson or Janet arbitrarily from James, Freud, Adler, Dewey, Spearman, Stein, Wundt and the School of Wurzbourg, as absurd, in fact, as to omit the names of Binet, Pieron or Claparède from a history of " Behaviourism " or of psychological educational theory in America. Now, the simple fact that psychologists have concerned themselves with the child is of considerable importance : for the child was forgotten Indeed, as M. Bouchet observed :

" Parents viewed the child only through their dreams of the future, sociologists through ' collective conscience,' educationists through the notions familiar to them, administrators through the requirements of an outward and superficial discipline And yet children are real Their realities, in fact, are the nearest, clearest and most urgent to be studied Far from being plastic—as people like to suppose in order to facilitate their attempts at pressure and moulding—the individual structure of the child presents lines of force, tending in a definite direction, and opposes unexpected resistance to clumsy efforts A system of education, which takes no account of this, is not worthy of the name, for is not the essential meaning of the verb *e-ducere* to bring to fruition these social predeterminations and not to strive to destroy them ? Before having a social and abstract destination, has not the child an individual and concrete goal to reach—the development of himself ? "

This pronouncement of a modern psychologist gives an idea of what psychology was to reveal by enlarging upon the idea conceived by the genius of Rousseau Whilst sociology showed itself almost incapable of rendering effective services to pedagogic science (it is in the study of statistics that it might be the most useful, but the experiments are rarely carried out by French pedagogues on a sufficiently large scale), psychology was to find in pedagogy a field for study and for application, and to give thereby a scientific basis to education We will stress here only the work of French or Swiss psychologists How does the child emerge as a result of their analyses ? The names of Binet, Bouchet, Cramanssel, Decroly, Delacroix, Alice Descœudres, Foucault, Guillaume, Luquet, Perez, Piaget, Pieron, Simon, Queyrat, Wallon, among many others, represent so many faithful observers of the child Instead of considering each authority individually, we will attempt, with M Bouchet, a synthesis of the results of all this work with a view to deciding what pedagogic science may expect from it [1]

Individuality

The individuality of children is sustained The attention of the smallest children, long thought to be so inconstant, renders them capable, in reality, of absorbing themselves for a very long time in the same pursuit The study of abnormals has enabled M Wallon to prove the importance of affectivity in the continuity of the ego Affective affinities, interests, are a factor of mental stability, and even of self-control The child experiences a satisfaction in the return of states or movements already experienced That is shown by the most elementary perseverations (swaying of the head and trunk) and also by the most complex (sweeping, repairing, motive habits of all kinds) Motor subjectivism plays a great part in the unity of the human complex MM. Delacroix and Guillaume, verifying thereby the ideas of Baldwin, have pointed out how a child will

[1] Most of the quotations are taken from M. Bouchet's book *L'Individualisation de l'enseignement.*

seek to imitate itself, which is a manifestation of a fundamentally continuous being " In others," M Delacroix remarks, " it is in the first place ourselves that we imitate, and the child imitates from another what he knows how to do himself " [1]

The character and even the vocation, M Bouchet states, are often very early apparent and come evidently from inner forces of the being, the environment acting only as a stimulant. The consequence is that the teacher never reckons sufficiently with the precocious, spontaneous resources which enable the child to devote himself to a task with resolution and effect, provided that it interests him

Particular Mental Structure of the Child

Can this continuity be compatible with a mental lack of continuity in the evolution of the child ? This is the view which M Piaget seemed to be advancing in his famous thesis, according to which child thought is successively artistic, ego-centric, and logical At the first stage, according to the author, there is a " syncretism," that is to say, a possible union of contradictory elements and a " juxtaposition " corresponding to an illogism or inconsistency on the part of the child Logical formation, he explained, came from the outside, from social life M Bouchet showed, on the contrary, that logical categories cannot find their source wholly from the social element, but that the objective or critical attitude exists from a very early age, and that syncretism and juxtaposition do not necessarily exclude the logical attitude In his opinion there is a very active logical spontaneity, " to which the social environment serves as a stimulant, and the speech as a means of expression, but which is obviously pre-existent to them " There remains one fact applicable to all, namely that, leaving out the question of illogism, the mental structure of the child is not that of the adult, the " attention to the real " is not sustained in him by the same psychic force as in the adult, his arguments may contain successively contradictory elements, his speech not always run parallel to his thought. The manuals of the traditional teaching system fail to recognise these facts, and generally address the children in adult speech and in the name of an absolute logic which adults themselves do not always understand

Finality

Another law of infant individuality is that of finality The presence of an active efficacious force has been noted in children, a tendency towards a creative adaptation of life The double finality, at once " natural and conscious," which MM. Pieron and Cramanssel recognise in the individual is in accord with the discoveries of Stern, Buhler or Koffka Psychological observation already makes us aware of " inborn mechanism " (depending on purely internal conditions, such as the myelinisation of the sensori-

[1] Extract from the book *Speech and Thought* (*Le Langage et la Pensée*).

motor channels) as, for instance, the capacity for paying attention to the hand and using it Similar phenomena are found in walking (which depends on a medullary automatism) and, likewise, in sucking at the nipple, in clutching, or in the rotation of the infant's head. The endocrine glands are of great importance They secrete substances having a regulating effect, the origin of which is purely internal Works on the playing of children confirm this point of view Whilst Spencer and Wundt saw in it no more than a superfluity of energy and Lazarus regarded it merely as a recreation, from Groes onwards, French and Swiss psychologists have interpreted it as a pre-exercise, foreshadowing a large number of adult activities Queyrat divided games according to their functions There are games of movement as well as games for the education of the senses, for the development of the intelligence and for the culture of the will or of æsthetic appreciation Claparède made them the basis of his "Ecole Active" The significance of ruse, invention of language, fantasy, artistic or literary spontaneity has been emphasised by psychologists, particularly by Perez and Luquet (on children's drawings) Decroly, Piaget, Dr Simon, Claparède and Luquet have shown that the child begins with comprehensive all-inclusive perceptions This is in agreement with the experiments of Delaunay and those of Foucault on reading Curiosity, sociability and imitation are spontaneous gifts, in accord with the whole personality of the young being These spontaneous gifts are so many pointers indicating in the child an internal organisation, and an instinctive directed force in other words, he is already potentially the man he will later become

The Instinct of Liberty

Furthermore, among these instincts and these needs, there is one which demands particularly careful respect on our part It is the "instinct of liberty" It manifests itself very soon in the spontaneous movements of the newly born child In spite of discouraging experiments children "persist in wishing to learn of their own accord how to walk, run and eat, and to handle and carry all the objects within their reach" Liberty is a force which reveals itself also, in the invention of games, in disobedience, and in the spontaneity of the earliest attempts at drawing M Cousinet's experiments have proved how necessary it is to leave the child a large measure of initiative Whilst avoiding a lapse into anarchy, the school should take this need for liberty into account.

Originality of Each Temperament

Finally, there is another truth, perhaps the most important of all those that have emerged as a result of the work of psychologists This truth is that there are as many types as there are children, differing from one another in the exercise of their functions, in the rate of evolution, and in the development or predominance of inter-

ests or emotions The most general psychological law is, in the opinion of M Cellerier, " that there is no invariable law for the evolution of a given being."

Spontaneous movements in pre-natal life are already personal. Thereafter the infant never ceases to display the originality of his reactions We are even original in imitation " Example is only effective by favour of a certain state of mind The child does not imitate any object or person indiscriminately, and he does not lend himself with the same readiness and persistence to all the games suggested " Imitation appears as a really original individual initiative M Guillaume proves it in his book *L'Imitation chez l'Enfant* Queyrat has put on record the differences in imagination The variety of the curves of fatigue and the curves of work is also extremely convincing The work of Binet on the differentiation of memories is no less so Dr Wallon has demonstrated that work involves possibilities having their source in the innermost depths of the being of each individual. This idea of the difference of needs and natural disposition was to have manifold consequences in the light of its applications to pedagogy, whether in the matter of a leaning towards, or in the actual choice of, a particular vocation We shall see in what degree this idea has begun to influence French education, although this notion runs violently counter to the Cartesian tradition that reason is a quality common to all men.

Functional Psychology

These analyses are in accordance with the results of " functional psychology," as Claparède has defined it The needs of the child and his interests are the levers of the activity which it is hoped to develop in him A child is not an abridgement of a man He has a maturity of his own From the functional standpoint, however, child and man are identical The child, like the man, has needs and interests. But these needs are different from those of the adult owing to a difference of structure between them Traditional pedagogy reversed the terms, giving the child the same psychological and mental structure as the man, and, on the other hand, considering him as capable of being trained by constraint to any kind of work without his activity responding to a need at all. Education, therefore, must be made through life, and life must be brought into the school.

Psycho-pedagogic Experiment

The Tests

From the realm of observation let us pass on to that of psycho-pedagogic experiment [1] As far back as the close of the nineteenth century, while studying the problem of genius by a physical and mental examination of scholars, authors and artists, Dr. E. Toulouse

[1] See the article by M. Pieron in *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* (July 1934).

recognised the insufficiency of existing psychological methods. Thus, in 1904, he came, together with Vaschide and M Pieron, to write a *Technique de psychologie expérimentale* In this the idea of the " test of intellect " already figured, and pointed the way to a classification of the definition of the normal and the abnormal man, of the lunatic, the deficient or the genius Already there were hopes of determining the vocation and aptitude of each person, and of giving the educational authorities the benefit of this new classification of individuals Since then MM Toulouse and Pieron have contributed greatly, the first from the point of view of a psychiater, the second as a psycho-physiologist, to the progress of educational method and the determination of vocation

The Work of Alfred Binet

Alfred Binet, a pupil of Charcot, after having followed Wundt's methods of experimental psychology, devoted himself to the study of *tests* He concerned himself, especially, with lunatics in a pedagogic examination laboratory which he shared with Dr Simon After investigations into the relationship between cephalic measurements and the intelligence, the results of which were largely unsatisfactory, Binet and Simon proceeded to their celebrated " metrical scale of intelligence " known to the public since 1905 The psychological method was placed in juxtaposition to the medical and pedagogic methods The " scale " allowed of a classification into levels and superimposed stages, and there was a series of thirty tests The ruling idea was to appeal as far as possible to the capacity for judgment, and to refrain from classification by the degree of instruction or the amount of acquired knowledge This process, however, presented almost unavoidable difficulties it was impossible to eliminate entirely the influence of family or social environment The idea of " mental age " was opposed to that of actual chronological age This age was determined from the total result of all the tests · these bore upon different intellectual functions, and were distributed according to a graduated series of groups The influence of these researches was considerable, chiefly in American psychological and pedagogic circles Successive revisions carried out by Goddard, Stanford and Yerkes-Bridge, the *Psychological Profiles* of Rossolino, *The Reactives* of De Sanctis, the subjection to psychological examination tests in 1917–18 of recruits to the American Army, and the recent work on the study of abnormals by Alice Descœudres and Dr Heuyer, are all indications of the immense area over which these investigations extended The utility of these tests in education is obvious, whether in the psychological study of the pupils, in their classification and the determining of their rightful position in the school, or as an aid to verifying the results of the teaching methods employed Considerable research on these lines has been carried out in America, and it is curious to note, on the other hand, the reluctance shown by the French for the use of this new weapon : they were far more conscious of its

dangers than of its advantages. It is possible that too much was asked of it · that it was employed in too ambitious tasks, as, for instance, the determining of intelligence in adults It was certainly successful in " spotting " both backward and precocious children, and it was for the revealing of the former that it was mainly used in France For all that, Binet had succeeded in introducing into the schools the spirit of objective research, and he had considered in its entirety the psychological problem of education The psychological analysis which he made of his two daughters in *L'Etude Expérimentale de l'Intelligence* gave a spur, also, to the concrete study of types His work, coupled with that of Pieron and Janet, is undeniably at the root of American " behaviourism "

Abnormals

Nowadays the work of objective psychology is especially valuable in the education of abnormals, in the study of the character of the child and in the determination of natural aptitudes as a means to vocational guidance and selection The names of Dr Wallon and Dr Heuyer are especially worthy of mention in connection with this work

In France, as elsewhere, it was enquiries into abnormality which preceded, gave rise to and rendered fruitful the methodically carried out researches into the education of normal beings Despite the warnings of Rousseau, the verbal abstract method was too firmly entrenched for it to be possible to make headway against it This system was hopeless for the idiot or the deaf-mute It was recognised as an impossibility to educate these by imposing upon them a " preconceived ideal " The only means of achieving positive results was to arouse their " numbed " faculties by making them " the principal instruments of their salvation "

Siccard and the Abbé de l'Epée had pursued this method with deaf-mutes, giving them a language composed of signs and a direct contact with things, and well knowing that, in the plane of action, thought can be born without the assistance of speech Binet and Belot created a system of mental orthopædics intended to " correct, train and strengthen the attention, memory, perception, judgment and will " It was a question of allowing abnormal subjects to develop their own faculties and not to create in them a " new form " As a means to this end they employed " exercises in immobility, speed, motory skill and rapid memorisation." A similar tendency can be found in the work of Dr. J Philippe and Dr. G. Paul-Boncour, as also in that of Mlle Alice Descœudres and Mlle Monchamp.

Pathological psychology thus helped to bring to light the forces of progress to be found in the most normal individual In Dr. Simon's opinion, abnormal persons are incurable. The methods to which study has now advanced, nevertheless, render a great service in making it possible to determine the degree of mental deficiency.

Juvenile Offenders

Particularly is psychology helpful in its application to the question of the juvenile courts Dr. Heuyer has pointed out that the punishments inflicted on child delinquents are in defiance of psychological and pathological discoveries Either the child is abnormal, in which case it is useless to try to correct him by the exercise of constraint Or, he is normal, and, since his shortcomings are due to social or economic influences, it is only by giving him a new environment and fresh activities that it is possible to re-educate him Yet the authorities of " supervised institutes of education " still resort to fear and punishment If any progress has been made in France it is only since the law of 1912, which made infantile and juvenile delinquents the subject of legislation More recently, further steps were taken involving provisional liberty under supervision, charitable clubs, special courts, social enquiries and a systematic medico-psychological examination

Unfortunately the clubs depend for their existence on private donations which are steadily dwindling

Analysis of Character

For the analysis of character and the determination of moral natural disposition Dr Heuyer and Dr Wallon employ tests and questionnaires Clinical and statistical methods are complementary to one another. Present research is moving along the trail blazed by the Americans in quest of a numerical means of representing opinions, dislikes, preferences or prejudices The questionnaires are spread over, like the tests, so as to compare the results in different circles and environments Following the example of Seabury, the French school insists on qualitative specifications, and requires the subject under analysis to justify his preferences and dislikes Dr Heuyer and Mlle Courthial apply Woodworth's questionnaire to the children, distributing the questions according to psychopathological rules M H Bone is working on the same lines as the American, Watson, trying to find out the degree of an attraction or repulsion caused by terms related to the political, economic or ideological problems of the *milieu*. He makes a distinction between radical, conservative, religious, moral or economic prejudices. The questionnaire method, however, is admittedly only possible in dealing with children at least 13 years old But it is worthy of note that there exists in Paris a centre for vocational guidance, concerned primarily with children of elementary school age. Workers in this direction are still scarce, but their increase has been encouraged quite recently by the creation of an Institute for the Determination of Vocation [1]

[1] See the article by M Wallon on " L'étude du caractère chez l'enfant et l'orientation professionelle " (*Revue Philosophique*, May–June 1935)

Translator's note —The nearest English equivalent to the " Institut d'Orientation professionelle " is the Institute of Industrial Psychology.

III The Active Methods and French Contemporary Education

Psychology has clearly shown the defects of a system of education opposed to the development of the child's individuality Discipline ought to come from life itself through responsibility and co-operation The principles of the *New Education* are well known. They are disclosed in the writings of Ferrière, Bovet and Claparède, and in the whole work of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau at Geneva The efforts of Mme Montessori and Dr Decroly have familiarised many countries with this new conception of education In what measure has France already adopted this point of view ?

Infant Schools

It would be unjust not to begin by drawing attention to the great work of the infant schools (écoles maternelles) [1] to which belongs the credit of having anticipated by a good deal the contributions of the new pedagogy brought to France from abroad As far back as 1827 infant shelters (salles d'asile), where the poor might leave their children, were established they were no more than day nurseries, and, for the most part, by no means hygienic Later, these " shelters " were transformed into " schools," where attempts were made to give some little elementary knowledge to children between the ages of 3 and 6 years, and to teach them ! They were huddled together on tiers of forms. Sometimes they were made to walk and to stop in obedience to the sound of a clapper, moving and halting, with their hands behind them, in vast drab chilly playgrounds ; then, returning to the classroom, they were taught to spell and form syllables mechanically, or to calculate by the most profitless system of mnemonics After 1881, thanks to the devoted care and love lavished on the urchins by the mistresses, the so-called infant school moved on to better things

The impetus was first given by Mme Kergomard about 1870. Dr Simon pointed out, during the course of lectures which have remained justly celebrated, that the educational theory of the infant schools came from the observation of the life of the child amid its own family

Since that time the infant schools, progressing in the direction of the " active school," have never ceased to perfect themselves in the right use of the liberty allowed to the child within the limits of collective discipline

The 1881 programme placed elementary knowledge first, and art and manual work second in the list of subjects to be studied in the infant schools : but this order was reversed in 1889.

Important Pedagogical Changes

A circular of 1905 suppressed the previously existing division into three groups : henceforward the little ones were entrusted, like

[1] See the articles on this subject in the issues of the *Ere Nouvelle* of July and November 1932.

the rest, to the schoolmistress, and not merely to the " woman in charge " (femme de service). Education replaced the plain inculcation of knowledge It was very soon understood that the small child " builds himself " of his own accord and through his own activities, and that no intellectual or physical constraint could be bearable to children between the ages of 3 and 6. Education of the senses through material things and objects was substituted for verbal instruction Above all, efforts were made to encourage the acquirement of habits of attention and observation and even, through the medium of sensation, of the beginnings of reflection. In 1921 the system of the " active school " was introduced into the infant schools. Finally, after 1923, the mistresses had to possess a special certificate of " puericulture " in order to be entitled to have small children under their charge The outstanding feature of the system was the amount of liberty allowed to the mistresses : consequently, the infant schools do not constitute a homogeneous whole. Whilst the pedagogic principles of Mme Montessori and of Dr. Decroly involve scientifically organised systems, the French infant school is more flexible and adapts itself according to the nature of people, things, locality or social environment

Improvements in Buildings and Equipment

The schools themselves are consistently improving Dark classrooms, bare walls, benches unsuitable for children's frames are being abolished In their place, and in accordance with the most modern developments of architecture, brightly coloured classrooms with all the advantages of present-day hygiene, are being constructed Certain schools in the suburban areas of Paris, notably those of Malakoff, Suresnes, Pantin, Nogent sur Marne, Boulogne, Montrouge and Villejuif are really wonderful examples of adaptation to the " measure of the child," that is, to his tastes, his needs and his stature.

This stage in the reorganisation of the buildings and equipment dates from 1929 Each mistress alters the material prescribed by Montessori and the games recommended by Decroly, according to her own way of thinking. The articles used in the sensory series are sometimes balls of coloured wool and sometimes pieces of paper or leaves of trees The training exercises for the hearing are carried out by employing either the sound of a bell or the voice of one of the pupils. Different smells and tastes are distinguished according to the resources of the place in which the school is situated. Seeds are sorted and leaves arranged in order of size. Flowers and fruit are examined and subsequently modelled in clay or plasticine or sketched in water-colour.

The moral education is very real, thanks to affection, habit and contact. The primary duties are order, cleanliness and politeness. The children help one another in dressing and undressing. They look after animals. The mistress tells stories, and sometimes plays the piano for a little while. The essential of this training lies in the

silence of children who are absorbed in pleasant activity " in an atmosphere of controlled liberty, which borrows its conditions from those of life itself "

There are so few exclusive methods and hard-and-fast principles that the materials for making calculations are made by each mistress according to the resources of the district in which she finds herself. It is rather odd to think that the children learn to count with bobbins or spindles in the textile areas, with glover's spools at Grenoble, with rubber discs and rings in the neighbourhood of a tyre factory, with objects made of galalith at Oyonnax, with little flower heads of everlastings (immortelles) in the Var, and with eucalyptus fruit or shells at Nice In the same way the " centres of interest " are the violet at Toulouse, oyster-breeding at Fay le Billot, the grape in wine-growing areas, the highway code in touring centres, and fishing or woodland life elsewhere

Modifications to suit Social Environment

Finally, the social environment may cause modification of the system according to whether an urban or a rural area is involved, an industrial or a poor district, or, perhaps, a frontier region where it is sometimes necessary to teach Spanish or Italian children, or yet again, a mining district in which there may be Armenians or Poles to educate

The French spirit in infant education has been well defined by Mlle Billotey " It is attached," she says, " to principles, but hostile to unyielding formulas, indulgent to methods but mistrustful of systems it respects nature and childish spontaneity . prefers suppleness and variety of method to the use of a limited material . . and believes, with Rousseau, in the educative power of properly regulated liberty, which is an essentially active and sympathetic spirit desirous of knowing all that may enlighten it and interesting itself in it "

The Influence of Montessori

The infant school has adopted the idea but not the science of Montessori education Its staff are imbued with the firm determination not to impose any form of previously conceived development on the child, and with faith in the child's own self-development ; but, in actual fact, it is difficult for mistresses to make this self-development of the child a reality. For instance, in the Montessori school the child learns to do up his buttons, to take off or put on his shoes, to blow his nose and to wash or brush himself at the moment when he feels the need, or sees the advantage of doing any one of these actions. In the infant schools these practical movements are still frequently learnt in unison, that is to say, at a moment when the greater number of the children are not naturally disposed to make them. Consequently they receive this " learning " as a false and external constraint, however great the efforts of the mistress may be to attract the children's attention.

Often the large number of the children proves the greatest obstacle. There are sometimes as many as seventy together under the care of a mistress and an assistant

The manual work is very similar in both schools As regards sensory exercises the French school sometimes employs those found in Binet and Belot's mental orthopædics, sometimes those of Dr. Decroly and occasionally Mme Montessori's Nor is the work of Mlle Descœudres unfamiliar in these schools ; but the essential point lies in the widely varied and highly inexpensive ordinary objects which the mistresses themselves make The fact that they are home-made facilitates renewal and encourages variety But here again the infant school seems inferior to the Montessori, by reason of its too wide range of occupations

Psychologists have certainly told us of the need for rhythm and self-imitation, so prominently inherent in children The Montessori material forms a whole perfectly adapted to the results looked for, and to childish aptitudes The silhouettes of objects, cut out in our schools, are more attractive, but they do not help the child in passing from the concrete to the abstract so effectually as geometrical shapes and little sticks of beads Finally, the old bias in favour of the prestige of the intellect in France results, in our infant schools, in division of the pupils into groups The elder ones, sitting motionless and disciplined, learn to read and write, whilst the younger remain free, but deprived of the possibility of initiating themselves into the mysteries of reading and writing This constitutes a further instance of lack of adaptability, when one remembers that in the Montessori school the child begins to learn to read as soon as he is induced by the influence of appropriate material to express the desire to do so.

The Elementary School

In the infant school a relative degree of liberty is made easier by the absence of fixed programmes and examinations It is far otherwise in the Elementary school (école primaire), which the child enters at 6 years of age and leaves at 12 Consequently the development of new ideas is much less considerable there than in the infant school. The insufficient culture of the masters makes them victims of the knowledge which they formerly received from their own teachers Memory, in that case, becomes the only instrument capable, at once, of transmitting the intellectual tradition and of producing adequate automatisms. As with the Jesuits, but on the secular plane, knowledge has come to be exaggerated at the expense of the judgment and the understanding It is necessary, however, to indicate an important movement, reactionary to this spirit, coming sometimes from the masters themselves, and sometimes from the inspectors This movement is in favour of a greater development of the personality and of the sense of co-operation, in conformity with the work of psychologists and the ideas of the *New*

School We have particularly in mind, in this connection, T School Co-operative Societies, The School Printing Press, an finally, the research work of M Cousinet on the subject of worki in teams.

The School Co-operative Societies

The School Co-operative Societies (Co-opératives Scolaire were brought into being, without any official intervention, l M. Profit, an Inspector of Elementary Education His initial purpo was to enable pupils to improve the material conditions of th studies Certain of these co-operative societies have not go beyond this economic and commercial stage which helps in t acquisition of scholastic equipment and material, and in the er bellishment of the classrooms Now, the part which the pup contrive to play in this co-operation has progressively transform the economic results into educative results of great importanc The collective benefit of these associations is now recognised l masters as having a purely educative value They constitute simple means of interesting the children with the object of leadi them to take the responsibility of their education upon themselve

Productive collective activity shows itself in such ways as tl harvest of medicinal plants, the search for edible snails, the growi of vegetables, and cultivation of fruit trees, the sale of drawings handicraft, and preparations for school treats. The preliminai getting together of money to outlay is accomplished by clubbi together, by gifts and by voluntary sacrifices Now, to buy ar sell, to despatch goods, to prepare a treat or an outing, deman understanding, self-sacrifice and common sense All this creat in the school a more favourable atmosphere the children learn be more individual, freer and more responsible They follow rul which they have formulated, and obey those whom they ha appointed to be their leaders This is really a form of " sel government "

Talents and knowledge are put into practice by this arrangemen In order to be able to keep accounts, discharge orders, draw u reports or regulations and conduct correspondence, it is necessai to know how to calculate, solve problems and to draft clearl The wash-basins, the small gardens, individually owned, the pupil overalls and aprons, the measures of hygiene taken in the building the decoration of the classrooms, the compiling of records and th correspondence between one school and another, the study of an research into local history and geography—all these things not onl bring the children face to face with concrete realities, but the ver practice of co-operation initiates them into current life and compel them to cope daily with fresh problems and questions which, othei wise, would never have arisen [1]

Moral progress, then, of necessity, finds its place, and, fror being merely individualistic, the school becomes social, through th

[1] See M. Profit's article in *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* (July 1932).

pleasure of co-operating with the master or with the schoolmates, through the assumption of services entrusted or through helping the smaller pupils Thus the social sense is solidly forged This movement, which has been developing for twenty years now, comprises 8,000 co-operative societies, with a total membership of 180,000 children

The School Printing Press

The School Printing Press, created by M Freinet, a schoolmaster from Saint-Paul, offers similar characteristics It connects school work more closely with life It gives birth to a new life within the school, by utilising the functional needs of children and so producing a renewal of activity The School Printing Press serves " to free the child from the tyranny of manuals unsuited to the wide diversity of French provincial life " [1] It makes it possible to follow children, step by step, in their lives and in their natural activities The educative possibilities are very great ; it seems to open up a new universe to school and social life The children have the opportunity to " set up and print daily the text constituting the centre of the day's activity, and this text is drafted by the pupils, individually or in groups it is chosen freely by them, and answers their needs, forming a centre of interest about which it is an easy matter to create all sorts of activities [2] To work in groups thus becomes natural Correspondence between schools makes it possible to send from one school to another printed texts, giving information as to the life, resources and geography of distant regions This allows the children participation in the life of the world, which is a profound need, proper to our age, and one which technical inventions accentuate more and more for adults every day, a need, too, which should be satisfied for the child quite as fully as for the man

Thanks to the School Printing Press organisation, education is beginning to share in this new life of human omnipresence by the use of the post, the train, the photograph, the cinema or the wireless set. No more chill benches, satchels or grown-up books ! The levers of education henceforward are " vital impetus," " functional activity " and the " joy and profit of creation " To draft words for printing calls for precise, correct work, the living teaching of grammar. The real interests of the children can then find free expression, and what they write acquires all the more spontaneity, and, thereby, all the more sensibility and truth Natural sciences are studied experimentally and scientifically in view of the summaries to be printed, and the answers given to correspondents from other schools Calculation forms an integral part of life. Historical sense is developed through the " book of life," and through scholastic papers which the various schools publish. The historical

[1] See M Freinet's article in *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* (July 1932)
[2] *Ibid*

teaching, proper, contained in them is the simplest and most exa possible The geography which is learned is that described b "childish eyes," climate, products, work and regional custom Photographs and cinematograph films are interchanged for th purpose. The masters produce the material and organise librarie The expenses are diminished by these means, and this form c teaching need not, therefore, cease to be democratic After twelv years of experiment more than 300 French and foreign masters hav adhered to this collective work, 250 different school papers ar printed, and a monthly review, *L'Imprimerie à l'Ecole*, is issuec

Exchanges, both inter-French and international, are constantl effected. Film and gramophone libraries, printing and publishing are organised in "school co-operative societies" [1] Lastly, monthly children's review, *La Gerbe*, is composed and illustrate by the children , small booklets, also, are produced, containin the list of the children's texts and entitled *Extraits de la Gerb* The whole work provides a remarkable instance of the adaptatio of education to our life and our society

Team Work

Thirdly, the researches carried out by M Cousinet on the subjec of "team work" in the elementary schools of the Ardennes ar equally worthy of note He allows the pupils of a class to grou themselves according to their "affinities" [2]: the children grou themselves at their own discretion, and, throughout the experimen are at liberty to change from one group to another The maste never intervenes to compel a child to enter or leave any particula group He allows the pupils to work by themselves, he does nc direct or guide them, and gives them no help of any kind save whe the children actually ask him questions Collections are formec The children study pictures and illustrations dealing with th history of housing, costume and lighting, etc Objects describe are made, historical scenes reconstructed Literary work consist of free French composition, which the children write when they like and copy in a special book [3] This method has been practised i many of the schools in the Ardennes for the past thirteen years In 1923 M Cousinet tried a still bolder experiment, substitutin "work-play" for school work, so that the children might work a they played and make no distinction between the two. The ide is that "the children should work, as they like or not, select th form of work they fancy, work for as long as they choose and sto when they wish" Now "*all the experiments show that the childre work all the time*" Nevertheless, three difficulties arise: th poverty of observation of children when left to themselves, the diffi

[1] Note that a large number of schools and lycées show the pupils magic lantern slides or educative films

[2] These, and subsequent, quotations from M Cousinet are taken fron M Bouchet's book

[3] Ref M Bouchet's book

culty of achieving sustained co-operation and the existence of a certain distaste for the work of setting down in proper form the facts observed. The result of all these investigations is that the action of the adult is beneficial within broad limits with regard to children between the ages of 9 and 12, but that it is essential to allow the child the greatest latitude in the choice of his subject and in his starting, pursuit and execution of it.

Elementary Schools and the New Education

The New Education holds a brief for mixed schools Now, many schools are, of necessity, mixed Co-education of the sexes is, in point of fact, gaining ground in a large number of schools of fair importance

Opposition comes less from the Administration than from head or assistant masters, and from parents who cling to the old system The syllabuses of 1923 are shorter and simpler than those of 1882, and there is more liberty in the choice of books, methods and subjects for object lessons The personality of the master is allowed to develop But there are too many pupils collective lessons are necessary Yet the school is not dogmatic Lapie, a director of elementary education, has done much in support of the active school Corporal punishment is forbidden, though masters have occasionally to resort to it, especially when they are in charge of seventy-five pupils in varying stages of advancement An attempt is being made to make rewards collective Instructional walks (leçons-promenades) bring children into contact with real things, and so, to some extent, transport the school into the sphere of real life

Adaptation of the School to the Countryside

Another phenomenon, also, is now contributing to the same end, namely the methodical action taken in elementary schools to adapt education to the needs of the countryside The problem is considered from the pedagogic, economic and social points of view. Firstly, the aim is to incorporate the school with real life by a living teaching derived from the environment Secondly, the object is to provide the future agriculturist, and the future rural housewife, with the knowledge demanded by modern conditions of existence in the country Thirdly, an endeavour is being made to fight against rural depopulation It is believed that the causes of the exodus from rural areas are rather moral than economic, and the purpose is to prove that, despite the more glittering aspect of urban life, existence in the country is less uncertain, less of a slavery and more healthy. At the same time it is emphasised that means of communication, improved water-supply, electrification, the use of machinery and modern equipment, the wireless and the cinema now allow the small farmer to enjoy better conditions of life

As a practical measure, official instructions have already recommended that the substance of teaching should be borrowed from

rural life The choice of subjects in the examination for the elementary schools certificate has been made with this object in view Moreover, in a plan for raising the school age to 14, suggestions have been made for courses of agricultural and domestic training, the nature of the subjects taught being specialised according to the sex of the pupil.

The Growth of New Ideas among Teachers

As a last point in the consideration of the elementary schools, it is necessary to mention that one of the essential factors in the progress of ideas in the elementary schools is the ever-increasing interest taken by teachers, not only in economic and social problems, but also in the psychology of the child, and in the most recent pedagogic research The various teachers' reviews are very much alive and are widely read They testify to the presence among the teachers of a living and active spirit They are collective works in which self-criticism, investigation, questions and answers are so many means of progress In the pages of some of these reviews (*Ecole Libératrice*, *Ecole Emancipée*, *l'Université Nouvelle*, etc) there is evidence of real pedagogic experiment Furthermore, a large number of French teachers are giving sincere and considered attention to such problems as unemployment, peace and fascism, even to the point of more or less openly taking sides While this ranges many of them in opposition to the Government, it seems, on the other hand, to enlarge their cultural horizon, and to bring new life into their teaching

Elementary Teachers' Training Colleges

The Senior Elementary Instruction (Enseignement primaire supérieur), which trains teachers for elementary school work, does not seem to be imbued with the new spirit Judging from a report of the year 1929, quoted by M Bouchet, " experimental teaching is not given according to the experimental method . . . Despite our laudable efforts our pupils handle a penholder infinitely more often than a test-tube, and use more ink than water " In the elementary school training colleges " the spirit of routine and the incomprehension or timidity of most of the administrators, or of the staff, constitute the greatest obstacle to the application of the spirit of the rules " It is, however, necessary to indicate, in this connection, the existence of some progress but this is closely dependent on the personality of the male and female principals, and on that of teachers

IV. Secondary Teaching and the " One School for All "

With the question of secondary teaching we come to a grave problem—that of the method of effecting unity in French education. Now, the very nature of secondary teaching proves that the " equality " brought into being under the Third Republic is not in

conformity with the principles of 1789 In 1887 Jules Ferry had made elementary education free, secular and compulsory. Until the war State consideration was paid to the development of various training colleges for teachers in elementary schools; but the secondary school was set on one side It was, and is, still a means of approach to teaching posts in higher schools, to the liberal careers (doctor, lawyer, etc) and to all responsible, social, economic or political positions

It has remained a system of education for one class, its exclusiveness being only very slightly lessened by the award of scholarships Even free instruction for day pupils has not altered the nature of the circle from which it recruits its pupils. These are to-day simply the pick of those who are not obliged to find immediately remunerative employment at the age of 14

It is easy to find out how far we still are from the effective application of the principles of 1789 It is enough to analyse the idea of the "One School for All" movement, following out the details of the plan drawn up by the "Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle," a group of young ex-service schoolmasters who, after the war, studied the conditions of a complete and absolute reform of public teaching in France After fifteen years of effort they have arrived at a scheme which brings evidence to show the imperfections of the present educational régime

The two main points insisted on in the proposed reform are, firstly, teaching absolutely free of cost, and, secondly, the "seeding" of pupils according to their natural aptitudes

Elementary, secondary and technical education are three parallel and rival teaching systems, recruiting their pupils from three different social classes Their three Administrations, although united under the Ministry of National Education, are not alive to one another's existence It is necessary, therefore, to attain unity of pedagogic and administrative organisation, to abolish the distinction between paying pupils and scholars, and to solve the problem of great numbers by vocational guidance and selection in every stage Unity in the training of masters should also be attained, and the proposal is to transform the teacher's training colleges into pedagogic institutes, attached to the universities, and giving a psychological and pedagogic training to the masters of the various branches of teaching.

French masters, especially those in the secondary schools, only learn their profession by actually teaching The competitive examinations for teachers are tests of knowledge or intelligence, but not of pedagogic science and intuition. Lastly, there is need for a unity of spirit in the branches of teaching, with a common culture as its basis; furthermore, there must be a wider view of the idea of culture and an educative equivalence of the various types of culture, classical and modern, linguistic, literary, historical, scientific, artistic or professional. The different branches are so many different realms, mutually closed to one another. The

" elementary " exaggerates the methods of teaching by automatism and memory training, while storing away, and that very solidly, in the minds of the pupils ideas often misunderstood or not fully assimilated The " secondary " allows more scope for liberty and reflection, but exaggerates, at the expense of scholarship, the part played by the understanding As the syllabuses are more extensive, the outstanding pupils alone can manage to pass their time comfortably and with profit and, even then, only provided that their talents are not cramped by the banality and soullessness which the baccalauréat demands Technical school education is in the hands of industrialists who, in the interests of production and, as a better means of combating economic difficulties, insist that their apprentices should follow a highly specialised course of study. This fact is responsible for a certain severance between manual and brainwork, a reciprocal ignorance, even a radical separation of science from technique At the opposite end of the scale, indeed, higher education, placed at the service of pure science, appears to disregard technical teaching, and to disassociate itself from the problems of elementary or secondary pedagogy The universities exert no moral influence over education On the other hand, their unbiased researches are generally largely out of touch with social reality, with questions of production and with life It is only the great engineering schools (polytechnic, central, mines, electricity, civil engineering, etc) which blend practical and real problems with questions of theory, making their pupils participate in the doings of the present world by a constant adjustment to technical progress and the changing rhythm of life But, save for one or two, they are, so to speak, reserved for the élite of the middle class, for those reared in secondary schools

The problem of the " One " school is, as yet, very far from being completely solved Notable among the fragmentary reforms now in hand are the unification of syllabuses in the lower forms of the elementary and secondary schools, the unification, likewise, of the system of scholarships in training colleges and secondary and technical schools, and the admission of day pupils free of charge to secondary education.

Scientific Humanism

It appears, on the other hand, that the programmes for the period 1923–5 are, in some respects, retrogressive in comparison with those of 1902. In particular, Greco-Latin culture is considered in them as being superior both by right and in fact to others By a recent decision, the comicality of which is worthy of Molière, Greek is made obligatory for those who wish to practise medicine. The idea of the classic humanities, which was, perhaps, satisfactory for training and moulding the men of the Renaissance, seems to hold remarkable sway in the minds of our contemporaries. Insufficient heed is paid alike to the changes in the world, and to all the theoretical and practical advances of science, as well as to present

social and economic conditions, which demand a profound reform of the conception of humanities. The " well-bred man " of the twentieth century ought to acquire a culture corresponding to the age in which he lives This point of view is defended by a group of scientific intellectuals, whose organ is *L'Enseignement Scientifique*. It is also the view held by the great scholar, P Langevin These men are aiming at the creation of a scientific humanism which should be the complement to, and not a substitute for, the introduction of the experimental method and the critical spirit into every form of teaching, and, more particularly, they are working for the teaching of scientific results in a less static form by combining with it the study of the history of civilisation. In order for science to be real means of culture, its progress should be made apparent in its relation to the evolution of society, technique and life In this connection it is interesting to point out the experiments now being made by M Ginat, a professor of physics in the lycée at Havre He gets his class together, outside the normal hours, to work in the physics laboratory He will give the pupils, for instance, a thesis of Fresnel and make them analyse it by carrying out in little groups all the successive experiments which led the physician to his discovery These lessons are accompanied by talks on the history of science and civilisation The results of this trial are very conclusive, but this practice is, unhappily, the work of one solitary teacher In French education reforms are all the more difficult for there being no " experimental school " where new methods can be tried out The fundamental cause, no doubt, is the lack of faith felt by the French in a systematic and uniform education

Official Instructions for Secondary Education in 1925, 1930, 1931

The ideas of the New School have so far only been able to penetrate into secondary school teaching through the medium of the official instructions, and from this point of view the programmes for the year 1925 are really surprising. They reveal on the part of the inspectors who drew them up a pretty accurate understanding of the progress that pedagogic psychology ought to bring about in the educational sphere through amplification of the notion of " liberty," which, even after the triumph of liberal pedagogy in 1789 and after 1870, has remained vague and abstract

We find in these programmes suggestions for a new co-ordination, to last for the whole course of studies, between the masters of the same lycée and between the different branches of learning. There is an expressed desire to attain " continuity of method and systematically graded progression of teaching "

In certain instructional classes (séances de direction) the inspectors recommend that the " generality of collective precepts should be adjusted to the range of individual intellects " Nor should the maximum number of pupils exceed twenty (in practice, only

classes above forty are split into two, and in many cases there are as many as sixty pupils in a class) For each particular branch of learning active methods are encouraged " The master should allow those who wish the opportunity to speak and encourage others to venture " He is the director of his pupils' effort he must eliminate, sustain and control this effort, and it is no part of his business to let them off it and take all the work upon his own shoulders " Word for word " Latin is to be discouraged in favour of the search for " functional groups " and the understanding of the sense of the sentence as a whole In history and geography the master may follow his own method, but he must infuse life and variety into his lessons, and, by stimulating interest, open fresh horizons to his pupils (It should be noted in passing that the point, here again, is to arouse an interest for something produced, and not to respect an existing and spontaneous interest) In modern languages " the master should make a careful study both of the aptitudes and the weaknesses of his pupils He should make, as it were, a pedagogic index card of each of them In mathematics the recommendations adhere more closely to the old methods Much importance is attached to mental calculation experimental teaching is condemned, whilst leaping to conclusions and over-reliance on constructions are alike to be distrusted On the contrary, in physics, " it is essential that the pupils should observe and reason, that they should learn to consider and seek for causes, to determine the effects of them, and to pass from particular facts to laws The whole benefit they derive would disappear if the experiment were merely discussed instead of being carried out." Similar remarks are made with reference to chemistry For natural sciences, likewise, the recommendations are distinctly new " the pupil observes, compares and classifies the master directs, amends and completes this mental work Practical exercises are an indispensable complement to the course " In philosophy written work is set aside in favour of personal discussion and reflection.

More recently, in 1930 and 1931, the instructions drew attention to the advisability of free and wider reading " It is important that the children should learn not to do a great deal, but to do their work well and to put the utmost of themselves into what they do " Active methods are recommended, even in mathematics, and, since the teaching of sciences cannot be exhaustive, some method of sampling other branches of the study is suggested Also, half the time allowed for science must be devoted to experiments, and " the practical work periods, moreover, must be entirely given over to the personal work of the pupil." In history and geography there is no need for pure erudition or learned discussions : the greatest appeal should be made to the imagination. As for living languages, the idea is put forward of " inspiring the pupil with the idea of reading by himself for pleasure " Finally, the teaching of dead languages should approximate to the method used in the teaching of modern tongues.

Scientific Equality in the Baccalauréat

The 1925 programmes retain, however, one marked feature of the old conception of education of Descartes or Helvétius, namely the belief that the educative method is all-powerful, and that no distinction should be made between differing minds The " scientific equality " in the baccalauréat, laid down in 1925, affords the clearest realisation of this old conception As regards pupils up to the age of about 16, at all events, it takes no account of the particular aptitudes of individuals For all that, the circulars issued in 1930–1 mark an advance They acknowledge that " tastes and vocations may differ, that the solving of the same problem, the precise observation and storing in the memory of the same experimental process, or the understanding of the same theory, may require more effort for one type of mind than for another "

The official instructions, taken as a whole, do, therefore, point to a tendency towards the revision of teaching methods But an abyss still separates the actual state of affairs from what is recommended in these instructions

Present Conditions

The economic conditions, created by the present crisis, constitute one of the greatest obstacles to the carrying out of suggested reforms and improvements The sums set aside in the Budget for National Education being very much limited, the number of teachers is being reduced

The number of pupils in each class is thereby being increased, and the few teachers who have mastered the instructions and who try to conform with them find it absolutely impossible to change the existing atmosphere of their classes M Bouchet enumerates the factors which militate against the application of such instructions : he speaks of the ignorance of child psychology, of the comprehensible resistance of many teachers to new requests when they have already suffered reverses in trying to follow out previous official indications He refers to parental mistrust, to the existence of old manuals, " forbidding in their bulk and style," to the rigid partitioning of the working day into hour periods, and to their great number " even in the afternoon " He emphasises, also, the general attitude of dogmatism and distrust towards the children, and, among the pupils themselves, the total lack of any signs of character-building. In fact, at the present moment there is a very discouraging spirit abroad in the world of secondary education As M Pieron remarks : " The school tests and examinations only bring into prominence the good, docile, hard-working pupil, who has a good memory and is accustomed to use the methods which his teacher has shown him His progress is illusory . later he becomes a dry branch, as useless, when he is left to his own devices, as one of Vaucanson's mechanical puppets, whose spring has been allowed to

run down." [1] But the educational system is not wholly to blame Political and social life and the rhythm of our civilisation attract the pupils out of school, or cause their minds to be obsessed, even during their lessons, with thoughts quite foreign to the subject of their study Young people know that they will not find employment, and that they will suffer on giving up the school-work, which seems less and less able to guarantee them the means of earning a living The moral repercussion of this is very great A deep-rooted indifference to work in children between 12 and 18 years of age reflects all these external conditions of life

According to a 1931 report dealing with boarders, the moral results are very mediocre Many of the pupils are badly brought up Their clothes, their manners, their wastefulness and casualness in every form are the outward signs of it Cheating, deceit, decline of moral delicacy, lack of scruple, taste for facile success, want of feeling, unscrupulous ambition and a general contempt for moral values are all to be found among the characteristics of the boarders in our lycées If educationists are not solely responsible for this state of affairs, they have, at all events, a colossal task to regenerate education by adjusting it to life, by blending their teaching with the problems which absorb the real interests of young people, and by bringing "life into the school" or "extending the school to embrace life."

V Non-Governmental Teaching

What are the results of non-governmental teaching ? There are numerous institutions, both religious and secular, which exist on the fringe of the official system In order to survive, they are led, by force of circumstances, to present improved and different programmes and time-tables, and, in comparison with the official schools, to take, in general, a more comprehensive point of view of education, and one better adapted both to the child and to the life of our present-day society They achieve this, in a certain manner, thanks to the smaller size of their classes, but this reduction is effected at the expense of the teachers' salaries. To-day these institutions have in their favour the fearful crisis in official education. Parents are prepared to make pecuniary sacrifices so that their child may be in a class of twenty pupils instead of in one of fifty However, the recent concession of free admission for day pupils to secondary education is making competition unpleasantly keen, and the consequence is that the private schools are finding their pupils, in the main, to be of well-to-do parentage but small ability On the other hand, they are forced to prepare their pupils for the official examinations, and even to secure as many "passes" as possible. This diverts their teaching methods away from the road of intelli-

[1] Translator's note Some specimens of Vaucanson's mechanical skill are preserved in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris. The main collection was dispersed after his death in 1782

gence and activity and towards the same old mechanical, mediocre and unindividual channel Consequently, though these schools may succeed in giving their pupils better physical development, on the intellectual plane they reflect none the less the verbal, abstract teaching to which we have referred.

The Ecole Des Roches

The new ideas of integral education, that is to say, the system designed to effect the " whole child " for the better preparation of " the whole man," have, however, made considerable progress in the private educational system The Des Roches school [1] has been the first notable attempt in France at this sort of simultaneous education of the soul and of the body Like the Ecole-Nouvelle, its basic principle is to follow the nature of, and the laws governing, the child It attaches the greatest importance to the training of character, and to moral and social life It consists of a kind of integration of the principles of the boy scout movement as a means of character training, and has many points in common with certain English schools The Des Roches school is separated into houses, each of which is a family The " parents " in them are the bigger pupils Thanks to a tradition which has already been handed down for thirty-five years, the child receives there " an impression of kindness and gentleness, of permanent collaboration and of calm and smiling happiness " Liberty in this school is " a spontaneous love of order," and " the child of normal, upright morality is led of his own accord to habits of punctuality and work, to a sense of duty and collaboration " Much attention is paid to the cultivation of a sense of responsibility " In the classes, personal cleanliness and the distribution of material, general good order and the maintenance of the form room in a healthy condition are the charge of appointed leaders " In each house much of the work is under the control of pupils. " One boy is responsible for the library, another for the bicycles dormitories are in the hands of captains, who are senior boys : other captains supervise work pupils, likewise, are responsible for running house committees, for the shower-baths, for the care of animals, and for the turning on and off of lights . . As far as possible those put in charge are chosen by their equals, and they are never appointed without the previous agreement of the captains " This education of leaders is carried on at every stage of the school life Now, one of these heads of studies enjoys far greater prestige, and exercises much more authority over the general work than the best of the " supervisors " under the ordinary official system The " captain general " corresponds to the " head boy " of the public school But he differs from him in certain respects For, instead of having fags at his disposal and concerning himself primarily with games and outside discipline, the captain at

[1] This account is taken from M Berthier's article in *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* (July 1932)

Des Roches is, in the highest sense of the word, the servant of his comrades He is concerned with souls and characters even more, perhaps, than with bodies " The material organisation of a house is entrusted to the house committee, elected by all the boys Games are managed by the pupils, so, also, are handicrafts and " treats " They are responsible, too, for the issue of their paper, *L'Echo des Roches*, each month, and for all social and charitable actions Clubs are formed within the school, bringing together those interested in philosophy, history, English and so on. Old boys come down each year to talk of their lives and doings in the world Thus, " outside and inside action are fused Arranged visits abroad and scouting prepare the boy to become a good citizen of the world, without his ceasing, on that account, to live like a good Frenchman "

The passages quoted are from an article by M Berthier, the headmaster of the school They give an idea of the idealism and spirituality which are the strong points of the school This education is, in effect, religious, based on the family and on tradition So far it has only been able to make its appeal to the wealthy middle-class Its success, however, marks the first important step which has been taken in France in the direction of an integral education of the individual The moral and religious ideal is admittedly imposed from without, and the values acquired there are dictated by one social class On the other hand, the education of the personality and of the social sense is carried out through an admirable technique, founded on responsibility

The New Schools

Other new schools, likewise, exist in France Kindergartens are particularly numerous The principles of the Montessori or Decroly education are applied there, duly adjusted in varying degree to the conditions of French education Less democratic than the infant schools, these kindergartens are roughly similar to them, what is best in each method being retained A few years ago there was a State competitive examination for the post of kindergarten mistress, and official preparation for this examination, but all this has been suppressed There are, however, certain training schools for kindergarten teachers, among others the Collège Sévigné and the Bastion 42 in Paris The young girls leave, after two years' theoretical and practical study, in possession of a diploma, but with no guarantee of finding a post Some schools are already perfectly fitted out with workshops and pedagogic material, and for some years secondary school teachers have been working in them to adapt active methods to the French system of teaching, more particularly in the education of children between 10 and 14 years of age. Among those schools where the new ideas are the most flourishing and successful, " L'Ecole Nouvelle " at Bellevue, the " Maison des Enfants " at Sèvres and the " Cours Moulin " at Nice are outstanding.

Conclusion

We have tried to make clear in the foregoing pages the basic ideas of contemporary French education. France is still living on the inheritance of the Revolution of 1789. The Third Republic has developed consistently, though still incompletely, the principles contained in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. In the sphere of education the memory of the pedagogic theories of the revolutionaries at the end of the eighteenth century is still deeply rooted in present-day official teaching. Free popular education, the right of all to have instruction—ideas both handed down by the Encyclopædists—are the outcome of the Cartesian theory that reason is common to all men, and responsive to methodical education It was in this spirit that " scientific equality " was established for the baccalauréat in 1925 On the other hand, the ideas of " liberty of thought " and of " training of the judgment " are achieving, through the secularisation of education, the same victory which the Encyclopædists gained over the Jesuits, and following an equally Cartesian tradition. This is a triumph for understanding over memory and blind automatism over routine and the authority of the book. This form of education allows liberty primarily to the teacher and not to the child. The latter continues to undergo the constraint, secular, this time, of too verbal and abstract a teaching. Liberty of thought, originally a victory, has become, by the limitations which it sets on the mind and spirit, an obstacle to the free soaring of the inner forces of the being The Jesuits did model the individual after their own fashion, though they addressed themselves as much to the moral as to the intellectual man, but the child in our twentieth-century schools and lycées receives nothing beyond mere instruction. The powers vested in the teacher with regard to his pupil are designed to maintain order and discipline, not to assist the development of the child's character. Again, the Jesuits were undeniably masters of the art of inculcating knowledge , but the automatisms, which they formed in minds, are often lacking to-day in a system of teaching, under which the master is free to choose his method, and under which, also, the range of knowledge, which it is desirable to possess, is too wide for the problem of acquiring it fully not to be systematically considered. The economic, political and social crisis through which we are passing combines with the exigencies of the rhythm of modern life to render a renovation of our system of instruction patently necessary. On the other hand, a tradition, traceable by way of Rousseau to the thinkers of the Renaissance, is taking concrete shape in the world to-day. It is confirmed by the work of French and foreign psychologists, through the very complete analysis which they have made of the needs of the child. They have pointed out that the Cartesian theory of the identity of natural gifts in different individuals is a fallacy. Each personality is original and should be respected. The notion of integral development of the young being, that is to say, of a develop-

ment which is at once moral, psychical, intellectual and physical, inevitably impresses itself on the minds of all those who are willing to yield to the weight of evidence. The danger of falling into excessive individualism is averted by the fact that co-operation and joint effort play their part in the new system, and are demonstrably the only means of causing personalities to be truly developed through the double sense of responsibility to one's self and to the group. These ideas meet very stiff opposition in France, so powerful is the tradition of oral, living, but abstract teaching, and so great is the prestige of the intellect · consequently the practical realisation of the New Spirit is very incomplete We have shown in what measure theoretical progress has already been accomplished through the medium of official instructions, and how individual or group initiative has made possible the creation and trial of methods, already thoroughly tested in infant schools, school co-operative societies, school printing associations, and team work These innovations are all forms of " life," introduced into official schools by masters themselves, thanks to the sympathetic understanding they reveal in facing the problem of education Non-governmental schools are already making active methods a reality in France, though in a regrettably bourgeois form The idea of the " One School for All " takes alike into account the equality of rights of the children and the difference of their natural gifts and aptitudes. Such a school would form a valuable framework for the reconstruction of the educational system

There are many problems urgently awaiting solution : problems of the mind and of the body, of " theoretical " and " practical " work, of scientific and literary humanism and of knowledge and understanding.

The New School could find a way to the solving of all these and to the creation of an education, at once liberal and popular, by the use of active and experimental methods, which would fashion the personality of the child as well as forming his social sense

GÉRARD MILHAUD.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN EUROPE, U S A AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS, 1920–35

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MODERN TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Origins of Continental Training of Teachers

THE training of teachers in France, Germany and England resulted in each case from the necessity of increasing national efficiency by giving a modicum of elementary education In England, however (as Prof Rich reminds us [1]), the realisation came late that in order to educate a people it is necessary to begin with the education of its teachers , whereas in Finland (under the influence of Cygnæus) and Ontario (as a consequence of French influence in Quebec) the public education system was from the first based securely on a scheme of teacher-training [2] Yet popular education and teacher-training in their early stages were seldom, if ever, fruits of idealism In Prussia, Frederick the Great's desire to render his subjects literate, like similar attempts of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and of Turkey in recent times, was determined by utilitarian aims He saw in education the means of improving the economic condition of Prussia, of providing non-commissioned officers for his armies and of unifying his dominions under laws which all his subjects would be able to read The elementary normal schools, therefore, which existed in Prussia at the time of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) were symptomatic less of an enthusiasm for education than of an enthusiasm for strong government ; and only after the visits of Prussian educationists to Pestalozzi at Yverdon, and the setting up by Zeller of *Normal Schools* at Konigsberg, Koralene and Braunsberg for the training of primary school teachers on Pestalozzian lines, can the emphasis be said to have been thrown equally on the educational and the utilitarian aims Even in France, where the glowing expressions of the Revolutionists from Talleyrand to Bonaparte promised much for education, by 1802 the latter had come to regard education, especially the education of the bourgeoisie, as a means to political stability , and when, by a decree of March 17th, 1808, he established a *Normal School* in Paris, its purpose was to provide an educational army for service in the recently formed *lycées* in which French boys were to be educated according to pattern The first *Primary Normal School* in this period was established at Strasbourg three years later, with an equally definite

[1] *The Training of Teachers*, 1933, page 1

[2] *Finland* · Lance G E Jones *The Training of Teachers*, 1924, page 265 , *Ontario* A Gordon Melvin · *The Professional Training of Teachers for the Canadian Public Schools*, Baltimore, 1923, pages 41, *seq*

purpose where the poorer classes were concerned, and as late as 1849 the ideal French primary school teacher was described as one "limited as well in his needs as his desires, and for whom his pupils and his commune were the entire world." [1]

Differences in Evolution between English and Continental Training of Teachers

In approaching the early attempts at the training of teachers in England, the mixed and even non-educational motives underlying Continental schemes of training must be kept in mind, because from the days of Kay-Shuttleworth to those of Matthew Arnold advocates of improvement in the national system of training habitually praised Continental achievement, without, in most cases, supplying a clear account of the *raison d'être* of the methods employed When England turned her attention to providing education for the poorer classes she was actuated by mixed motives of an economic and humanitarian kind, and hence the history of the evolution of the English *Normal School* and *Training College* is largely bound up with the freeing of the primary school and the primary school teacher from the handicaps imposed upon both by outmoded social and political conventions, so that in England the primary school might come to represent a stage in and not an inferior type of education, and the primary school teacher be gradually advanced in educational, professional and social status, by ways and means different from any that his Continental brethren have known

Early Training of Teachers in England

Sheer necessity of imparting as quickly and as effectively as possible a certain amount of information resulted in the training of teachers in England from the outset—whether at Lancaster's school in the Borough from 1806, or at Bell's in Baldwin's Gardens from 1811—being concerned preponderantly with *how* rather than with *what* to teach Students (Prof Rich notes) did not attend these early training schools in order "to educate themselves" or "even to learn the art of teaching in general," but to master the tricks of the monitorial system [2] But, as an American critic remarks (in commenting on the narrow outlook of even specialist masters), the prospective teacher must learn more than merely "to keep school," he must learn to teach; [3] and this "the system" was neither intended nor attempted to do In order to teach, the teacher must receive an advanced degree of instruction to that which he is to impart; and it was by the adoption of the method of training first put into practice by David Stow at the Glasgow *Normal School*, and which had for aim the teaching of all children by adult teachers

[1] Beugnot, Report of October 6th, 1849, quoted Reisner: *Nationalism and Education since* 1789, 1929, page 66.

[2] *Op. cit*, page 7

[3] Jas. Earl Russell: *The Trend in American Education*, 1922, page 35.

who had themselves received advanced instruction, that English teacher-training was carried beyond the monitorial stage, and by the creation in 1846, under the influence of Kay-Shuttleworth, of the pupil-teacher system, was thoroughly committed to the education as well as the professional training of intending teachers To record this fact is not to imply that in England at this date there had emerged a clear conception of either the teacher's professional or social status or of his functions , but with the establishment of a system of sound elementary education, combined with professional training, the training of teachers in England and on the Continent fell into line But it is interesting to notice that the practical training of the English student (a relic of the monitorial system and directly connected with the apprenticeship aspect of the pupil-teacher system) has always been more adequate than that of any Continental country, and that the continuous advance in education of English training college students has in the end carried them (as it has carried their American and Dominion *confrères*) to a very high level of education, given in many instances within a university

Expanding Educational and Cultural Aims of English compared with Continental Training Colleges

The English distrust of cut-and-dried theories has also exercised a decided influence on the national system of teacher-training In this, as in other fields, the English have learned as they went, with the result that their scheme of training, loosely articulated, very free of governmental or local control, and utterly incomprehensible as it is to a foreigner (even when set out elaborately by Mr Lance Jones [1]), has been able to adjust itself to meet the challenges of new knowledge, revolutions in method and the changing situations of a world becoming socially and politically more complex, while the Continental systems have tended to remain true to the conceptions of their originators, or have been reshaped from time to time to suit the dogmatisms of those who control them The body of information which the *Normal Schools* of France and Germany have imparted to their students has been varied with the varying requirements which the rulers of these countries have decided the curricula of their public schools must meet ; but up until the close of the war of 1914–18 it remained an officially authorised body of information carefully selected as to quantity and quality. Up to this period, moreover, the French and German primary school teacher was educated entirely within the primary school system, which implied for him an enriched curriculum compared with that which his pupils should receive, but not a secondary education. In England, after the passing of the Education Act of 1902, when *County Secondary Schools* came into being, increasing numbers of elementary school teachers received a full secondary education; and in Scotland, from 1906, all intending teachers were in receipt of secondary education.

[1] *Op cit.*, pages x + 474.

The depreciation of the intellectual side of life which is implicit (and, to some extent, explicit) in recent Nazi educational propaganda is no new thing, but is mentioned by Reisner as characteristic of the training received by the German teacher in the early nineteenth century [1] The limitations long prescribed for the French primary school teacher have been already indicated, and Kay-Shuttleworth's ideals for his students at Battersea Training College were of much the same sort In the 1840's the very different ideals of Derwent Coleridge, to which he gave effect at St Mark's Training College, Chelsea, appeared to contemporaries bizarre in the extreme ; but, though they little realised it at the moment, the English residential training college was at a parting of the ways, and while many of its kind were to conform largely to the Continental pattern, some few, truer to the English genius, were to gather about them (as Coleridge had hoped they would) " the same or similar associations " as the older colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, " consecrated with the same *religio loci* " [2]

Professional Training and the Study of Education in England and on the Continent

On the professional side of training, by the close of last century, the differences between English and Continental practice in introducing students in training to the principles underlying education led critics of the English *Training College* to deplore the failure of the latter to develop the science of Education [3] While on the Continent there was a tendency to dogmatise about Education upon insufficient premises, in England there was an almost complete failure to realise that educational problems existed and must be faced Ultimately salvation came to the English *Training College* by way of the *University Training Department*, though there have been (and are) those who have thought that students of the *Training Departments* have at times been introduced to educational principles at the expense of learning to teach. But the linking in England of university work in education with the training of teachers has proved beneficial to both the study of education and the training of teachers, just as in Germany the complete separation of the university study of education from such training, until 1918, proved unfortunate for both. The existence or lack of this connection, moreover, is one which directly involves the training of teachers for secondary schools.

Connection of Foregoing with Training of Secondary School Teachers and Unification of all Types of Training

In England, France and Germany until 1918 few teachers for secondary schools received professional training. A minority in

[1] *Op cit*, pages 137–8
[2] *The Teachers of the People*, 1862, page 37, quoted Rich *op. cit*, page 88
[3] Board of Education, Special Reports, vol 9, *Education in Germany*, 1902 (written 1898), page 324.

England passed through the University Training Departments ; in France and Germany an elaborate system of examinations (and in the latter country a period of probationary service) secured an highly educated *personnel* But the fourfold aspect of the courses in the English *Training Colleges* and *University Training Departments*, with their insistence on a sound and even cultural education for the prospective teacher, ability to teach school subjects, practice in teaching and the study of education, was nowhere paralleled on the Continent ; and only England (and that because of the link between training and the university) and the United States (by the creation of the new all-education type of professional school known as *Teachers College*) were able, until post-war times, to combine in one system the training of teachers of all types of school, on a basis on which a varying emphasis is laid on the different parts of the student's preparation according to his previous education or present or future needs

II POST-WAR AND REVOLUTIONARY FACTORS IN TRAINING OF TEACHERS · 1918–35

Norms for Post-War Education : Democracy, Nationalism and Individualism

The conclusion of the war of 1914–18 left men everywhere with three outstanding beliefs. The first of these was in *Democracy*, which for the moment appeared to have gained a great victory, though probably no two countries would have agreed upon a definition of democracy ; the second was an exaggerated and intense belief in the value of *Nationalism* ; the third was a belief in the claims of the individual (*Individualism*) In a world actuated by such beliefs education obviously had to be *democratic* (according to particular definitions, of which the British, the French, the American and the post-Weimar German were the most important varieties), *nationalistic* (in a cultural, not imperialistic, sense) and *individualistic* Varied but not unrelated schemes of education reflecting these beliefs began to take shape, of which the educational provisions embodied in the German Federal Constitution of 1919 are the most important In all countries the primary school curriculum was improved, child-study flourished and psychology was appealed to and applied as never before Especially in Germany, the United States of America and the British countries, the prospective teacher was introduced to culture hitherto withheld from him, and the placed teacher was given a new freedom of method The Montessori Plan, the Dalton Plan, Dewey's *Project Method*—all were used freely and widely, and the making and standardising of Intelligence Tests were carried steadily forward Yet there was about much of the post-war idealism and activity (of which educational enthusiasm and experiment were marked features) an element of unreality, which few observers noted at the time, but which, tested by subsequent economic and political stress, could not hope to stand under

the strain ; and, in some instances, there were admitted into the national educational systems elements whose implications for the future, and under altered circumstances, have since produced effects vastly different from any their sponsors anticipated

Democracy a Bad Norm of Education · its Differentiating and not Unifying Character

The differentiation and even incompatibility of the views held of Democracy in England, the United States, France and post-Weimar Germany are very striking and were reflected directly in the outlooks of these countries upon the education of the young and the training of teachers who should carry out that education. "The true category of English life," as Madariaga notes,[1] "is not equality but liberty," and for the Englishman "liberty is the absence of political constraint" But in the United States equality is regarded as the first principle in both individual and community life , and Count Keyserling has pointed out a very real danger both for society and education in the United States when he writes that there "the individual is simply ceasing to exist , all development is moving in the direction of standardisation . The Ideal of the same life, the same emotions for all, is steadily becoming a reality"[2] Largely owing to John Dewey, school and society have become more nearly coterminous in the United States than in any other country, and the view widely held is that "the American public school, supported by public taxation, is under obligation to train American citizens, men and women able and willing to co-operate with their fellows in the attainment of American ideals"[3] While Dr L P Jacks is in one sense right in believing that "the most precious art in the world" is that "by which crowds can be turned into communities,"[4] an equalitarian citizenship such as forms an aim of American education differs widely from the conception of democratic education current in England

For the Englishman, *democratic education* means that no removable let or hindrance shall prevent the gifted boy's receiving those courses of instruction for which he has shown aptitude ; for the Frenchman, *democratic education* means a carefully articulated system of society and instruction which will prepare all Frenchmen to play those parts which will be of the greatest service to their country That all are allotted their parts and educated accordingly appears to the French sound Democracy , but it is obvious that the teacher who is to prepare the young for life in such a Democracy—especially in times disturbed by the criticisms of *Les Compagnons*, a war- and post-war-time group of educational reformers who desired to see established the *école unique* or common school for all—must

[1] *Frenchmen, Spaniards*, 1931, page 129
[2] *Das Spektrum Europas*, trans as *Europe*, 1928, page 364.
[3] Russell *op cit* , page 129
[4] *Education through Recreation*, 1932, pages 117–18.

prepare the young in a different way from either the English or American teacher. Democracy, it is plain, is a bad educational *norm*, because of its indefiniteness It tends to beg the question instead of stating it And when to the older Democracies was added the experiment of the Weimar Republic, what educational presuppositions Democracy might be expected to assume were more uncertain still. " In all schools," according to Article 148 of the Federal Constitution, " effort shall be made to develop moral education, public-mindedness and personal and vocational efficiency in the spirit of the German national character and of international conciliation. . . . Civic training and activity instruction shall be part of the curricula of the schools " But extreme experiments in the direction of activity instruction (*Arbeitsunterricht*) tended (as in Hamburg and Bremen) towards Communism and not Democracy, and the emphasis placed on common loyalty to German ideals and culture (*Bildung zum Deutschtum*) definitely prepared the way for an intensely self-conscious *Nationalism*, which since the Nationalist Socialist Revolution has exalted the nation or race and denied the claims of the individual

Dangers of Nationalism and Individualism as Norms of Education

But neither *Nationalism* nor *Individualism* is a trustworthy educational *norm*, especially where teachers are to be trained Only nations which are the heirs of an ancient, and preferably not indigenous, civilisation, such as the Græco-Roman or Israelitish, can be trusted with safety to develop a *Nationalism* that does not run counter to *Humanitas* for though one English educator has said of another's statement that education is " a conversation with the world," " the conversation must in the main be conducted in the native idiom," [1] it is to be borne in mind that the staple of this conversation must be the great humanities French *Nationalism* can be so trusted, because (to quote a war-time circular issued by the Minister of Public Instruction on September 10th, 1915) " l'antiquité a toujours été en France non point seulement un objet de sèche érudition mais encore un sujet d'admiration et un guide de conduite . " [2] The French teacher, therefore, whatever the grade of education he may be permitted to reach, is to some extent a participant in this living tradition He is the safe *nationalist*, just as the citizen of the British countries is the safe *individualist*, for the reason that the latter has inherited the recognition that in order to allow for individual freedom the rights of the community and the individual must be carefully balanced, and all citizens must be brought up to respect the machinery which exists to secure this adjustment. Among less experienced nations, however, the general inculcation of *Nationalism* ends in a narrow self-sufficiency, and the

[1] Presidential Address to the Educational Science Section of the British Association, September 14th, 1923, by Sir Percy Nunn, quoting a phrase of Prof E T Campagnac

[2] John Burnet *Higher Education and the War*, 1917, page 67

glorification of *Individualism* leads to political and social chaos. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany illustrate the former danger, the collapse of the Weimar Republic was in large measure owing to the latter

The Russian Revolution: Educational Aims and Temporary Features

Simultaneously with attempts to work out educational systems suitable for democracies, from 1917 onwards a new form of State and social order was taking shape in Russia According to A P Pinkevitch, one of its official educational spokesmen, the Revolutionists aimed at complete " proletarian dictatorship, and to destroy the old and construct a new ideology in all fields of thought. The aim of all workers in the sphere of public education " should be " the indoctrination of the youth in the proletarian philosophy," and " to this end schools of all types should be made to approximate as closely as possible to the chief forms of labour activity, the entire programme of education should be saturated with the ideas of collectivism, and physical work should be made the basis of the psychological training of the child " [1]

The specifically educational part of such ideas was not novel, as Pinkevitch admits What was novel was that the Soviet Government determined to carry them into practice One highly important difference, however, separated the Soviet educationists from all other educators of a revolutionary sort—their clear realisation that the school cannot be " the embryo of a future socialistic "—or, indeed, any future—" order . for the simple reason that the school cannot be independent of its environment " [2] Once Revolution has occurred the new social order and the new school must develop *pari passu*, for the fight for the new social order must be waged by adults and children side by side, who must grow to share the new outlook together; and, as the factories for many years to come will be the field in which this fight is to be waged, it follows that the school and the factory must not only be brought into extremely close relations, but also, as largely as possible, made one institution. *Labour* to the Russian does not mean *Arbeitsunterricht*, or *try-out courses* or *school workshops*—an element in the curriculum valuable for motor-training or character-building—but " an ideological concentration " about a master idea, and " an organic integration of labour with the scientific, artistic and social work of the school " [3] Contemporary economic exigencies explain the omission for some years of cultural education *per se*, as distinguished from the cultivation of the arts with direct reference to improving the industrial or physical efficiency of the young, though it is clear that the Russian educators hope ultimately to develop a new type of disinterested culture as a substitute for those traditional

[1] *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, 1930, page 29.
[2] *Ibid*, pages 153–4
[3] *Ibid.*, page 155

cultures which in their origins reflected the interests of particular social groups.

The Italian Revolution: Fascism and Education

In 1922 there occurred in Italy a revolution, as a result of which *Nationalism* as embodied in the Fascist State came to be regarded, less as in pre-war Germany with her Hegelian conceptions than in pagan antiquity, as " an organism within which every individual *lives* of his own free will for the good of *res publica*." [1] In such a State a main aim of the school is to arouse in the young a sense of their organic place in the whole

Gentile's Educational Philosophy

An outstanding feature of this revolution has been the way in which philosophy has been called to its aid to render plain to Italians, and to justify to men of other nationalities, the changes effected Especially has this been so in education, in which the Fascist ideals, closely connected as they are with Gentile's book, *The Reform of Education*, appear at first sight to take a high line, in keeping with the Idealistic Philosophy of Croce and Gentile, which in Italy has superseded the Positivist Philosophy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries According to Gentile education is to be regarded as " a spiritual activity " to be stimulated in children by their teachers, and afterwards to be continued as a self-activity by pupils and teachers alike during the whole lives of each The need for freedom, if the child or man is to educate himself, and the limitations set to freedom by any system of education are recognised , but the apparent opposition (like the opposing claims of the State and the individual) are characteristically reconciled by appealing to the fact that barriers set to human development once they are met call forth further activity of the human spirit, and hence are not fences but ladders The unity of the spiritual process unites subject and object , and the learner and the subject of his study (like the citizen and his State) are thus not to be set over against each other but are seen to be fused into one.

The Gentile Reform

From the first Gentile maintained that the reform of education depended upon the reform of the teachers, who, he believed, must be led to realise that " education is not a *routine* to be followed according to empirical rules . . . but a spiritual activity, a mission which requires a continuous re-creation of one's culture and didactic energies." [2] The new programmes, which, as Minister of Education, he introduced into the schools following the Royal Decrees of May 6th and November 11th, 1923 (and which together

[1] Keyserling : *op cit.*, page 175.

[2] Prof Piero Rebora . ' Educational Reform in Italy,' in series " Educational Advancement Abroad," in *Journal of Education*, September 1924

are sometimes referred to as " the Gentile Act "), were (in his own words) " devised with a view to obliging the teacher constantly to renew his store of learning by a deep study of the erudition of our people, and not by the superficial scanning of non-instructive manuals " [1] Revised school books, in which great attention was paid to popular traditions and folk literature, were immediately prepared, and physical education as a means of forming character was encouraged In secondary education the importance of the study of the Classics was emphasised.

Criticism of Fascist Educational Practice

The appeal to high philosophic principles, to some extent, disarms criticism of Fascist education But it is to be remembered that the philosophy serves to justify the extreme *Nationalism* and the insistence on close co-operation within the community which characterises the Fascist State, and not as a basis for free discussion of political and social forms Moreover, " spiritual activity " is a looser term than " intellectual activity," and may either include the latter or ignore it There have been great civilisations in the past whose culture did not depend on the written word or the progressive unfolding of rational thought , but they are of the past, and modern men abandon at their peril any part of their spiritual heritage, whether it be derived principally through their physical or their intellectual or their æsthetic activities The danger of the temporary abandonment of disinterested culture by the Soviet educators has been indicated, and that a danger of a related order where intellectual pursuits is concerned is present in Fascism is evident from a recent speech made by Signor Mussolini, who is reported as saying " The day will come when the so-called intellectuals will feel the need to work with their hands, so as to make contact with those great realities, the soil, the sea and the matter from which spring wealth and power " [2]

The education provided for Italy's elementary teachers, while it is conducted in accordance with Gentile's principles, is both too early completed and necessarily of too dogmatic a character to inspire confidence in foreign observers ; and the fact that membership of patriotic party organisations is necessary in order to give eligibility for teaching posts curtails drastically, especially at the higher levels of education, the exercise of cultural and educational freedom.

The German National-Socialist Revolution and Education

The Italian depreciation of intellectualism is the more important when the German National-Socialist Revolution of 1933 is con-

[1] Prof Piero Rebora . 'Educational Reform in Italy,' in series " Educational Advancement Abroad," in *Journal of Education*, September 1924

[2] Speech at founding of city of Guidonia, April 27th, 1935, as reported in *The Times*, April 29th, 1935.

sidered. From the outset, the Nazi leaders have directed a bitter attack against individualism and intellectualism—regarding them (and not without justification) as the demands of individuals to order their own conduct and live by their own system of thought irrespective of the will and well-being of the State But when the National-Socialist reshaping of education is passed in review it must be clearly borne in mind, as one recent writer has done well to point out, that Germany has not " stumbled " on a new type of education, made to correspond with her present social and political organisation, but that " everything that is taking place in education to-day was planned years ago, and whatever criticisms may be made of these new ideals, it must be emphasised that they are conscious " [1] This is the more readily understood when the nature of the Weimar Republic is recalled, with its emphasis on an unfamiliar *Democracy*, an intense *Nationalism* and an often ill-disciplined *Individualism* Of this trilogy, the second has survived to provide a nucleus of feeling for the third *Reich*, which is not less idealistic than the Republic, but whose idealism is taking other and new forms If for the nation at large " the reposeful Greek," Goethe, has been replaced by Schiller, " teacher of the heroic," [2] for the teacher the truth of Kerschensteiner's words has been made good " *Das Heil der Volksschule liegt nicht in Kant oder Goethe, sondern in Pestalozzi* " [3] The philosophers and the academics have given place to those who understand at once the nature of the child and how that nature may best be developed so as to meet the needs of the race The conservation of the race and the racial inheritance have become the chief aims of the National-Socialist Government, and education has been adapted to serve them For this reason education is now based on the New Realism (*neue Sachlichkeit*) which takes the people and its needs and not the child as its starting-point, and which substitutes for mere schooling training given in various kinds of youth organisations (paralleled in some ways in Italy) which lay emphasis on physical training, creative activities and heroic realism [4]

Nazi Attitude to Teachers and Higher Studies

The trainers of such youths, like scoutmasters in many countries, will not all be schoolmasters, and schoolmasters who are to fit into such a national scheme will require training of a different sort from that given teachers destined for work in traditional types of schools elsewhere. The soldierly ideal is everywhere stressed—though it is

[1] Adam Thorburn . " Psychological and Other Aspects of Recent Tendencies in German Education," in *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol v, Part II, June 1935, page 117

[2] *Ibid* , page 122

[3] *Die Schule des Erziehers*, page 164

[4] See E Krieck *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, Leipsig, 1933 ; " Volkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden," in *Internationale Zeitschrift fur Erziehung wissenschaft*, 1933–4, pages 305, *seq* , and I L Kandel. " The Making of Nazis," in *Educational Year Book* (Teachers College, Columbia University), 1934, pages 463, *seq.*

only fair to remember that this ideal tends to centre in the man who sacrifices himself for his country rather than in the militant and aggressive individual. The scholar is considered of little consequence unless his physique and attitudes enable him to exercise effective leadership. " A teacher's higher education must be in sciences of significance to the people, the nation and the race " [1] Objective research in the universities is condemned, one Nazi Minister even going so far as to declare that " Science cannot be free and objective because it has a prior responsibility to the people and the State " [2]

Where such views are acknowledged, though up to the present no great structural alteration has been essayed in the schools, the spirit of education is bound to be radically affected, and the prospective teacher, even while pursuing courses largely determined by the ideology of the Weimar Republic, will be preparing to utilise the enthusiasm and activities of the young (upon which all post-Weimar education has laid such stress) as power to effect the very different purposes of the third *Reich*.

III CHANGING CURRICULA 1918–35 AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Changes in Social Structure and the Teacher's Task

As an outcome of the attention paid to *Democracy*, *Nationalism* and (especially) *Individualism*, though by no means exclusively as the outcome of that attention, in the years immediately following 1918, radical changes were everywhere introduced into the teaching-process and consequently into the training of teachers. The structure of society in all countries had been considerably modified as a result of the war, and (in the words of Prof Clarke) " changes in curricula need to be made responsive to changes in social structure and social values " [3] The teacher's task, as Mr. Lance Jones sees it, is " to prepare his pupils to play their part in a developing society " [4]—a criterion for teacher-training which would be acceptable to Frenchman, American, Briton, Communist, Fascist and Nazi alike If " the education a nation gives its children is, perhaps, the clearest expression of its *ethos*," [5] the training it gives the teachers of these children is almost as certainly the index of the sincerity of its regard for the standards by which it professes to live.

Education for Life-situations and Effects of New Teacher-training

Education in the last fifteen years, as one American educationist writes, " has been changing from an emphasis upon memoriter learning *en masse* to an emphasis upon the development of children

[1] Kandel. *The Making of Nazis, in loc. cit*, page 465, based on writings of Prof Peter Petersen of Jena

[2] Kandel *ibid*, page 535, based on various statements of Krieck

[3] F Clarke " ' Vocational ' and ' Cultural,' " in *The Forum of Education*, vol vi, No. 3, November 1928, page 207.

[4] *Op cit*, page 35.

[5] Sir Percy Nunn : Address to British Association, September 24th, 1923.

as individuals in natural situations," and " asks not how much the child knows, but how he uses his knowledge in meeting the demands of situations "[1], and the modern teacher must be trained not with a view to cramming the child with information, but with a view to assisting the child to adapt himself to situations of real life Unless in countries where thought and feeling are carefully regulated by authority, " intellectual aggression towards the unknown " and " readiness to tolerate fact " have become characteristic attitudes of the modern child,[2] and these attitudes, as is the case with modern forms of school-discipline, are largely the result of the new types of training received by prospective teachers, who, encouraged to seek truth for themselves, to meet with initiative a large variety of social calls and to work out for themselves a personal and communal discipline, are enabled by such experiences to prepare their pupils for a steady and active participation in life

Psychological and Sociological Factors in New Teacher-training

In pre-war times the imaginative and creative activities of the child were almost everywhere neglected, or, if called into play, were allowed a part in the curriculum out of deference to some current educational theory or clamant utilitarian demand Thus Pestalozzi's " learning by doing " gave place in the later nineteenth century to Spencer's manual instruction and scientific experiments, introduced for their own sakes and as substitutes for apparently " useless " subjects , but it remained for the twentieth century to recognise in the activity principle, especially in the communal activity principle (as advocated by Dewey in the United States and embodied in the *Arbeitsschule* and *Gemeinshaftsschule* in Germany), great psychological and sociological values Only in the atmosphere of the post-war years did the new emphasis being placed at once on the individual and on social living provide adequate opportunity for the application of psychology and sociology to the school curriculum However the varying principles of Freud, Jung and Adler differ among themselves, the result of their joint labours has been to secure greater freedom for the child, since the psycho-analysts (to quote Prof McCallister) have made clear " the primacy of the phylogenetic basis of mind and the uselessness of attempting to ignore or repress it "[3] The teacher in the future, if he is an educated and trained teacher, may not be so confident as his predecessors of a couple of generations ago that he understands the nature of the child with whom he is dealing, and he must beware of pinning his faith too exclusively to any particular psychological theory, but he

[1] Fred Strickler · *The Training and Experience of* 480 *Industrial Arts Teachers*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927, page 92

[2] A Pinsent · " The Teaching of Science and the Training of Science Teachers," in *The Forum of Education*, vol vi, No 3, November 1928, page, 246, based on *British Journal of Psychology*, vol xviii, *flyleaf*

[3] W. J. McCallister : *The Growth of Freedom in Education*, 1931, page 478.

will have been made aware of a range of problems unknown to his predecessors, and will have been given guidance in methods of teaching, which, starting from what appear to be well-authenticated premises about child-nature, can be shown to work fairly satisfactorily Both the *behaviourist* and the *gestalt* psychology have much to give the teacher, and the chief danger for the young teacher lies less in his seeking aid from a fallacious psychology than in his being insufficiently versed in any Mr Lance Jones rightly calls attention to the danger of " potted psychology " as a " subject " in Training Colleges [1]—and it is as frequently found in the United States, France, Italy and Russia at the present time as in England—and reminds us that psychology in the past has been too largely " an affair of the intellect and of the individual," whereas to-day, stress is laid on the motor and active side of life, and on the importance of social consciousness as a factor in the development of the individual mind " [2]

In all countries, therefore, since the conclusion of the war, the prospective teacher, both in his own school-days and in his professional training, has received instruction of a kind likely to develop his own personality in a social setting, and, so far as the latter is concerned, aimed at making him a trainer of the young upon similar lines In the United States, France and the British countries the emphasis has been laid on the development of the individual within a social and democratic framework—though the dangers of equalitarian theories of education in producing the " desirable " citizen are obvious In Russia, Italy and, since 1933, in Germany, the emphasis has been laid on the development of the " desirable " community, in participation in which the individual will find his own highest good The training of the young in the Weimar Republic was true strictly to neither ideal, and " excesses " in the direction of communal living were for a number of years almost as numerous as " excesses " in the direction of individualism of which much has been made by the National-Socialist Revolutionaries

Need for Sociological Re-orientation of Secondary Schools

The assistance which psychology can render practical education is for the present greatest where young children are involved, but the need for a new sociological orientation to secondary school studies has come to be strongly felt in all countries The collapse of the Weimar Republic was not wholly unrelated to the conservatism of the German secondary schools and universities, which underwent little change at the time of the Revolution of 1918 The fact that such new types of school as the *Deutsche Oberschule* and the *Aufbauschule* required to be fitted to the secondary school system was itself a proof of the impenetrability of existing types Since the Revolution of 1933 the addition to these types of the *National-politische Erziehungsanstalt*, and Krieck's avowed belief that secondary

[1] *Op. cit*, page 98. [2] *Ibid.*, page 140.

education should be consolidated within one school with three main branches—all dominated by one political aim [1]—are further proofs that in Germany secondary education is recognised as having become too academic and self-centred and insufficiently concerned with preparing cultured citizens for the varied duties of modern life What recent political circumstances have rendered an acute problem in Germany exists in different forms in other countries, and is leading inevitably to the reshaping of the school curricula and the devising of new methods of teacher-training

Viewed broadly, the struggle in secondary education is between Pragmatism and Humanism—between that attitude which issues in the authorities responsible for determining school curricula exercising their powers in order to render the young above all efficient producers, and only afterwards appreciative consumers, and that attitude which isolates certain interests and activities as being of greater spiritual value than others, and which tends to form curricula in which these interests and activities predominate, with a view to promoting in the young a truly cultured outlook On the whole, the French, with their *lycées* and their *baccalauréat* and *agrégation* examinations, continue to maintain something nearly approaching the exclusive view of Humanism ; a fair percentage of American *High Schools*, with their " elective " subjects and conception (only recently assailed by Thorndike with respect to *Algebra*) that all subjects of the curriculum are of equal value, are representative of the cruder type of Pragmatism Between these extremes Italian Fascism leans to the side of Humanism—but of a Humanism which provides safeguards of a social and political nature designed to prevent the cultured individual from being an ineffective member of the community Russian Communism has Pragmatic affinities.

British Education an Attempt at a Humanistic Synthesis

But Pragmatism, it is to be noted, is not the true antithesis of Humanism, which may be defined in such a way as to share much common ground with Pragmatism without losing its own dignity The aim of the humanist spirit, as Mr Tawney states it, is " to liberate and cultivate the powers which make for energy and refinement ; and it is critical, therefore, of all forms of organisation which sacrifice spontaneity to mechanism, or which seek, whether in the name of economic efficiency or of social equality, to reduce the variety of individual character and genius to a drab and monotonous uniformity " [2] Humanism, therefore, is the avowed enemy of the purely pedantic and scholastic, however non-utilitarian, and it need be no enemy to the higher sorts of utilitarianism, which find in the necessary operations of a well-ordered community the means to the realisation of the spiritual life Humanism of this healthy sort—true to the derivation of its name—especially since the issue of the

[1] See E. Krieck · *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, Leipsig, 1933.
[2] R. H. Tawney . *Equality*, 1931, page 111.

"Hadow" Report ("The Education of the Adolescent") in 1926, has become the avowed aim of all post-primary education in England, as it has more or less independently in the last ten years in most parts of the British Dominions For, in the British countries, to an extent not realised elsewhere, the terms "vocational" and "cultural," so long set in unpleasing antithesis to each other, have come to be recognised as connoting, not two opposing kinds of education, but rather two integral parts of the same whole—a whole which is itself a new and fuller kind of culture [1]

New Educational Aims demand Careful Training of Teachers

The fuller culture which is already an educational aim of a large part of the world cannot be made actual by any haphazard means. The young people whose heritage it is to be must be led into it, and those who are to lead them must themselves have received indications of the way. The objectives of French education are at each stage clearly stated and means to their fulfilment adequately secured The Russian teacher is trained in ways suited to his novel task Both the Fascist and Nazi trainers of Youth, whether schoolmasters or those responsible for the formation of character through Youth Organisations, are carefully selected and as carefully instructed In the United States much has long been done to provide men who in their turn will inculcate in the rising generation sound ideals of citizenship; though American critics are fully aware that the giving of instruction of a fixed type, instead of genuine education, is by no means the surest way of creating healthy citizens And in England and the British Dominions, where the need is greatest to prepare teachers capable of giving a truly sociological and cultural education which does not ignore the industrial and other vocational needs of particular countries, teachers capable of giving specific instruction and yet of co-operating intelligently towards the achievement of a general purpose require skilful training of a sort which it is one of the chief tasks of the time to evolve.

Everywhere it is now recognised that the intending teacher must be prepared for his task both in his school-days and by wise planning of his professional training

IV. THE PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER IN HIS OWN SCHOOL-DAYS

The determination to give the prospective teacher in his school-days the education best calculated to fit him for the changed conditions of his work became characteristic of all the belligerent countries once their attention was set free from the conduct of the Great War.

Previous to the outbreak of war in 1914 primary school teachers of most European countries and of the United States received a large part of their schooling in schools of the primary type. There

[1] See article by Prof. F. Clarke, *cit. ante*, page 417.

were (as has been noted) historical reasons for this, connected with the origins of popular education and the need to secure a quick and cheap supply of teachers By 1914 (as, indeed, from the time of the establishment of normal schools by their respective Governments) France, Prussia and Italy had deliberately confirmed the policy of educating prospective primary school teachers entirely within schools of the type in which they were later to teach, although, on the eve of the war, a Bill had been introduced in Italy by Credaro, the then Minister of Public Instruction, which had in view the extension of higher education to prospective teachers In England and the United States large numbers of prospective primary school teachers received their education mainly in primary schools, but they did so largely as a matter of convenience and not because these countries disapproved of a higher type of education for such students In Scotland the aspirations of the prospective teachers for advanced education were very favourably regarded, and after 1906, when the pupil-teacher system gave place to the junior-student system, all prospective teachers were in receipt of secondary education.

(a) European and American Schooling of Teachers since 1918

(*a*) *France*

The last fifteen years have seen little change in the outward structure of the education received by the prospective primary school teacher in France Candidates for admission to the *écoles normales* may prepare for the preliminary certificates (*brevets de capacité*) how and where they please The majority of them receive their preliminary education in public schools, usually in the *école primaire* until they are 12 or 13 years of age and have obtained the *certificat d'études primaires*, and, afterwards, especially in country districts, in a *cours complémentaire* of such a school, or in the *école primaire supérieure*, where they remain (but always within the primary school system) until they are 16 or 17 years of age In the *école primaire supérieure*, where there are general, industrial, commercial and agricultural sections, prospective teachers take the *section générale*, which means that the State encourages, and even insists upon, their receiving as liberal an education as is available to any pupils not admitted to a secondary school

Education in the higher primary school is free, except that students who come from a distance and consequently incur expenses for board and lodging must find these for themselves , but in cases where parents cannot afford to meet these charges help can be procured through scholarships. These scholarships are awarded on the result of a competitive examination, but the resources of the parents and the numbers in a family are taken into consideration. The acceptance of such a scholarship does not constitute an obligation on the part of the recipient to enter the teaching profession.

(*b*) *Germany* (1918–33)

In Germany the new conceptions of popular education to which the Weimar Republic lent its support necessitated extensive changes in the educational system, of which three had important bearings on the education of the future teacher. These were: (1) the establishment of a common school (*Grundschule*) for all children between the ages of 6 and 10; (2) the reform of the subject-matter and methods of instruction in the upper four years of the public school (*Volksschule*)—to conform with the principles of self-activity and co-operation and the emphasis laid on national, and especially local, culture (*Heimatbildung*) in the *Grundschule*; and (3) the decision of the Prussian Ministry of State, dated October 7th, 1924, implementing the declaration of the Federal Constitution of 1919, in Article, 143, par 2, that "The preparation of all teachers shall be uniformly regulated for the *Reich* according to principles which apply generally to higher education" This last decision was rendered necessary for Prussia because of the attitude of non-interference in the State systems of education maintained by the Federal Government up to that period, as a result of which no Federal Education Law had been introduced Variations in the methods employed to train teachers had been adopted in different States, but all were agreed "on one uniform requirement that the preliminary preparation of future teachers should be in a secondary school and up to the level of university entrance," [1] and Prussia as the "leading State" in the *Reich* felt obliged to take decided measures to carry the common ideal into effect. These measures had become a practical necessity for Prussia owing to the fact that she had by Decrees of April 26th, 1921, and March 22nd, 1922, respectively, closed the preparatory institutions (*Praparandenanstalten*) conducted by the State or attached to the normal schools (*Lehrerseminare*), and which before the Revolution had bridged the gap between the *Volksschulen* and the latter.

At the present time, in spite of marked differences in the training given to students at a later period in their courses, all the German States provide the following education for the intending teacher. Between the ages of 6 and 10 he attends the *Grundschule*, and from there enters some type of secondary school for nine years' general education Those pupils who because they "bloom late," or for other reasons, do not enter a secondary school at the age of 10 may enter the *Aufbauschule* three years later and take a six-years' course. Any type of secondary school is in principle open to the intending teacher, but the types most favoured as likely to give the best possible preparation for later work are the *Oberrealschule* and the *Deutsche Oberschule*—the latter a new type of school set up at the Revolution and concentrating on a study of German humanities.

[1] *The Reorganisation of Education in Prussia* Based on official documents and translated by I. L Kandel and T. Alexander, 1927, page xxv.

Courses corresponding to these types are provided by the *Aufbauschule*.

Germany since the National-Socialist Revolution (1933)

Up to the present the National-Socialist Government have left the schools untouched, though it is clear from the utterances of such responsible members of the Government as Herr Krieck and Herr Frick that the more literary type of secondary school is not regarded with favour, and that in future teachers will be expected to follow courses likely to make them useful in carrying out National-Socialist policy rather than in deepening their own scholarship The Government have also established a new type of school, the *Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt*, whose curriculum is so arranged that stress is laid on the community and its needs rather than on the individual

Education is not free in Germany beyond the *Volksschule*, and reduced fees are based on the principle that the eldest child in a family is paid for in full, successive children being charged on a descending scale, but only in cases where the parents' need for such reductions can be proved About 30 per cent of the pupils in secondary schools receive free tuition, and another small percentage receive maintenance grants

(*c*) *Italy*

Since the Gentile Reform in education in 1923 the prospective teacher in Italy receives his primary education in one of the graded schools (*scuole classificate*) which take pupils between the ages of 6 and 10, or, in rural districts, for the first three years in one of the ungraded schools (*scuole non classificate*), and afterwards in one of the other type. Since 1930 all types of school for children over 10 years of age have been regarded as belonging to the lower level of secondary education, and not, as the *école primaire supérieure* in France and the *Mittelschule* in Germany, to a type of higher primary education The child whose parents have determined he is to teach enters at the age of 10 the lower course of the *istituto magistrale* and passes on to the higher course at 14 The latter he completes three years later The *istituti magistrali* give the same courses as the secondary schools, but in the three years of the upper courses the study of Philosophy is conducted with special reference to education. This study is the only acquaintance with pedagogy that the Italian primary school teacher makes before he is called upon to teach ; and when it is remembered that he makes it as a youth of between 15 and 18 years of age, and wholly through books, the superficial nature of his study will be apparent.

(*d*) *Russia*

Primary education in Russia is given the intending teacher in the *Unified Labour School* where he remains seven or nine years and leaves at about the age of 15 to enter the *Pedagogical Technicums*.

There he remains four further years (but as his work in the *Technicum* constitutes his professional training consideration of it belongs to the next section) The curriculum of the *Unified Labour School*, which is free to all, was worked out by the State Scientific Council and issued in 1923. The school regards the labour by which men sustain themselves and are brought into social relationships as the integrating principle of human life, and endeavours by bringing the young into contact with work and with the relationships work creates to prepare them for life in their community In its earliest stages the education given is largely based on sensory experience, and so corresponds psychologically, though not sociologically, to the education given at a similar level in non-communist lands ; but the difference between the more advanced activities of the *Labour School* and school activities elsewhere makes it unwarrantable to describe them as either primary or post-primary.

(*e*) *The United States of America*

In the United States the question of the school education of prospective teachers is complicated because of the immense range of possibilities for professional training still allowable in different States [1] " The minimum requirement for admission to normal schools and teachers colleges," Prof Kandel states, " is graduation from high school,"[2] but by no means all American teachers are trained in institutions of the kinds indicated, and other types of training permit of other types of previous education Even where *High School Training Classes* are found two practices may be permitted—either the student first graduates from the ordinary school grades and then does a year of strictly professional work, or the professional work is made part of either the top or the two last grades of the ordinary secondary school (*High School*) course Seven States—Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Vermont and Wisconsin—follow the former practice, at least three others—Kansas, Nevada and Missouri—the latter The *County Normal Schools* of Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, which train large numbers of teachers for work in rural schools, admit pupils who have completed only the first year of the *High School* curriculum

Because of these variations in subsequent requirements the school education of the teacher in the United States is of a variable quality and length. It is in all cases free, but no uniform provision is made for children of poor parents who might be educated with a view to becoming teachers.

(*f*) *England*

England, like France, does not prescribe the courses of education her intending teachers must follow in their school-days, but, like France, she lays down regulations as to what attainments they must

[1] See Katherine M Cook *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (Bureau of Education, Washington, No. 22, 1921)

[2] I. L. Kandel . *Comparative Education*, 1933, page 606.

show at the commencement of a course of professional training The current *Regulations of the Board of Education for the Training of Teachers* states that no one shall be admitted to a Training College as a " recognised " (i e subsidised) student, unless he has passed a public examination held by one of the universities and intended to be taken by pupils of secondary schools at about the age of 16, or has passed some other examination of at least equivalent standard In the majority of cases the Training College applicant will have received his early schooling (from the age of 5 to that of 11) in a *junior school* (where the " Hadow " reorganisation has been carried out), or in an unreorganised *elementary school* He may have spent the years from 11 plus to 17 in a *Central School* with a Commercial bias which permits of pupils taking one of the School Certificates under much the same conditions as would be possible in a secondary school. More likely, he will have attended a *County Secondary School*—a school of a type created by the Education Act of 1902 with a deliberate view to provide secondary education for intending teachers.

There are applicants, however, who approach the *Training Colleges* as student-teachers These students must have attended a secondary school continuously up to the age of 17 They will then have spent a year in teaching in an elementary school, during which they will have kept in touch with their former school by returning to it for one meeting a week Pupil-teachers are found only in country areas. They assist with the teaching in *elementary schools* and at the same time receive further instruction from the head master of the school to which they are attached, with a view to preparing for one of the school certificates Student-teachers and pupil-teachers are paid salaries—usually amounting to about £40 *per annum*—and other intending teachers participate with their fellow-pupils in such " free " and " special " places and scholarships as are open to young persons of their age Such places and scholarships do not carry with them any obligation that their recipients shall afterwards teach.

(*g*) *Scotland*

Since 1926 all men in Scotland who desire to train for the Teachers' General Certificate—the passport to teaching in the *elementary schools*—must possess a university degree; women seeking admission to training must hold the Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department; both may have done a year's Preliminary Training either in the primary department of the school in which they have received their own secondary education, or in an entirely *elementary school*, approved by the Training Authority. Students who successfully complete this course of Preliminary Training have their Leaving Certificates endorsed accordingly. Between 1924 and 1931—when the present *Regulations for the Preliminary Education, Training and Certification of Teachers* in Scotland were issued—a certain amount of preliminary teaching in

lower forms or in separate schools was carried out by intending teachers while preparing for the Leaving Certificate Examination, but always in a way which safeguarded their own further education, which was not, as was the case with English pupil-teachers, obtained more or less casually in the intervals of practical work.

(b) The Schooling of Teachers in the British Dominions

(i) *Canada*

In Canada the intending teacher normally passes through the eight grades of the *Public School* If he belongs to a poor district he will probably continue in the same building in a *Continuation School*, which makes provision for work at secondary school level; if he lives in a town or a richer district he will complete his education in a *High School* or a *Collegiate Institute* In Nova Scotia, Protestant Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia all purely secondary schools are called *High Schools* In Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan the larger secondary schools are called *Collegiate Institutions*, the smaller *High Schools* [1] In most provinces elementary education extends from 7 to 14 years of age, with varying laws as to compulsion, secondary education extends from 14 to 17 years of age In eight of the nine provinces both elementary and secondary education can be had free, in Quebec a fee is normally charged for all children of school age, but in practice no child is excluded from school through the inability of his parents to pay this fee

Since 1887 the *High Schools* and *Collegiate Institutes* of Ontario have been recognised as giving so thorough an education that the *Normal Schools* have confined themselves to purely professional work,[2] and the principle of the prospective teacher receiving a sound preliminary education is everywhere acknowledged

(ii) *Australia*

In all States in Australia the prospective teacher receives compulsory free education up to the age of 14. In New South Wales and Queensland (and Western Australia) three years' secondary education is also provided free. In Victoria (South Australia and Tasmania) fees are charged for secondary education, but a system of scholarships and free places assists the needy In New South Wales and Victoria primary education extends for six grades and ends at the age of 12; in Queensland (and South Australia) it extends for seven grades and ends at the age of 13; in New South Wales and Victoria (and in Western Australia, although there certain children remain in the *Primary School* until they reach 14 years of age) the intending teacher is usually transferred to the *High School* at the age of 12, in Queensland (and South Australia) he enters the *High School* at 13. Such are the normal procedures, but, like

[1] *Dominion of Canada Bureau of Statistics Annual Survey of Education in Canada*, 1933, page vii

[2] A Gordon Melvin *The Professional Training of Teachers for the Canadian Public Schools as Typified by Ontario*, Baltimore, 1923, page 57.

his English kinsman, the Australian youth may arrive at the Training College by other routes provided he can display the necessary qualification of a school certificate, obtained at the close of the course he has pursued.

In New South Wales *Intermediate High Schools* which consist usually of three grades sometimes provide five grades and carry their pupils on to the stage reached by *High Schools* in the larger towns. In Victoria *Central Schools* and *Higher Elementary Schools* sometimes provide five grades of post-primary work, so that in the latter instance non-Australians must be careful not to be led astray by nomenclature The purpose of the *District High School* and the *Higher Elementary School* alike is declared to be " to provide the essentials of a good general education for pupils who have completed work of 6th grade in elementary schools " [1] In 1931 there were thirty-nine *Central Schools* in Victoria, chiefly in the metropolitan area, giving a preparatory course in secondary education Their pupils have priority of entry to the *High Schools* All three schools permit of their pupils taking the Intermediate Certificate Examination

In New South Wales, also, there exist *Subsidised Schools*, so-called because the teachers for these schools are engaged by one or more families and the remuneration they receive from parents is *subsidised* by the State according to the number of children receiving instruction Teachers for these schools do not require to have trained and need only possess the Intermediate Certificate and not the full Leaving Certificate required for entry to the Training College [2] Since 1911 secondary education up to Intermediate Certificate standard is provided by correspondence A certain number of students who later will be teachers of Manual Arts pursue courses in schools of a technical sort in preparation, if they also succeed in procuring the Leaving Certificate, for the Special Manual Arts course at Sydney Teachers College [3] In Queensland special students who cannot attend a secondary school during the day can study in Evening Classes conducted by the Teachers' Training College In 1933 students to the number of 233 availed themselves of these classes [4] In Queensland, also, at the other end of the education scale are ten *Grammar Schools* which take pupils from 13 to 18 years of age—a year beyond the usual *High School*—and so provide a particularly extended course

Everywhere in Australia emphasis is placed on the attainment of a high standard in a school certificate examination as a requisite for entry to a Training College. So much is this so that it has often been found difficult to make parents realise that personality and physical fitness are also prerequisites for the future teacher.[5]

[1] *Victorian Year Book*, 1932–3, page 187

[2] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for New South Wales for* 1933, page 6.

[3] *Ibid*, page 10.

[4] *Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction for Queensland for* 1933, page 7

[5] *Ibid.*, page 22.

(iii) *New Zealand*

In New Zealand both primary and secondary education are free. Attendance is compulsory between the ages of 7 and 14, and about 50 per cent. of those receiving higher education are in receipt of scholarships Since the reorganisation of the school ladder the prospective teacher will climb by five grades of Primary School to four of Junior High School capped by three of High School. But the courses he may follow during his period of secondary education may well be of a less literary sort than has been customary in New Zealand (where the English Grammar School tradition has exercised an unwarrantable influence hitherto), and of a kind designed to fit him to meet the demands of the varied curricula of newer types of school His entry to the Training College depends upon his obtaining University Matriculation—a condition which in recent years has drawn much pertinent criticism because of New Zealand's need for less academic courses in her schools

(iv) *The Union of South Africa*

The Provinces of the Union differ among themselves in the details of their education systems but all demand of the intending teacher of white children the possession of university matriculation or its equivalent In Cape Province the prospective teacher, like all his age-fellows, must attend school between the ages of 7 and 16, when free education ceases ; beyond the latter age he must pay fees. From the age of 12 he will receive secondary education in a High School In Natal the prospective teacher shares in free education to the age of 15 If he lives far from a town he will receive both his primary and secondary education in the same school, known as an Intermediate School After the age of 15 he is liable for fees In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State education is compulsory from 7 to 16 years of age and free throughout the whole range of primary and secondary to those who want it.

Summary of Pre-Normal School Requirements for the British Dominions

For the British Dominions, therefore, it may be stated as generally true that the prospective teacher receives education to the secondary level, although in various types of school, and is accepted for professional training as a result obtaining some recognised school certificate of a kind which gives admission to other professions.

Social and Cultural Implications

The social and cultural implications arising from the improved and extended education of intending teachers do not require emphasising. In all countries there is a tendency for primary school teachers to be drawn from the lower middle classes, and the broader education received by these teachers in their school-days

has widened to a very slight extent the field from which they are drawn [1] Only in Germany has the status of the primary school teacher been materially improved, and that for reasons indirectly connected with education, and reflecting the new and important rôle assigned to the teacher at the time of the Weimar Revolution But the better facilities available to teachers in their school-days in England, Scotland, the British Dominions and the United States are resulting in the production of a more cultured type, whose interests centre less exclusively in the subjects of the school curriculum and methods of teaching, and who continue to share in the wider interests of men in other professions who have been educated along with them in secondary schools Especially is this so in the British countries, and in America, where athletic and social activities are concerned In those countries where physical education and community life have become definite parts of national training the participation of all citizens in approved activities is ensured, and the State in its own interest prevents the segregation of occupational or professional groups with its consequent narrowing of outlook

V THE PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER FROM SCHOOL-DAYS TO PERMANENT POST

Once eligible for acceptance by a training institution the students of different countries find themselves faced with various possibilities of training, the majority of them the results of national outlook and educational policy

Preliminary lines of demarcation may be drawn between countries which regard the professional training of students as chiefly concerned with the further mastery of knowledge rather than with the acquirement of skill in imparting knowledge, and between those which stress either of these aspects of training to the whole or partial exclusion of the study of educational principles Up to 1920 France stressed the first of these aspects, as did also Italy, under the influence of the Positivist philosophy, and before the Gentile Reform of 1923 To do so was almost certainly the surest way to secure a well-educated teaching-body in countries whose primary school *personnel* was not to receive higher education Since the reform of the Normal Schools in 1920 France has laid great stress on the professional aspect of training, and in Italy the emphasis upon education as spiritual activity has given the courses in the *istituti magistrali* a new orientation. England, setting out with the monitorial system and the apprenticeship of young teachers, has tended to stress the second aspect, but the attraction of the Continental Normal School and its influence on English Training Colleges have led to a kind of joint emphasis being laid on that and the first aspect; while during the present century the influence of University Training Departments has resulted in the third aspect

[1] Lance G. E Jones: *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales*, 1924, pages 281–2.

being increasingly regarded The United States and the British Dominions have had a somewhat similar history In Germany in pre-war days the first two aspects predominated Since the Revolution of 1918, as might be expected under the influence of a revived study of Pestalozzi, great attention has been paid to fitting the subject-matter, or, more often, the school activities, to the psychological needs of the child Since the Nazi Revolution this attitude has been adapted, as it was under the imperial régime, to fit the child with his peculiar nature into his necessary place in the all-absorbing State The Soviet training of teachers by bringing all into the Labour process and regarding education from a social and economic standpoint necessarily employs methods and procedures differing widely from those in use in countries which still rely in part or wholly on the school as the means of educating their young

(a) Training in France

The French student passes into the *école normale* between the ages of 15 and 19, having furnished proof of sound health and character, and having passed the examination for the *brevet élémentaire*, which is based on work done in the *section générale* of the *école primaire supérieure* With two exceptions, each Department in France provides an *école normale* for men and another for women, so that there are in all eighty-eight such schools for each sex in France ; in addition, there are three for men and four for girls in Algeria and Tunis The number of applicants admitted to an *école normale* in any year is determined by the Minister of Public Instruction with relation to staffing needs, and those candidates who attain the highest marks in the examination for the *brevet élémentaire* are awarded scholarships of admission. Such scholarships cover the cost of full or partial board, and in some cases also include maintenance grants

Curriculum and Practice-teaching

The curriculum covers three years and carries on the education of the students beyond that reached in the higher primary school, but avoids mere acquisition of information and familiarises the students with methods of research and the use of a certain amount of source-materials. Elements of educational psychology and sociology, theory of education, ethics and principles of science figure on the time-table, but these subjects, as is inevitable having regard to the age of the majority of students, are still studied largely as information to be grasped, and the classroom subjects are not vividly related to the teaching of such subjects in the primary schools. Practice-teaching is provided either in a primary school directly associated with the Normal School (*école annexe*) or in another school in the locality set apart for the purpose (*école d'application*). During each year of training the student spends fifty half-days in school In the first year he observes and makes notes ; in the second he continues to observe and occasionally teaches in the

presence of the director or a professor of the *école normale* or of the class-teacher; in the last year he is permitted to give a certain amount of continuous teaching in a number of subjects Teachers in training are also frequently assigned for several weeks to the charge of selected teachers not attached to a Normal School and undertake a continuous school-practice.

Students are required to pass an examination at the end of each year. Failure to pass in this examination means dismissal from the school, and success in the three annual examinations results in the award of the *brevet supérieur* which entitles the holder to a temporary appointment as a primary school teacher (*instituteur* or *institutrice stagiaire*) A successful completion of any course in the *école primaire supérieure*, or of the first part of the examination for the *baccalauréat*, or, in the case of girls, the holding of the *diplôme de fin d'études secondaires*, entitles a student who has not attended a Normal School to sit the examination for the *brevet supérieur*, and Prof. Kandel's comment, that the lesser number of applicants for admission to the Normal School in 1931 as compared with previous years "is explained partly by the abolition of fees in secondary schools"[1] provides an interesting query: Will more students in future proceed to the primary school service via a secondary school course and the first part of the *baccalauréat* or the *diplôme de fin d'études secondaires*?

Final Examination and Permanent Appointment

The young teacher, after two years' probationary service, on the successful passing of a stiff professional examination, and provided he (or she) is 20 years of age, is awarded the *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*, becomes a *titulaire* and is eligible for a permanent appointment In the case of men the certificate is not issued until they have completed their period of military service

(b) Training in Germany

From 1918 to 1933 much uncertainty prevailed in Germany as to the best type of training institution to substitute for the abolished normal schools (*Lehrerseminare*) The *Seminare* had continued the general education of the students and introduced them to professional training of a craftsmanship type in which strong emphasis was laid on general and special methods. Observation visits and teaching-practice were provided for in practice-schools attached to the *Seminare*. As an outcome of Article 143, par. 2, of the Federal Constitution all States, with the exception of Bavaria and Wurttemberg, had abolished their normal schools, and, as a consequence, were faced with the necessity of devising new means of training intending teachers Certain States devised ways and means of their own, others made arrangements to share in the provisions of

[1] Kandel; *Comparative Education*, page 554, footnote.

their neighbours. The main types of institution are indicated in the following account, though not all examples of each are recorded

In Prussia the ex-secondary school pupil proceeds for training to the two-year teachers' college (*Padagogische Akademie*) which is unconnected with either the universities or any other institution for higher education In Hesse and Mecklenburg-Schwerin (and in Vienna) he attends a two-year course in a somewhat similar institution (*Padagogisches Institut*), but one loosely connected in each case with an existing *Technische Hochschule* In Saxony students receive academic preparation for two years in the Universities, their professional preparation for a third year in a Pedagogical Institute In Hamburg, under Socialist influence, the preparation of teachers was taken over by the University itself.

The Prussian Padagogische Akademien

These were deliberately established as a new type of educational institution The late C H Becker regarded them as a desirable alternative to the Universities in the preparation of teachers, and more likely to produce well-balanced and generally cultured teachers than highly specialised courses of an academic sort could do [1] These academies are organised according to religious denominations—at least so far as the broad distinction of " catholic " and " evangelical " is concerned—and the majority of them are co-educational A genuine attempt has been made to provide in them courses in the theory of education and to introduce their students to work such as has become usual in Prussian schools since the reorganisation of the curriculum In furtherance of the latter aim, class-instruction and lectures are supplemented by excursions of the school-journey type, and the undertaking of other work which permits of free activity. Since the abolition of the practice-schools formerly attached to the *Seminare* public schools in the neighbourhood of the *Akademien* are utilised for observation and practice work, the former during the first year, the latter during the second. Great emphasis is laid on skill and arts subjects, and this part of the course includes physical training

At the close of the training course the student sits the First Teachers' Examination (*Erste Lehrerprufung*), in which an endeavour is made to assess the candidate's professional judgment and ability to use sound methods. If successful in this examination the student, as in France, receives a probationary appointment At a time from two to five years later he presents himself for the Second Teachers' Examination (*Zweite Lehrerprufung*), which is entirely professional and practical in character Success in this entitles him to a permanent post.

Students in *Padagogische Akademien* pay no tuition fees but must provide for their own maintenance In necessitous cases State assistance is available

[1] For a full discussion see C H. Becker : *Die Padagogische Akademie im Aufbau des nationalen Bildungswesens*, 1926.

The Padagogisches Institut

This type of institution, as found in Darmstadt, has a close connection with the local Technical High School, and is a significant attempt to emphasise that teaching is one among many techniques for which it is necessary for the State to make provision, and differs in degree rather than kind from preparation for other highly skilled work. Much the same instruction is given in theoretical subjects as in the Pedagogical Academies, and the use of local schools for observation and practice work follows the same lines Training in skill and arts subjects is stressed, and includes physical culture. Students cannot enter for the First Teachers' Examination until the fifth semester after the commencement of training, which therefore falls beyond their pedagogical course—a provision which indicates an intention on the part of the responsible authorities to extend the length of the course Such institutes, like the schools to which they are attached, are non-denominational They are co-educational Fees are charged as in the Technical High Schools, but in necessitous cases scholarships are provided by the State and also by cities.

Collaboration of University and Padagogisches Institut in Training

In Saxony the *Leipsiger Padagogisches Institut* and the University of Leipsig undertake jointly a three-year course for the preparation of teachers This is, to some extent, the result of an old provision in Saxony by which a successful student on completing his Normal School course was sent to the University of Leipsig for a course in Pedagogy [1] Broadly speaking, the University supplies his general professional subjects and the Institute his special professional subjects The latter arranges for his practical training in a school attached to itself Certain requirements respecting skill and arts subjects (including physical training) must be complied with Fees in both the University and Institute are reduced or waived in cases of need.

University Education Seminar as Training Department

In the three-year course for training teachers provided by the University of Hamburg the *Education Seminar* functions as a pedagogical institute and has at its disposal suitable schools for conducting observation and practice work A sound theoretical preparation is given, and only after the student has entered upon the period as a probationary teacher is attention focused on the practical aspects of training. This delayed professional training is made possible under this scheme by the Second Teachers' Examination being postponed to the close of the sixth year, and the whole period spent in the University and during the probationary appointment being

[1] See Board of Education Special Reports, vol. 9, *Education in Germany*, 1902, page 335.

regarded as one Preparation in the skill and arts subjects is not given along with the academic course, but students are required to participate regularly in physical training either in the University or in a recognised club Proof of ability in the skill and arts subjects must be furnished by the close of the period of probation Fees are charged for the course, but are remitted under the same conditions as hold good for other university students.

Changes under the Nazi Régime

Since the National-Socialist Revolution great emphasis has been laid on the preparation of teachers for rural schools. The Pedagogical Academies have been informed of their duty to make the fullest use of the activities of the countryside—where, if anywhere, the principles of " blood and soil " may be expected to be most deeply rooted—in preparing all teachers, and especially those who will teach in rural schools In order to stress the importance with which Germany's rulers regard rural activities some of the existing pedagogical institutions have been moved to country towns, and in 1933 a new *Hochschule fur Lehrerbildung*, which is to devote itself to problems of rural education, was founded in Lauenburg in Pomerania

Existing *Pedagogical Academies* have been co-ordinated with the new political movement, and to render this fact more apparent the classical suggestion of their names has been removed by a decree of May 6th, 1933, since when they have been known as *Hochschulen fur Lehrerbildung* The curricula of these institutions has been altered so as to ensure emphasis being laid on sociology (*Volkskunde*), military geography (*Wehrgeographie*) and knowledge of frontier lands (*Grenzlandkunde*) with a view to the revision of the curricula of the primary schools.

Admission to training is now hedged round by party prescriptions All intending teachers must give evidence of their Aryan origin and of service in military and political organisations. They are examined as to their musical skill and their ability to give instruction in athletics, gymnastics and popular sports. Before final appointment a period of six months' voluntary labour service (*freie Arbeitsdienst*) must be put in, and this period is allowed to count as part of teachers' probationary service.

(c) Training in Italy

In Italy as the primary school teacher completes his pedagogical training in the *istituto magistrale* by the time he is 18 years of age—girls complete their training at 17—little remains to be added to the account given in the previous section. Candidates who pass the final examination of the *istituto magistrale* are awarded the *abilitazione all' insegnamento elementare*, which is not a licence to teach but a permit of entry to a competitive examination (*concorso*

publico); success in the latter admits a student to a period of three years' probationary teaching as a *maestro straordinare* At the close of this period if he is reported upon favourably by the inspector of the school to which he is attached he becomes a *maestro ordinare* Even then he will not only work under the supervision of the inspector, but will also be assisted by a supervisor (*direttore didattico*). The existence of the latter reminds us that the Italian primary school master receives no professional training apart from what he picks up once he is in his probationary post.

(d) Training in Russia

Since 1924 teachers in Russia have received their training in *pedagogical technicums* which provide a four-year course having constantly in view the aims and needs of the Unified Labour School The teacher in training receives both a theoretical and a practical knowledge of labour Biological, sociological and psychological knowledge are of first importance to him, and he is carefully trained in order to become a cultural leader in the community to which he may afterwards go This does not imply ability to make pleasant the lot of peasants in remote places on occasions when they are not otherwise employed, but often highly skilled ability to introduce technical or scientific improvements coupled with the force of character which ensures the success of such experiments

The work of the *technicum* is arranged in two " concentres " or divisions of two years each—the former, which students attend between the ages of 15 and 17, more or less resembling the last two years of a nine-year school, only with a distinct pedagogical bias, the latter being devoted to a more advanced study of pedagogy. In the last two years social science, methods of teaching and practical work is undertaken, and in connection with the last every student is bound to participate in some labour-activity in the neighbourhood of the school, which helps develop his powers of leadership among the labouring population. Because of this close connection with labour the *Pedagogical Technicum* has a bias towards the industry of the neighbourhood where it is situated. A certain number of teachers are trained in the ordinary nine-year Unified Labour School, which in its eighth and ninth grades ordinarily has a bias, which is in some instances towards pedagogy The inclusion of a pedagogical section along with others devoted to technical or industrial training shows affinity with the German plan for including teacher-training along with varieties of technical training to be given in Technical High Schools.

By whatever method the teacher trains the greater part of his time is taken up in pedagogical studies and in teaching practice, and the intellectualist cast of the training is still very noticeable [1]

[1] Based on A. P. Pinkevitch. *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, 1930, pages 390–4.

(e) Training in the United States of America

The great diversity of courses accepted as leading to certification as a teacher in different parts of the United States has been mentioned above,[1] and renders any comprehensive account of teacher-training in that country impossible. So far as the conferring of professional status is concerned, the Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges alone can be regarded as conferring such status. But such institutions form by no means the only approach to certification, and although graduation from a four-year High School is a fairly general prerequisite, once that is fulfilled large numbers of teachers are certificated as the result of examinations taken after a period of varying length spent in practical teaching Such teachers can hardly be described as " trained " On the whole, California has established the best standards, two years' Normal School training following graduation from a four-year High School being demanded from the prospective primary-school teacher.

Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges

The Normal School in the United States has a long history dating back to the founding of the first of the kind at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839, and has had much the same problems to face as the corresponding institutions in England In earlier times there was the difficulty of determining the place to be given respectively to academic and professional subjects, a difficulty even greater than the kindred problem in England because of the strength of both French and German influences on the life of the maturing country. In recent times the gradual advance in academic status of those seeking admission has presented the problem of overlapping in academic work between High Schools and Normal Schools, and has led to more consideration being given to professional subjects and to introducing students to the principles of Education at a higher level

In 1930 the institutions providing training comparable to that found in the normal schools of European countries consisted of 197 Normal Schools (distinguishable among themselves as state, city, county and private) and 140 Teachers Colleges (of which 6 were private) A Normal School offers curricula of two or more years which do not culminate in a degree ; a Teachers College offers, with other shorter courses, a four-year unified curriculum leading to a degree. Admission to either is conditional on graduation from a four-year High School, and the over-supply of candidates in recent times has led to further selection by competitive examination. The fees charged by these institutions are determined by the body responsible for them ; tuition fees are not charged in public institutions, but students must find their own maintenance, which they not infrequently do by " working their way through " the training college. In some instances they are given loans to assist them.

[1] *Vide ante*, page 423, and American Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1921, No. 22.

Differences between American and European Training Colleges

The curricula of the American Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges differ mainly from European training colleges in endeavouring to provide specific training for separate grades of schooling—kindergarten, primary, intermediate, upper, rural school and so on—to which further reference will be made in the next section Since the publication, in 1920 and 1927 respectively, of two reports of the Carnegie Foundation,[1] it has been made clear that America's problem is no longer how to provide mixed courses of continued education and professional training, but how to accomplish a professionalisation of subject-matter This does not mean that, as in pre-war Germany, the teacher is to study only what he in turn will teach his pupils, but rather that to whatever stage he may carry his own studies he may be led to recognise the ways in which he can turn these to use in teaching pupils of different ages The underlying attitude is largely that of the *Padagogische Akademien*, which regards the training of teachers as a professional matter, differing at once from the specialisation of university study and the acquirement of skills associated with the higher technical institutions As in European countries, academic and professional subjects both find place in the curriculum, but the choice of academic subjects is to some extent determined by the grade of teaching for which students are preparing Observation and practice-teaching are provided for, either in practice-schools belonging to the institutions or in local public schools; but the large numbers of students in training render it impossible to give all adequate practice, which has led to the placing of young teachers under supervision—sometimes that of their training institutions—for a probationary period Such a period, however, is not a usual requirement in the United States as in Continental countries.

(f) Training in England

The English teacher, with few exceptions, is trained either in a Training College or a University Training Department.

Training Colleges

Training Colleges may be provided by a University (as is the case at Birmingham) or a local education authority, or by other bodies, mostly different religious denominations Since 1929 they have formed twelve regional groups, each connected with a University. Each group is empowered by the Board of Education to set up standards of courses and conduct examinations Admission is given to applicants in sound health, who are 18 years of age, and have passed a first school examination. The curriculum provides for academic and professional subjects and for practical teaching

[1] *Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools*, *Curricula Designed for the Professional Preparation of Teachers* Publications of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

At the present time much debate is occasioned by the academic subjects which occupy an anomalous place between subjects studied for the Higher School Certificate and those taken at the University Such subjects are a relic of the days when the Training College had to educate as well as give professional training, and, unless they can be professionalised in something approaching the American manner, must inevitably give place (as since 1926 the corresponding studies for men in Scotland have done) to a full university curriculum for the intending teacher The latter solution, however, the nature of the work afterwards undertaken by many teachers renders undesirable Few Training Colleges have their own practising-schools and observation and practice work has to be carried out in demonstration schools in the neighbourhood allocated for these purposes

University Training Departments

The four-year courses provided by Universities and University Colleges are virtually three-year degree-courses with a fourth year added and devoted to pedagogy In the fourth year students make a special study of Education and of methods of teaching, and undertake observation and practice-teaching in schools in the neighbourhood which are secured as practising-schools. A continuous teaching practice extending over several weeks and spent in one school under the supervision of the head master and of tutors attached to the Training Department is also pretty generally arranged for The majority of four-year students, if they have been successful in procuring a degree, take the University Diploma in Education ; if they fail to take a degree, but pass in an examination at the close of their fourth year, they are recommended to the Board of Education for certification

Certification and Appointment as Teachers

Since 1928 the Board of Education has not itself examined for its certificate Students at the close of their training are examined either by the authorities of their University or by delegacies consisting of representatives of the Universities and the Training Colleges, and upon the report of these examining bodies, which must take into account the students' teaching promise as well as their academic and professional attainments, the Board of Education for the last six years has issued the Certificate which entitles its holder to teach in a " recognised " school for which his qualifications otherwise fit him The first year's teaching is regarded as probationary, and at its close the young teacher, if favourably reported on by H.M. Inspector, receives full certification.

Financing of Training and Grants to Students

Local Education Authorities receive from the Board of Education on behalf of Provincial Training Colleges (colleges built and maintained by L.E A.'s) one-half of their expenditure upon such institutions, including in that any scholarships they may grant to students.

They charge fees for residence, which is in most cases compulsory. Non-Provided (denominational) Training Colleges receive from the Board a grant per student which is increased if the college provides residence. These colleges charge fees to cover the difference between cost per head and the sum per head derived from the Board's grant and other sources such as endowments. The Board of Education pay Universities or University Colleges a sum to cover the cost of tuition of students in their training departments during their three years' degree work, and make a grant of £5 per annum to such students during each of these three years In the fourth year it pays £35 per student for the professional training given in the Training Department, and also gives a grant to help defray residential costs Students must find any difference between this grant and running charges for residence ; but students in all types of training establishment are eligible for maintenance grants of various kinds and university students for bursaries and scholarships Acceptance of a place in a Training College or University Training Department carries with it an obligation to teach.

(g) Training in Scotland

The training of teachers in Scotland is administered by a National Committee for that purpose composed of representatives of the Education Authorities, the Provincial Committees and the teachers It serves to co-ordinate teacher-training of all kinds by maintaining the four Provincial Training Centres, two Roman Catholic Training Colleges for women and the Dunfermline College of Hygiene and Physical Education (where physical instructresses receive training), and by assuming responsibility for the Training Department attached to St George's School, Edinburgh Each Provincial Committee is associated with a University and consists *inter alia* of representatives drawn from the Education Authorities and the respective University. Each maintains a Training Centre and every student trained in Scotland, whether as a teacher of general, special or technical subjects, must undergo a prescribed course of training at such a centre.

Types of Training

Training falls into three broad lines leading to three types of certificate awarded by the Scottish Education Department, of which teachers in Elementary Schools must possess one, the Teacher's General Certificate, and teachers in Advanced Divisions (which correspond to Middle Schools or, to some extent, to Junior High Schools elsewhere) the same with a special endorsement. Instructors in manual and other arts must obtain the Teacher's Technical Certificate. Non-graduate women are admitted to train for the General Certificate and undergo three years' training of a combined academic and professional sort. They may spend all three years at a Training College, or one year at the school in which they have been educated and two years at the Training College. During

their Training College course, arrangements are made for observation and practice work in the practising-schools attached to the Centres and in ordinary schools in the neighbourhood. Graduate women and all men (the latter must be graduates), if they have done a year's preliminary training receive a further year's training at the Training College; if they have had no preliminary training, their Training College course is extended to one year and one term In either case training follows the lines just outlined Candidates for the Technical Certificate are, as a rule, expected to have received education to Leaving Certificate standard, and high proficiency in the technique individual students aim at teaching, along with a certain amount of professional and practical teaching, is demanded

Scottish students attending Universities may hold bursaries and scholarships from various sources, but none of these is awarded with the specific purpose of enabling students to prepare for the profession of teaching A grant of £20 per annum is paid by the Scottish Education Department to the National Committee in respect of every student under their charge who is in continuous full-time training throughout the year with a view to obtaining recognition as a qualified teacher, and who has signed a declaration to the effect that he intends *bona fide* to adopt and follow the profession of teacher in schools inspected by the Department Education Authorities assist students to meet such further fees as they are charged, and also, in cases of necessity, to meet maintenance costs

In all cases students who have completed courses of training are only licensed by the Department for probationary service, and must spend a further two years teaching in approved schools and be inspected by H M Inspectors, who report upon their work, before they receive final certification

(h) Training in Canada

Growth of Normal School Movement

Since 1844, when Dr Egerton Ryerson, then Chief Superintendent of Education for Ontario, set out on a series of visits to normal schools in Europe and the United States, normal school training has evoked lively interest in Ontario During Ryerson's absence the Normal School at Albany was opened, and in 1847 the Provincial Normal School was established at Toronto Ten years later the Jacques Cartier and McGill Normal Schools were inaugurated, as was also the Laval Normal School at Montreal. Thereafter normal schools spread quickly to many provinces.

The Normal School in Ontario

In 1871, when free public elementary education was established in Ontario, the Council of Public Instruction set up an examination system for teachers' certificates and arranged a course of study for the training of teachers, which resulted in strengthening the position

of teacher-training in normal schools.[1] By 1887 the Normal School in Ontario was able to confine itself to the giving of professional training, the academic instruction of prospective teachers being amply catered for in High Schools and Collegiate Institutes [2] But between 1887 and 1907 little advance was made in normal school work because the schools as they existed were efficient and economical and were regarded as well-nigh perfect. In this period great insistence was laid on normal schoolmasters teaching and illustrating " the best methods of instruction in every branch, for every age and stage of development " [3] In 1907 a further advance (comparable to the contemporary movement in England) took place when the Ontario Normal College was closed and its functions taken over by the University of Toronto At the present time every teacher in Canada receives some professional training, and most teachers in Ontario a very thorough professional training of one year over and above their secondary education. Uniformity is secured in the work of the six Normal Schools in Ontario by the use of the *Ontario Teachers' Manuals*, which provide outlines of the courses taken and save the time usually spent by students in note-taking [4] These schools, however, are definitely examination-ridden, but those in other provinces have greater freedom, and in Nova Scotia no final examinations are held, head teachers being allowed to test students at their discretion and make a report—a system which has been found to work well [5]

Financial Arrangements and Appointments

Students pay their own way at the Normal Schools, the total cost being about 550 dollars. They are ready for a probationary appointment at 19 years of age. In 1934, in Ontario, an attempt was made to require a second year's attendance at a Normal School, following four years' probationary teaching, before a permanent certificate was issued ; but this requirement has again been dropped owing to the present financial stringency.[6] Teachers, it is found, remain often a short period in the profession, a state of affairs which entails much wasteful expenditure in training, and could probably be remedied to some extent by the provinces subsidising intending teachers and then insisting on their remaining in service for a reasonable period Higher salaries would also result in longer service, but these in turn depend in part on a longer and more thorough training.[7]

(i) Training in Australia [8]

(*a*) *New South Wales*

In 1933, 456 new appointments of teachers were made in New South Wales, of which 448 were of ex-students of the Teachers'

[1] Melvin *op cit*, pages 41, *seq*
[2] *Ibid*, page 57
[3] *Ibid.*, page 58
[4] *Ibid*, page 69
[5] *Ibid*, pages 151–2
[6] YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935, page 53
[7] Melvin . *op cit*, pages 109–12
[8] See YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1934, pages 302–6

Colleges at Sydney and Armidale,[1] which indicates the customary source of supply The ordinary course in these colleges is a two-year one and prepares teachers for kindergarten and primary-school work, science teaching in Junior Technical and Domestic Science Schools, manual training, commercial work, agriculture and general instruction At Armidale only the two-year course is in operation ; at Sydney a four-year course is also given, intended for specialist teachers for High Schools Students being trained for post-primary manual work (wood and metal work), home economics and commercial work take the practical part of their course at the Sydney Technical College[2]

The majority of students at the Teachers Colleges are scholarship holders

(*b*) *Victoria*

Up to 1933 the Teachers Colleges at Melbourne, Ballarat and Bendigo were the sources of supply for teachers in Victoria, but owing to the trade depression only the college at Melbourne is now open In normal times special courses were conducted at Melbourne for teachers for infants, primary and secondary schools Nowhere was provision made for preparation to teach the manual or domestic arts The primary course syllabus was altered in 1932–3 to meet the requirements of the revised curriculum, which was put into operation in all primary schools in 1934[3] Ballarat and Bendigo colleges, while open, confined themselves to training teachers for rural schools A number of students attend Saturday morning courses or enrol in correspondence classes Admission to Teachers College depends not only on the possession of a Leaving Certificate, but (since 1926) on applicants completing a successful probationary period as Junior Teachers in the schools This probationary period is extended sometimes for a few years, but failure after five years to obtain the Leaving Certificate or a studentship to Teachers College compels the probationer to leave the service[4] No untrained teacher can enter the permanent service of the Department of Public Instruction.

(*c*) *Queensland*

By 1933 the old pupil-teacher system was practically at an end and the Teachers Training College was the main avenue to the teaching service. Admission to the College is by a threefold test—based upon the possession of scholarship, personality and good physique[5] Once at college it is found that students are eager to

[1] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for N S W for* 1933, pages 7 and 13

[2] *Ibid*, page 13

[3] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for Victoria for* 1932–3, 1934, page 16

[4] *Victorian Year Book*, 1932–3, pages 190–1

[5] *Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction for Queensland for* 1933, page 22.

enrol as evening students of the University, and this they are permitted to do so long as they do not attempt to do more than three units of work and neither their health nor their professional training suffers.[1] Evening Classes and Correspondence Tuition are also provided by Teachers Training College to assist those who cannot follow the ordinary day courses At the conclusion of training a period of probationary teaching is demanded.

(j) Training in New Zealand[2]

From 1905, when a system of bursaries for student-teachers was instituted, to 1932 New Zealand kept continuously open four Training Colleges These were situated at Christchurch, Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin Since 1932 the two last have been closed as the numbers of teachers being trained were far in excess of the country's requirements All four colleges prepared students for work in the Primary Schools, which, in 1928, received a new syllabus framed on lines closely resembling those followed in England in the "Hadow" reorganisation The revised syllabus was the outcome of prolonged discussion in the years 1925–30 as to the best type of post-primary education which should meet modern New Zealand needs and be distinct from the curriculum of the old High Schools which had developed on entirely literary lines[3] New Zealand has been much impressed by the Victorian provision for education, and, partly as a result, has set up Junior High Schools for which a new type of teacher must be trained, distinct both from the old type of elementary school teacher whom the Training Colleges have trained and the graduate masters of the High Schools, who, like their English *confrères*, were often without any professional training. Mr Frank Tate, Director of Education for Victoria, who undertook a special investigation into the problem of post-primary education in New Zealand, made several specific recommendations which would by now have been more fully carried into effect but for the over-supply of teachers and general financial stringency of recent years. The absence of training courses adapted to different types of teachers has been a weakness of New Zealand colleges in the past, though the reason for this deficiency is plain—the persistence until recently of an undifferentiated type of public elementary education for all children not paying for another type until 14 years of age, and the extremely "English" belief that the secondary school teacher need not be trained!

Relations of University and Training Colleges

Students unable otherwise to attend the University Colleges in many cases endeavour partly to work for a university degree while

[1] *Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction for Queensland for* 1933, page 45 *Handbook for Queensland*, 1930, page 110.

[2] See YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1934, pages 331–3

[3] *Vide* Educational Department of New Zealand Special Reports, No 16, *Investigation into Certain Aspects of Post-Primary Education*, by Frank Tate, 1925; *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee*, 1926–8, 1928; *Report on Education Reorganisation in New Zealand*, 1930.

they are in attendance at the Training Colleges, for which they receive maintenance allowances, and in this way lose the full benefit of both institutions There is also marked duplication of courses in the University Colleges and the Training Colleges, and one of the main lines of advance in teacher-training in New Zealand will come through the Education Departments of the University Colleges and the Training Colleges being brought into some such relationship as exists between similar institutions in England; though for the time being this suggestion appears to be unpopular in New Zealand

Probationary Service and Surplus Teachers

It has been customary for students on completing their training to take up a probationary appointment for one year, but in 1933, owing to the surplus of teachers unabsorbed by the schools, this requirement had to be waived, and all unemployed teachers were put on a rationing scheme, as a result of which each got two terms' work in school [1]

(k) Training in the Union of South Africa [2]

(*a*) *Cape Colony*

Considerable variety of qualification and grading of teachers is recognised in Cape Colony, to some extent as a result of the need of providing not only for bilingual white children, but also for native and coloured children The main type of preparation, which is given in nine European Training Colleges, consists of a two-year course leading up to the Primary Teacher's Certificate The Primary Teacher's Higher Certificate is awarded to those who hold the Lower Certificate and take one year's further training in one of the following fields—Infant School Work, Needlework, Manual Training, Housecraft or Physical Culture The Teacher's Full Housecraft Certificate and Teacher's Full Physical Culture Certificate are awarded to holders of the Higher Certificate who undergo a fourth year's training in Housecraft and Physical Culture respectively.

(*b*) *Natal*

In Natal, the Government Training College at Pietermaritzburg provides somewhat similar courses to those found in Cape Colony—a two-year course leading to the Third Class Certificate, and three- and four-year courses leading respectively to the Lower and Higher Diploma. A hold of the Third Class Certificate, or a student who completes the first year of a degree course, and who has taught for four years, is awarded the Second Class Certificate.

[1] *Report of the Minister of Education for New Zealand for the Year ending December 31st*, 1933, page 4

[2] See *Official Year Book for the Union of South Africa*, 1932–3, and YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1934, pages 341–6.

(c) *Transvaal*

There are four Normal Colleges in the Transvaal, and until 1932 the Transvaal Education Department awarded Third and Second Class Certificates to students who had trained in these, under conditions similar to those in Cape Colony and Natal Students frequently combined work for a Third Class Certificate with work for a university degree This has now been rendered impossible by the insistence of the Education Department on all students preparing for the Teacher's Diploma, which was awarded for the first time in 1935 The new training consists of one year's study at a University followed by two years' professional training in a Normal College Certain features of the arrangement are open to adverse criticism The one-year course at the University cannot prove of great cultural value to students and the two years' segregation in the Normal College, whatever professional advantages may be claimed for it, is a reversion to a policy which Germany, England, Scotland and certain parts of the United States definitely consider undesirable One immediate effect of the regulation will be to deplete the schools of graduates, for there will for the future be no inducement for a teacher to graduate, and financially it has become very difficult for him to do so The student studying for the Teacher's Diploma will receive a liberal bursary loan which will cover nearly all his expenses, but the student proceeding to university graduation will receive no such assistance Moreover, he will not be eligible to undergo the professional part of the training necessary for the Diploma once he has taken his B A or B Sc , unless he has included in his degree course those subjects required of the Diploma student in his university year

(d) *Orange Free State*

The Orange Free State in the Normal College at Bloemfontein provides a two-year course leading up to the Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate. The Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate is awarded to students who take the first year of the B A course in certain specified subjects, or have spent one year at a recognised School of Agriculture, followed in each case by two years at a Normal College The Advanced Primary Teacher's Certificate is awarded to those who take a second year degree course and have had five years' experience in teaching (or, if degree course is taken as an internal student, have two years' such experience)

Outside of the Transvaal Province the two-year course may be taken either in a Training College or a University (The three-year course, if taken in a University, is a passport to Secondary School teaching and does not concern the present discussion.)

VI. CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS IN TEACHER-TRAINING AND REQUIREMENTS IMPLICIT IN THE "SOCIOLOGICAL," "VOCATIONAL" AND "RECREATIONAL" AIMS OF EDUCATION.

Any account of the structural provisions made for the education and professional training of teachers is bound to leave a reader with

a sense of perplexing diversity both of aims and methods Yet this multiplicity is less real than at first might appear, and resolves itself, whether countries are regarded separately or together, into certain clearly recognisable objectives and procedures Broadly speaking, it is true to say that the historical evolution of teacher-training in any country accounts for the relation of its Training College system to the students' previous education ; recent or contemporary thought and events determine the relation of that system to the students' future work Both relations, but especially the latter, raise the question of what a Training College should be and accomplish

Relation of the Training College to Students' Previous Education

The relation of institutions for the training of teachers to the systems under which students have received their previous education involves two main considerations · (1) the character and amount of schooling which a country demands of applicants for admission to training , and (2) the nature of the training which a country decides to give its prospective teachers Where the demands for previous education are pitched high, as in Germany, an increasing portion of the United States, England, Scotland and the British Dominions generally, there is little need for continuing that education, unless it is decided that it should be carried a stage farther and that all students should receive university education, either to a degree standard or to a lower standard In France the cycle within which the interests and activities of the primary school teacher are at once stimulated and confined, as well as the age of admission to the *écoles normales*, renders necessary further education of an advanced school type The *istituti magistrali* and the *pedagogical technicums* in Italy and Russia respectively must be regarded largely as schools rather than as Training Colleges In Italy the " college course " of prospective teachers is strictly " instructional " , there is no practical training, and professional preparation is entirely neglected In the Russian course the " instructional " element predominates, but the unfamiliarity of the new ideology makes it difficult to estimate to what extent some of the practical work engaged in may be considered " professional " The French *écoles normales* endeavour to treat from a professional standpoint the ordinary subjects studied by the students, and provide for related practice British and American Training Colleges, although their attempts to introduce students to the Theory of Education are still too largely " instructional," and their retention of academic subjects to an increasing degree anomalous, endeavour to combine these aspects of training with professional and practical work. But the University Training Departments in England, and the courses in Scotland for men for the Teacher's General Certificate, and for men and women for the Teacher's Special Certificate, as well as a number of related courses in the British Dominions, have made

possible a more thorough introduction of prospective teachers to educational theory and the principles of psychology; while the development of Teachers Colleges in the United States has resulted in the still greater professionalisation of the training course, though the very *ad-hoc-ness* of the latter type of institution (to use Dr Flexner's apt phrase) constitutes in its turn a menace of a different sort.

Relation of the Training College to Students' Future Work

American Attempts at Professional Integration of Training

Since the publication in 1920 of the *Carnegie Foundation Bulletin*, No 14, dealing with the "Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools,"[1] the United States, more than any other country, has addressed herself to the task of relating her training courses to the future work of her students. The need of a widening of horizons and a deepening of culture on the part of teachers, according to Prof. W C Bagley, is unquestioned, but there is considerable debate as to whether this is a personal or a professional need, and hence whether it can best be met by giving a liberal curriculum "followed by courses of a purely technical character" which will aim at equipping the teacher with teaching skill, or by organising such a programme of studies and practical work as will provide the intending teacher with culture of a sort intimately related to his professional work[2] The tendency to professionalise the course is gaining in favour, though there is a danger that the methods by which this may be effected will prove more technical than cultural.

Influence of Job Analysis on American Teacher-Training Curricula

Influenced by the technique of job analysis, attempts have been made to determine what traits are most essential to successful teaching so that prospective teachers can be encouraged to cultivate these. In one recent book,[3] "A Master-List of Teachers' Traits," is supplied, each of twenty-five traits being given a different rank for the four grades of school in which teachers may serve—Primary, Intermediate, Junior and Senior High School. Not only so, but twelve thousand activities performed by teachers are recorded, so that the reader is left wondering whether in face of this multiplicity it will ever be possible to train teachers at all

But emphasis laid on the mastery of separate techniques is hardly likely to assist the teacher to that professional integration at which sound teacher-training aims, though proficiency in a recognised group of techniques tends towards the standardisation which

[1] See *ante*, page 436.

[2] "The Problem of Teacher-Training: The United States," in *Educational Year Book* (Teachers' College, Columbia University), 1927, pages 591–2.

[3] *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study*, by W W. Charters and D. Waples, Chicago, 1929, pages 14–19, and pages 21, *seq.*

fascinates the American mind, and the desire for which in teacher-training is probably accounted for by the huge attendances at many Training Colleges—amounting in some instances to 5,500 students in the winter session, 10,000 in the summer, with, at times, 300–500 in a single class—which compel the adoption of mass-production methods.[1] But the student who masters in some sort "the job of teaching, the job of measuring, the job of studying learning, the job of curriculum-making, the job of administration, the job of supervising, the job of philosophising,"[2] and then falls into the hands of the sociologists and psychologists, who introduce him to yet other isolated fields of knowledge, is receiving a compartmentalised and not a unified training.

The Value of University Influence in the Training of Teachers

If the Normal School in the past was over-academic the Training College of the present, if it follows the lead of the *Padagogisches Institut* and certain of the American Teachers Colleges, will end by becoming over-technical Training of teachers will become an affair of learning "knacks," and it will matter little that the "knacks" are rather more intricate than those of Bell and Lancaster's "systems" if they reduce teaching to a highly skilled trade It is not so much in introducing students to a certain range of studies that the Universities can help them as by imbuing them with a spirit of open-mindedness and intellectual alertness which it is difficult to cultivate elsewhere "For this reason," declares Gentile, ". . special provision should be made in the University to satisfy the needs of school teachers," that the University may "act on their minds, shake them, start them going, instil in them salutary doubt by criticism, and develop a taste for true knowledge"[3] And this service the University Training Departments in England are rendering Elementary Education, though in so far as the cultural benefits of the university course are reaped before the training year it might be argued that the wider aim is not maintained in the latter period Yet the participation in the intellectual, æsthetic, athletic and social activities of the Universities which is still possible for students in their training year is of great value, and no smaller institution, although devising courses of two or three years, however excellent otherwise, can provide opportunities of this varied and stimulating sort.

Atmosphere, as it were, rather than scenery, is obviously what the University can contribute to teacher-training, but the difficulty of securing a suitable landscape in which to exercise prospective primary school teachers is considerable. In England the "Hadow" Report on "The Primary School" (1931) expressed the hope that since the Training Colleges and Universities are now associated for

[1] Harold Rugg. *Culture and Education in America*, page 380.
[2] *Ibid*, page 381
[3] *The Reform of Education* (Bigongiari's translation), London, 1923, page 5.

the purposes of the final examination of intending teachers some method will be found of striking a just balance between the academic and professional sides of the courses for the training of teachers ; [1] but the compilers of the Report did not indicate a method of striking this balance and were content with pressing the need for special preparation of teachers for specific groups of children [2] They were not, however, in favour of specialist preparation of students during their period of general training, though they held that " general training need not preclude special study and experience of one particular stage of education." [3]

Dependence of Teacher-Training on National Outlook on Education

English insistence upon Education taking precedence of any particular variety of instruction is sound, and may well prove the integrating principle which will yet bind together primary, post-primary, literary, technical and all forms of Education, by throwing into prominence the factor common to all of them, instead of magnifying particular features which make for differentiation At the present moment emphasis is everywhere being laid on the preparation of the young for a full and varied life, and the work of the teacher is recognised as being primarily concerned with making this preparation as effective as possible The teacher's training, therefore, must be conducted with a view to his life's task The fact that psychological reasons are advanced in support of a change in school procedure at between the ages of 11 and 12 prevents the change at that age being regarded as of purely " social " or economic significance The child is advanced to another form of schooling because it is recognised as being better for him to be so advanced, not because his parents are better off financially And being so advanced the child himself presents us with three further questions . What is the post-primary stage of schooling where he is placed ? Is it secondary education or is it not ? And, if it is not, what is ?

To these questions different countries return different answers The United States, at first sight, appears to regard all post-primary education as of equal value ; though strictly speaking this is not the case, and methods of Federal finance have tended to drive a wedge between " vocational " and " non-vocational " forms of post-primary education France is very clear as to what she regards as " secondary " education and what as advanced or post-primary education Germany by carefully distinguishing between possibilities of education and insisting on a high standard in each permits of a wide range of secondary education. Italy and Russia each in her own way is striving to meet her peculiar needs in the German fashion. The answer of the British countries is to ignore mere terminology and to provide such forms of schooling as meet contemporary needs, taking care always that they are not allowed to

[1] *Op. cit.*, page 108. [2] *Ibid*, pages 110–12 [3] *Ibid*, page 109.

develop any one purpose, however important in itself, to the detriment of their highest purpose—the all-round training of youth

The training of teachers in each country is conducted in strict accordance with the answer of that country to the questions indicated, which, apart from varying degrees of philosophical influence, find their justification in specific contemporary needs

Influence of Social Aspect of Education on Training of Teachers

Contemporary needs are mainly of a social kind, and where a political bias predominates, as in Russia, Italy and Germany, the political system will be found to be directed to the attainment of particular social ends Everywhere there is discoverable the endeavour to link education with life, and to ensure that the school shall be a segment of the life of the child and not an artificial alternative to real living running off, tangent-wise, in a direction of its own In the United States Dewey has been untiring in his efforts to win recognition for the principle of the identity of school and life , and in the preparation for such an examination as that for the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate in England, in the section on History of Education which all students are required to study, " emphasis is laid on the relation of educational development to general social and intellectual movements " [1] In England, also, a definite effort is made to acquaint students with the home conditions of the children whom they will afterwards teach, and to forewarn them that, in many instances, they will be required to work with inadequate equipment and under conditions unfavourable to satisfactory results Under the more stereotyped curricula of Continental education these deficiencies are not so apparent, for the Continental teacher is trained with a view to conditions he will afterwards find in the school rather than encouraged to push forward steadily the frontiers of content and method in the interests of his pupils

Views of Dominion Educationists on " Sociological " Purpose of Education

In the British Dominions the need to face the problem of training for life in a developing country is, naturally, vividly realised Thus, in the *Report* of the Secretary for Public Instruction for Queensland for 1933, stress is laid on training young people for citizenship, which is regarded as involving " earning their own living and rendering service to the community " A system of education is advocated which should aim at " fitting the pupil to his environment, giving facility to meet practical situations, and giving opportunity to develop along lines of greatest natural aptitude." [2] In the corresponding Report for Victoria for 1932–3 the revision of the

[1] Jones . *op cit* , page 125, and Appendix B, pages 422–5.
[2] *Op cit.*, page 22.

primary school curriculum along lines corresponding to that outlined by the "Hadow" Report in England, is heralded as a step towards a more flexible form of schooling, and one which should better prepare pupils for life by emphasising practical work of all kinds. But the compiler of the Report is careful to add—an important proviso—that "the activities chosen must form a coherent and educative whole, and must be suited to the needs of the school and the community"[1] The Syllabus Revision Committee in New Zealand, in their Report (issued in 1928), approached the revision of school curricula from yet another angle, and declared with conviction that "teachers should endeavour to inculcate in the pupils an equal respect for all kinds of work No system of education can be satisfactory if one section of pupils is led, even subconsciously, to assume an air of superiority over other sections No emphasis can be too strong on this sociological aspect of education"[2]

Implications for the Training of Teachers of "Sociological" Integration of Education

To prepare pupils to earn a living, to serve their community, and to attain education and culture, not by one type of activity, but by many—these are the cardinal aims of modern education, and the Dominion educationists have rendered a real service to Education by insisting on regarding these aims as a whole instead of in isolation as objectives for diverse types of schooling which particular sections of the community ought to receive Teachers who are to co-operate in such educational activities as these aims involve will require less stereotyped courses of training than their predecessors, and their work, if the new ideals are to be realised, must not be separated into rigid categories determined by historical or antiquated views of society and education

Place of "Vocational" Education in New Cultural Synthesis

Prof Clarke's plea for a new cultural synthesis which will combine both "vocational" and "cultural" aspects of education[3] is endorsed by Sir John Adamson, who notes that "vocational" is a wider term than "technical," and implies "objectively the whole of life and subjectively the whole of personality And vocation in this wide sense as the universal educational aim implies no less than the adaptation of the individual to his natural and spiritual environment Only we must be careful to add to this biological conception the conception of value"[4]

Importance of Maintaining Educational Values in "Vocational" Courses

"Vocational" education, therefore, although, on the one hand, related to problems of "technical" education which must not be

[1] *Op cit*, page 15.
[2] *Op cit*, page 12
[3] See *ante*, pages 415 and 419.
[4] YEAR BOOK, 1935, page 305.

considered in detail here, is, on the other hand, in British countries, and to a large extent in the United States, regarded in a way which sets no bounds to what it may consider its legitimate field of operation. Of the French apprenticeship system it is largely true to write: "L'apprentissage est l'opposé de l'enseignement";[1] the apprentice must not think, he must imitate. But the Apprenticeship Act passed in 1922 by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa accepts the view that "modern apprenticeship must take its proper place in the education system of the nation",[2] and the arguments for day-continuation classes advanced in Victoria, "to meet the needs of the system of compulsory training of apprentices" following the enactment by that State of the Apprenticeship Act of 1928, imply acceptance of the same view.[3] The history of vocational and part-time education in the United States is in large part occupied with the struggles of educationists to secure for those shortly to be, or already engaged, in industry a measure of real education—physical, cultural, social—as well as an introduction to skills and principles likely to be of use to them in specific occupations.[4] The struggle in France has run a similar course and only the imposition (by the law of July 13th, 1925) of the *taxe d'apprentissage* has made possible education as distinct from mere vocational training.

Problem of Teacher-Training for "Vocational" Work

To devise suitable training for teachers of "vocational" courses has proved everywhere exceptionally difficult. Such "courses" tend to stand or fall by the practical efficiency of the pupils who pass through them. This is far from being a wise criterion of their value, but it is one which has led to stress being laid on securing skilled artisans as instructors on the "technical" side of the course, regardless of the fact that such instructors may be deficient in cultural and other respects.

Contribution of Scotland and British Dominions to Teacher-Training for "Vocational" Work

Scotland insists on all teachers of handicrafts receiving training in professional and practical pedagogy. In 1933 New South Wales made a move in the same direction by selecting twenty Manual Arts students who had completed the fifth year of Sydney Technical

[1] *Propos sur l'Education, Paris*, 1933, page 112.
[2] *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, 1932–3, page 191.
[3] *Report of Minister of Public Instruction for Victoria for* 1932–3, pages 20–1.
[4] See Keller, *Day School for Young Workers*, 1924. "The Problem of Vocational Education. The United States," in *Educational Year Book*, Teachers College (Columbia University), 1928.

High School or the Technical College, Ultimo, and who also possessed the Leaving Certificate, in order to give them a Special Manual Arts Course at Teachers College.[1] The same State has for some time attempted to meet a kindred need—that of finding teachers of advanced Agriculture—in an opposite way, by selecting some five students annually from among those who have completed their course at Teachers College and sending them forward to a degree course in Agricultural Science in the University.[2]

In Victoria teachers of Manual Arts are recruited in two ways Some are selected as students from the ranks of Junior (i e apprentice, untrained) Teachers at the age of 18 and given three years' training in Teachers College in association with two technical schools in Melbourne Such candidates must obtain qualifications for university entrance before their selection, and during their Manual Arts course must keep up their study of English and also take a course in Education, the greater part of which they take in common with other students in training In their second and third years they spend one-half day per week in teaching Manual Arts in schools Other students are chosen at the age of 16 on their completion of a course in a Junior Technical School, and are given a five-year course of training, or an even longer one, which consists of four parts: (1) a continued course in English; (2) a course in the principles and practice of teaching; (3) an approved course in some branch of industry; and (4) approved workshop or other technical experience during a period of actual employment These students do not attend Teachers College, but receive all their training in technical schools where special instructors have charge of them for English and education They teach under supervision a portion of each week in a Junior Technical School.[3]

New Zealand, at the time of the investigation into her post-primary education carried out by Mr Frank Tate, a report on which appeared in 1925, had not developed any system of training teachers for technical schools, which led to the investigator's making a useful analysis of the different types of teachers required for such schools and the differences in training involved The teachers fall into three classes: (1) teachers of the subjects of general or cultural education, who should be selected from teachers trained for primary or secondary school work, but who should be men who realise that the aims of cultural work in such schools differ fundamentally from the aims of cultural work in the old academic type of secondary school; (2) teachers of science and mathematics, who should have good university degrees and have had some experience in industrial concerns and who should receive a course of training as teachers; and (3) teachers of Geometry and Manual Arts, whose standard of education should be equal to that of students in training for work in

[1] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for N.S.W for* 1933, page 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 8.
[3] Education Department, New Zealand, *Special Report* No. 16, pages 61–2.

primary schools, and who should receive a course of training in Manual Arts [1]

The needs of the New Zealand technical school are very much those of the " modern " school in all countries, except that in some instances the " techniques " to be included are of less definitely industrial sorts But the true aims of such schools cannot be realised until there is " a revolutionary change in the training of post-primary teachers " [2]—such a change as will provide teachers in touch with life and able to train pupils for civic life, for their vocations and for the right use of leisure

Contribution of Germany to Teacher-Training for " Vocational " Work

In Europe, Germany has made the most outstanding contribution towards developing " vocational " education in both the general and the highly specialised sense, and in providing training for those who are to give it Thus practical arts are introduced as manual activities during the first four years of schooling, and, later, practical work is taught in school workshops by specialist teachers trained for the purpose in special institutions Those undergoing such training are for the most part trained teachers, although a limited number of persons with practical experience (e g in gardening and art-work) are accepted for training, provided their general education is of a sufficiently high standard The specialist training lasts a year if taken as a full-time course, two years if taken as a half-time one, and, apart from practice in manual work and practice-teaching of it, students study the theories of education underlying manual processes The certificate awarded at the conclusion of the course entitles the holder to give industrial instruction in primary, middle, secondary and other educational institutions, and provision is made that, in addition to this certificate, teachers working in each grade of school shall possess the general qualifications of the kind demanded by each grade In this way Germany has avoided the difficulty occasioned by securing teachers of practical subjects of guaranteed proficiency in these subjects, but who do not at the same time possess a high standard of general culture or appreciate the relations of manual activities to the complete objective of the school course

" Vocational " education in Germany is given during the school course, more highly specialised technical education in advanced whole-time technical schools or in part-time technical schools. But whether such education is given in whole- or part-time day schools, or in evening continuation schools, matters less than the way in which it is given ; though when it is given under part-time or continuation school conditions, it combines more readily than under the former conditions with education for leisure and physical

[1] Education Department, New Zealand, *Special Report* No. 16, pages 60–1

[2] *Ibid*, page 31 See also page 34

well-being—an aspect of education which demands still further application and training on the part of prospective teachers

Contribution of Germany to Teacher-Training for "Recreational" Education

In providing education for the leisure time of her young people and training which enables their teachers to help them, up to the present, of all countries Germany has been the most successful The insistence on practice in "skill and arts subjects" in three out of the four alternatives of teacher-training, and the demand that the university-trained teacher should show aptitude in these subjects during his period of probationary teaching, ensure that the German teacher will be able to introduce his pupils to a wide range of interests The arrangements for the physical culture of prospective teachers make for the same result; and such institutions as the monthly day's ramble organised by the schools (*Wandertag*) and the periods spent in community-living in country homes owned by the schools (*Schulheime* or *Schullandheime*), where teachers and pupils participate in a great variety of mainly out-of-door activities, provide teachers with exceptional opportunities to direct their pupils' leisure

Since the National-Socialist Revolution there has been established the Voluntary Labour Service (*freiwillige Arbeitsdienst*) and the one-year's work on the land (*Landjahr*) which young people completing the secondary school courses undertake in training camps along with age-fellows drawn from Industry and Agriculture The young people engage in useful manual work and receive highly systematised physical training. Leaders for this work have to be specially trained in addition to such training as they may have received previously in preparation for teaching in schools [1]

General Lack of Training in Europe for "Recreational" Education

In Italy the activities of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* effect some of the same purposes as those aimed at by the German organisations; but these activities, although they combine with the Gentile Reform to give Italian education its present-day character, and are intended to be complementary to the training provided in the schools, are not included as school objectives, nor are teachers as such instructed in methods of promoting them In Russia, in so far as school objectives and general objectives are not sharply differentiated, adults associated with the Union of Communist Youth (*Kominsol*) and the Society of Pioneers may be regarded as undertaking educational work; but in no European country outside of Germany is a thorough provision for such activities properly embodied in the national system of schooling and preparation for conducting them made in teacher-training courses And Dr. Reinhold Schairer is certainly correct in considering that one of the

[1] See Thorburn. *op cit.*, pages 125 and 129

vital questions of the next thirty years will be how to combine the work of the schools and the activities of the Youth Movements in an educational unity which will present the young not with competing, but with complementary, if not completely harmonised, means of education.[1]

Success of the English Public School in Supplying "Recreational" Education

In England the Public Schools alone—which so far have been the only type of school in a position to do so—have made a successful endeavour to cater for the whole of their pupils' awakening interests "Music, art, natural history, politics, debate, social science"—according to Dr Norwood, "there are opportunities for all in most schools, and they are freely taken",[2] the athleticism, which comes in for so much criticism in some quarters, in so far as it is a species of discipline, is itself valuable, and if it appears to some extent overdone reflects rather a national tendency to over-emphasise sport than a pedagogical tendency to overdo games[3] But the only training the men who are to introduce the young to this rich life have usually received is to have lived it themselves; and it is to be remembered that the young with whom they are dealing, as Dr Norwood admits, are not a "random sample" of youth, but arrive carefully selected from "Prep" Schools, the majority of them sons of parents by whom the Public School tradition is cherished. Masters, boys and parents meet on common ground, which cannot be said of persons in the same categories in other types of school; and the need to develop special techniques for dealing with very different material elsewhere is a pressing problem of teacher-training

Hobbies as a Factor in "Recreational" Education in the Dominions

In the British Dominions hobbies, and what are known as "home-projects," are receiving emphasis under the revised curricula of the last few years Both in New South Wales and Victoria Junior Farmers' Clubs provide a link between school pupils and young people engaged in agriculture, horticulture and afforestation[4] Work can be undertaken in school by pupils which enables them to enter for out-of-school competitions run by these clubs, which take members between the ages of 11 and 21. Membership of a club not only encourages vocational interests, but prepares the young for citizenship by requiring them to fill various offices and undertake various duties, the carrying out of which convinces them by direct experience of the value of what the school can teach. "Arithmetic

[1] YEAR BOOK, 1935, pages 659–61.
[2] "The Boys' Boarding School," in *Schools of England*, 1928, page 130.
[3] *Ibid*, pages 131–2
[4] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for N S W. for* 1933, pages 8 and 9; similar *Report for Victoria for* 1932–3, page 3 (Such clubs in Victoria are known as "Young Farmers' Clubs")

gets a new value through the keeping of accounts of receipts and expenditure in connection with calf-rearing, poultry-raising and other projects, while a sound basis for all later work in geography is found in the close study of district products and their ultimate use for manufacture or export "[1] School hobbies, moreover, are not confined to agricultural and horticultural interests, but (in Victoria at least) "the teacher with a hobby will be encouraged to ride it vigorously, whether it be nature-study, gardening, photography, woodwork, stamp-collecting, or the like "[2]

Plea for Training in "Recreational" Education Work

But the teacher riding his hobby is not enough If "recreational" education is to assist youth to use leisure wisely and is to promote a genuine standard of physical well-being the instructor in recreational activities must be carefully prepared for his task Dr L P Jacks has written · "The great need at present is for competent leaders Turning recreation into education needs careful study and skilful handling Every country ought to have its own College of Recreational Culture—you might call it a school of leisure-craft . . where young men and women of good ability can get themselves thoroughly trained to go out as recreational educators into every school, college and civic community in the land A new profession is waiting in that field for the best type of men and women to take up . ."[3]

Modern Educational Demands and Unification of all Teacher-Training

It is not so much "a new profession" that is waiting, but a new prospect that is opening for the age-old profession of the teacher And this prospect, like others which have been revealed in recent years, while it creates novel demands on the resources of teacher-training institutions, reminds us that for the future it must be the first task of these institutions to satisfy such demands rather than to prepare instructors for stereotyped courses in arbitrarily distinguished grades of school The bringing of the training of teachers into contact with the university in England, the lengthening in time and the professionalisation of the prospective teacher's training in the United States, and the clear intimations given elsewhere that teacher-training must have regard primarily to the needs of the nation's young—all are indications that everywhere education is coming to be conceived as a unity, and that no department of education, by claiming prescriptive rights of its own, can justify for those who are to carry its purpose into effect an exemption from the study of the problems which they will be called on to face or from profes-

[1] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for Victoria for* 1932–3, page 15.
[2] *Ibid*, page 15
[3] *Education through Recreation*, 1932, page 144.

sional or practical acquaintance with the situations to which they must address themselves The capital significance of the repeated reissue in England between 1905 and 1927 of the *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, and in Germany in 1921 and 1925 of *Richtlinien* (which suggested the wide purposes of the primary school curricula), lies less in the new freedom assured the primary school teacher than in the implied declaration that all teachers worthy of the name must possess freedom, if, through the medium of the school curriculum, they are to bring their pupils into vital and fructifying contact with the varied content of life But the freedom which ought to be the characteristic of all teachers, and hence the unifying principle that binds them together, carries with it the corresponding obligation that those upon whom it is conferred shall be trained to the use of it by a persistent study of the nature of the child, the conditions of the times, and the multiform material through commerce with which the young are to find themselves and stand related to their world

VII The Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools

For the reasons shown in the preceding sections no hard-and-fast distinction ought to be drawn between schooling which is described as " post-primary " and that which is described as " secondary " The French *école primaire supérieure*, the German *Mittelschule*, the English *Central School* and the Scots *Advanced Division*, in spite of the place assigned to each in the respective educational systems of which it is a part, partake of the character of secondary schools In Italy the former *corso integrativo di avviamento professionale*, which, until 1930, was a kind of *cours complémentaire* attached to the upper end of the primary school, has been significantly renamed *Scuola secundaria di avviamento al lavoro* On the other hand, many American Junior, and some Senior High Schools offer no high standard of advanced education All schools that cater for the needs of children beyond the primary school stage are clearly " post-primary " schools, but the fact that for certain historical reasons students intending to teach in certain old and well-established types of " post-primary " school have either received no training or a different type of training from that of prospective teachers for the newer type of post-primary school makes it necessary to review briefly the specific provisions existing for training such students.

(a) Training in France [1]

Secondary education in France is given in *lycées* and *collèges* which differ in organisation and recruitment of staff but not in official curricula Intending teachers for either must, if men, possess the *baccalauréat*, if women, either the *baccalauréat* or the *diplôme de fin d'études secondaires*, and have afterwards studied at a university.

[1] See Chapter Seven for fuller treatment.

Collèges are staffed by *licenciés* who have taken a two-year course in letters or science. Such courses are purely academic in character and have no reference to the needs of the secondary school. For this reason, in 1920, a *licence d'enseignement* was devised, which by a careful grouping of subjects endeavours to give the future teacher cultural preparation which shall also be of use to him in his profession A minority of teachers are not *licenciés*. These, if men, after taking the *baccalauréat* and the *certificat d'aptitude au professorat des écoles normales* take the *certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement des languages vivantes dans les lycées et collèges* which permits them to teach modern languages. Women who, in addition to the *baccalauréat*, hold the *certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement secondaire* are able to take certificates in both letters and science which permit of their teaching in secondary schools for girls

Lycées are staffed by *agrégés*—a highly selected body of men and women, who, besides holding the *licence* and the *diplôme d'études supérieures* in certain fields of related subjects, have passed the *agrégation* examination in a specialised group of subjects The *diplôme*, like the *licence*, is awarded as a result of candidates passing a series of examinations set by the university and is obtained one year after the latter. The *agrégation* is awarded as the result of success in a public examination, and such success is not only a guarantee of candidates' outstanding ability in a particular set of subjects, but provides a means of allotting teachers to definite forms [1] Candidates for the *agrégation* examination take previously a three-year course in an *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, of which there are two—one for men in Paris, and one for women at Sèvres.

Until recently no professional or practical training was given. The omission of professional training was defended on the ground that in the last year of the secondary school the study of *Philosophy* or *Mathematics* stimulates a boy to think for himself and is a kind of preparation for the teaching profession The further intellectual training given in the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* tends in the same direction. In addition, the oral part of the *agrégation* examination furnishes a severe test of the student's aptitude for teaching. The test for the *agrégation des lettres*, for example, includes the presentation of a lesson for which candidates are allowed six hours' preparation ; that for *des sciences naturelles* includes " (*a*) the selection, arrangement or preparation of materials to illustrate a lesson selected by the examiners ; (*b*) the preparation and selection of specimens suitable for instructional purposes ; (*c*) a lesson on a subject taken from the lower section of the *lycée* , and (*d*) a lesson on a subject from the upper section. Four hours are allowed for the preparation of the lesson." [2]

[1] See *The Educational System of France*, a translation of the *Atlas de l'Enseignement en France*, prepared by the *Commission française pour l'Enquête Carnegie sur les Examens et Concours en France*, in *Educational Year Book* (Teachers College, Columbia University), 1934, pages 133–42.

[2] Kandel *Comparative Education*, 1933, page 840.

Since 1924 a *stage pédagogique* has been provided for *agrégés* who have not had previous teaching experience By a regulation of March 5th, 1929, students of the *stage pédagogique* must attend at least twenty lectures on the history and organisation of secondary education in France and abroad and on the teaching of subjects which students hope to teach They must also spend three weeks in observation in the classrooms of experienced teachers, and two weeks in practical teaching under direction of a *lycée* master.

Admission to the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* is obtained by passing a stiff competitive examination, and successful candidates receive board and maintenance for a period of three years.

(b) Training in Germany

In Germany, as in France, study in a university, followed by the passing of a stiff State examination (*Staatsexamen pro facultate docendi*), are prerequisites for admission to secondary school teaching The German student spends four years in university studies, usually not all in one place, and two years in practical work in a secondary school During the latter period he and other students in training, usually to about the number of eight, form a *Seminar* within the school His choice of university studies is limited to some extent by the requirements of the *Staatsexamen* which makes compulsory for all candidates philosophy, ethics, theory of adolescence, logic and epistemology, and permits a choice of three majors (*Hauptfacher*) or three majors and one minor (*Nebenfach*) from subjects taught in secondary schools, along with a wide choice of supplementary subjects (*Zusatzfacher*) [1] Since 1925 candidates must also have had two semesters of practical training in gymnastics and athletics and two semesters of lectures on physical education.

Of the two preparatory years (*Vorbereitungsjahre*) the first is usually spent in a six-year, the second in a nine-year, school Two hours a week throughout both years are devoted to the study of professional subjects—history of education, especially of German education, methods of instruction in the subjects in which candidates hold certificates, psychology, ethics and school hygiene The rest of the time is devoted to observation and practice teaching. Participation in physical training and welfare activities is compulsory.

At the close of the second year students who have been favourably reported upon by the principal and teachers of the schools to which they have been attached, and by a secondary school inspector, are admitted to the professional examination (*Padagogische Prufung*), which is conducted by an examination committee representative of the Provincial School Board and of secondary school principals and teachers. The examination is both written and oral and is completed by each candidate teaching a thirty minutes' lesson before the committee. In passing or failing a candidate the reports of

[1] Kandel: *Comparative Education*, 1933, page 843.

school principals and teachers on his character, professional promise and teaching ability are carefully considered, along with the results of the written and oral examinations and the impression made by his specimen lesson.

Criticism and Attempted Reform of German Training

In Germany considerable criticism is levelled against the professional training provided by the *Seminare* in schools One proposal for reform suggests that the first year should be spent much as at present, but that in the second year all students in a district should be gathered into one *Seminar*, which would be virtually a training college, there to receive a more thorough professional preparation for their future work During this second year contact with the schools would be maintained by school visits and practical work. Another type of reform has been attempted in Saxony, where students before taking the *Staatsexamen* must provide evidence of having followed courses in education and child-study in the University of Leipsig, and of having attended for at least a year the practical courses in the *Praktisch-Padagogisches Seminar* attached to the Institute of Education and Child-Study in that University In these courses instruction is given in special methods and students are introduced to practical work through school visits and practice-teaching Following the academic examination candidates pass a probationary year in groups in secondary schools under the supervision of the Director of the *Praktisch-Padagogisches Seminar* This year closes with written and oral examinations and the giving of a specimen lesson ; but a further year's probation follows, during which the student must teach independently for eighteen weeks before his training is regarded as complete [1]

Students during their *Vorbereitungsjahre* in some instances receive financial aid ; in others they are assigned a number of teaching periods, for which they are paid

Regulations of the National-Socialist Government affecting Students

Since the National-Socialist Revolution various enactments affecting students as a whole have naturally affected candidates for the teaching profession. A law of April 1933 organising the Student Corporations provided that students must reach an efficient standard in defence and participate in membership of the national community through defence service (*Wehrdienst*), labour service (*Arbeitsdienst*) and physical training. Since June 24th, 1934, labour service is compulsory for all students during their first two years at the university, in addition to six months spent in such service and in *Gelandesport* between their leaving the secondary school and entering the university. There are also stringent regulations as to corporate living in fellowship houses (*Kameradsschafthauser*) which are

[1] See Dr. H Theodore Becker . " The Problem of Teacher Training : Germany, in *Educational Year Book* (Teachers College, Columbia University), pages 562–5.

designed to promote communal life and are bound to have marked effects on the type of man offering for service in the schools [1] The spirit of the German University is being changed and students of a new type are presenting themselves to be trained as teachers.

(c) Training in Italy

On its practical side the Gentile Reform of 1923 brought to an end in Italy a multiplicity of academic qualifications which admitted to teaching posts By establishing a State examination to which a great variety of degrees and diplomas give admittance, and which insists on a grouping of related subjects, Gentile hoped to eradicate the specialist master and to emphasise the integrative nature of true education Unfortunately, the Reform has resulted in a new type of specialisation based upon the needs of particular types of school, or particular forms in the same school, which makes movement of teachers among schools, and especially from one town to another, very difficult, since in order to qualify for a different grade of work, or work in a different town, teachers must sit a fresh examination

Three *Reali Istituti Superiori di Magistero* provide four-year courses of an almost purely cultural sort Education as a subject is only required of teachers of philosophy in normal schools (*istituti magistrali*), and no professional or practical training is given. As with the training of primary school teachers, in spite of the constantly expressed emphasis on the spiritual significance of the Gentile Reform, the courses give an impression of being superficial and dogmatic Even if the greater age and culture of the students, compared with those in preparation for primary school teaching, be taken into account, over-great reliance is placed on what can be effected by teachers full of enthusiasm for their subject and filled with missionary zeal for the Idealistic Philosophy.

(d) Training in Russia

Educational workers in Russia are trained either in pedagogical institutes and pedagogical faculties of universities or in higher pedagogical courses In accordance with Communist belief in making labour the integrating principle in education such institutes and faculties are given either an agricultural or an industrial bias. The period of study in both lasts, as a rule, four or five years. The higher pedagogical courses last for a year and a half, and are intended for persons who have already completed the course of some higher institution The pedagogical institutes and faculties prepare highly qualified teachers for all those types of work which in non-Communist countries would be considered as belonging to secondary education and for certain new services characteristic of the Soviet Republics. Their curricula does not differ greatly in structure from that of Training Colleges and University Training Departments in

[1] Kandel "The Making of Nazis," in *Educational Year Book* (Teachers College, Columbia University), pages 540–2.

England. Educational Theory is studied as well as professional subjects; observation-visits are paid to schools and factories, and practice-teaching in both of these is undertaken in the fourth year of training At the conclusion of all three courses students are required to submit and defend a dissertation

Students in the higher pedagogical courses are very highly selected and are mainly destined to be instructors in the *technicums*.[1]

(e) Training in the United States of America

The notable diversity in standards of certification found in the United States (to which reference has been made in dealing with the training of primary school teachers [2]) makes it difficult to give a typical and accurate account of the training provided for secondary school teachers Many prospective teachers for High Schools follow a procedure closely resembling that of English students and take a degree course in arts or science in a college—an institution often referred to as a Liberal Arts College and corresponding to the English University or University College—followed by a course in professional training in the same institution In some instances Universities have created a department to function as a Teachers College or College of Education and provide a special course for intending teachers comparable in aim to that leading to the *licence d'enseignement* in France In others there is found a more fully developed School of Education, the staff of which includes the department of Education together with representatives of other departments whose concern is with subjects which the students will afterwards teach. A like arrangement is being tried in at least one University College Training Department in England Large numbers of High School teachers, however, receive appointments without having received training of any sort, California being the only State which demands the uniform standard for all secondary school teachers of a college degree followed by one-year's pedagogical training. The difficulty involved in arranging teaching-practice for the vast numbers of students in training has already been discussed [3] as well as the costs of training as these affect students [4]

Extended "Professionalised" and Degree Courses in Teachers Colleges

The attention paid to the professionalisation of subjects studied by prospective teachers, especially by Teachers Colleges with three- and four-year courses—the latter leading to a degree—is one distinctly interesting feature of America's attempt to devise a suitable training. The four-year course at a Teachers College includes certain cultural-background courses, a group of professional courses, courses connected with the specific branch of teaching which the student intends following, and practical work. Broadly speaking,

[1] Based on Pinkevitch *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, 1930, pages 394–6

[2] *Vide, ante*, page 435 [3] *Vide ante*, page 446 [4] *Vide ante*, page 435

it resembles an English B.A. course, in which subjects with a bearing on Education are selected, combined with an extended course for a Diploma in Education Its affinities with the arrangements made for the *Staatsexamen* in Germany are obvious

A strong recommendation for such a course from an American point of view is the need for a guarantee that intending teachers possess some integrated culture and are not merely furnished with unrelated pieces of information—a danger which the elective system in the ordinary colleges makes very real [1] Universities whose Education Departments function as Teachers Colleges are obviously neglecting their true objectives in the interest of providing a professionalised course, and unless they adopt the professional standpoint the study of Education as promoted by them will tend to be defective in its professional and practical aspects. There is, therefore, much to be said, in the circumstances in which the United States finds herself, for the establishment of Teachers Colleges as alternatives to a general college degree course followed by a period of professional training The very size which such institutions are likely to attain and the variety of courses which they are likely to offer (if Teachers College, Columbia University, may be taken as an archetype) would remove in large measure the objection which attaches to Normal Schools and Training Colleges elsewhere, that they lead to the segregation of a professional caste ; and the claims of a French writer are not without significance that students of the *Ecoles Normales Supérieures* " enjoying daily intercourse with fellow-students engaged in different fields of interest " do not suffer from segregation, but are actually assisted by the system under which they are trained so as to co-operate intelligently in later life with teachers of different subjects on the staffs of the schools to which they will be appointed.[2]

(f) Training in England

In England the majority of secondary school teachers are still untrained, though the efforts of the Royal Society of Teachers (formerly the Teachers' Registration Council) to insist on training as one condition of registration, although not as yet completely successful, the work of the University Training Departments, and a general change in attitude on the part of head masters and of the public in face of the complexity of the tasks awaiting the modern teacher have all won for training increasing consideration. Students who join University Training Departments for preparation for secondary school work follow a one-year's post-graduate course (as described in outlining the course for primary school teachers). Their period of continuous practice-teaching is arranged for, as far as possible, in secondary schools. They usually possess an honours degree, and the majority take the University Diploma in Education. But, as no

[1] Jas Earl Russell *op cit*, pages 37–8

[2] " The Educational System of France," in *Educational Year Book*, Teachers College (Columbia University), 1934, page 141.

hard-and-fast distinction is made between students training for secondary and for other types of school, since it is left to Head Masters and Appointment Committees to decide on the type of degree a teacher should hold, some students who do not possess honours degrees find their way into secondary schools, especially as teachers of the lower forms—a practice which is encouraged by the Burnham Scales with their increased rate of pay for honours graduates—and some students who are honours graduates accept, either from choice or necessity, posts in " modern " or primary schools The general tendency, therefore, of the University Training Department is to make for unity in the teaching profession and to obliterate distinctions between different categories of school work that are circumstantial rather than fundamental

Besides the University Training Departments and senior to them are five Training Colleges which devote special attention to the training of secondary school teachers These are all for women, and are the outcome of efforts made by enlightened women to secure improved education for girls, which began with the founding in 1878 of the Bishopsgate Training College for Women (now the Maria Grey Training College) in London Two secondary schools also provide training, and the Cambridge Teachers' Training Syndicate, which arranges for lectures in the history, practice and theory of Education, and conducts examinations for the award of a certificate open to external students The Training College courses do not differ greatly in arrangement from those in similar institutions for primary school teachers, and include practice-teaching in schools The courses conducted within schools are under charge of mistresses of method who keep professional aims to the fore ; practice-teaching is engaged in in schools of a type in which students are likely to find employment Candidates for the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate, in addition to taking papers on Educational Theory, Psychology, History of Education and Special Subjects of the secondary school curriculum, must either have taken a course in a Training College and so have had practice in teaching, or have taught for a year in an approved secondary school In each case a harmony is attempted to be reached between the theoretical, professional and practical aims of training (The arrangements by which students receive financial assistance have been explained in a previous section.)

(g) Training in Scotland

Teachers for the lower classes in secondary schools in Scotland must receive the training required for the Teacher's General Certificate with an endorsement. The latter implies graduation from the University. (The training for this certificate has been described in the section on the training of primary school teachers) Honours graduates who have first- or second-class honours are admitted to one year's training for the Teacher's Special Certificate. The

training is partly of a general character, partly in students' specific subject or group of subjects, and observation and school-practice are arranged for, usually in local secondary schools which permit the students to teach their specialist subjects The teachers of Art, Music, Handwork, Domestic Economy, Commercial Subjects and Physical Training are all catered for under the Teacher's Technical Certificate (as already described) Students who train for the Special Certificate frequently sit the examination for the University Diploma in Education Some honours graduates, however, take both the General and Special Certificates, as the possession of the former makes them eligible for posts as Head Masters in Elementary and Advanced Division Schools

Students holding any type of certificate are required to serve two years in a probationary capacity in approved schools and to be reported upon by H M Inspectors before their certification becomes complete

TRAINING IN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

(i) Training in Canada

The training of secondary schoolmasters has held the consideration of educationists in Ontario since 1858 when a Model Grammar School was set up by that Province Like slightly later English attempts at establishing Training Colleges for men, the project proved a failure and the school was closed four years later In 1885 an Act was passed setting apart five Collegiate Institutes as training institutions for assistant masters of High Schools, and four such institutes were opened They remained in service till 1890, when the Provincial School of Pedagogy was established at Toronto. Until 1896 this school lacked proper practice facilities, and, in order to secure these, in the latter year it was affiliated with the Hamilton Collegiate Institute as the Ontario Normal College, which in 1907 handed over its functions to the University of Toronto [1] If this evolution may be taken as typical of what is likely to occur in other provinces the tendency in secondary school training in Canada would appear to point in the direction of English precedent rather than American and to prefigure acceptance of University influence in teacher-training rather than that of the professionalised Teachers College.[2]

(ii) Training in Australia

(*a*) *New South Wales*

In New South Wales prospective teachers for High Schools either take a four-year concurrent course which includes graduation at

[1] Based mainly on Melvin *op cit*, pages 49, 55, 59 and 63

[2] See YEAR BOOK, 1935, page 53, where official support is given to the view that Ontario is to be "guided by educational experience in England, Scotland and the Scandinavian countries," rather than by that of other parts of the North American continent

the University, or a three-year course at the Teachers College following two years spent in the University A few honours graduates, chiefly in Science, receive a fifth year of training [1]

(*b*) *Victoria*

In Victoria, owing to special arrangements by which certain schools, placed by the University of Melbourne in " Class A," are permitted to certify their pupils as fit for University work, in *lieu* of the latter sitting the examinations conducted by the University which replace a matriculation examination, the scholarship and professional training of teachers for secondary schools has become a matter of great importance. By an act of the State Parliament passed in 1905 all secondary school teachers must possess the Diploma of Education of the University of Melbourne, so that for the past thirty years the secondary school teachers of Victoria have all received professional training within the University The course for the Diploma of Education is either a post-graduate one, or one taken (as in New South Wales) after at least two years spent on an Arts or a Science degree course [2] Since 1910 the practical part of the training has been carried out in the institution known as the University High School, which is specially staffed by lecturers in methods of teaching in addition to teachers of the ordinary form subjects of secondary schools [3]

(*c*) *Queensland*

Training for secondary school teaching in Queensland is carried on along with other types of training in the Teachers College University studies may be taken in addition to the training course, which for historical reasons lays more emphasis on professional study than on the possession of academic distinctions

Value of Australian Teachers Colleges

Peculiar conditions in Australia have made the Teachers Colleges a very valuable asset, so that training conducted entirely, or almost entirely, under their influence must not be assumed to be in any way inferior to or less desirable than training associated with university institutions elsewhere.

(iii) Training in New Zealand

New Zealand, with her strong English tradition, has long neglected training prospective teachers for her High Schools, which strongly resemble the English Grammar School Mr Frank Tate, in the course of his Report on " Certain Aspects of Post-Primary Education in New Zealand " (issued in 1925), made a vigorous plea for the immediate introduction of a sound system of training teachers

[1] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1933, page 13
[2] *Educational Department, New Zealand Special Reports*, No. 16, 1925, pages 16–18
[3] *Victorian Year Book*, 1932–3, page 188.

for secondary schools. The professional part of such training, he held, " should not be given until the student-teachers have graduated, and have completed their courses in the subjects they are to teach," since to allow divided interests between degree work and professional training, as has been found in different countries in the experience of Training Colleges where primary school teachers are concerned, leads to professional training being given the subordinate place [1] The same investigator believed that special secondary practising-schools should be set up—on the model of the University High School in Victoria—as he had found from experience that it is " essential that the instruction given in the lecture-room should be followed up by practice supervised and directed by expert masters and mistresses of method " who keep in touch with the Teachers College staff [2]

The difficulty of combining such professional and practical training with university courses in Education in New Zealand has been alluded to in recording the provisions made for training primary school teachers, as well as other difficulties which for the present prevent an adequate solution of the Dominion's teacher-training problems.

(iv) Training in the Union of South Africa

Outside of the Transvaal Province the training of teachers for secondary schools in the Provinces of the Union of South Africa is carried on partly in University Departments of Education, partly in Normal Colleges. A three-year course of training, the first year of which is spent on general degree-course subjects, the remaining years in an Education Department, qualifies for secondary school teaching, and such universities as Capetown and Stellenbosch make excellent provision for the practice-teaching of their students. Special five-year courses provided jointly by the University Colleges and Normal Colleges lead via a third-year degree in arts or science to the M Ed degree, which is recognised as a professional qualification Students who have graduated in arts or science are eligible for professional training in Education Departments The special provisions made by the Transvaal Province for the recently created Teacher's Diploma have been outlined already in describing the training of teachers for primary schools and their significance made plain.

Criticism of Teacher-Training for Secondary Schools

The main criticism usually levelled in England against training courses designed for secondary school teachers is that they stress theory to the detriment of professional study of the subjects afterwards to be taught and neglect practice-teaching But, taking a wide view of the provisions made for training, this criticism can hardly be said to hold. The French magnify scholarship and intel-

[1] *Op cit*, pages 42–3 [2] *Ibid*, page 43.

lectual proficiency ; the Germans insist on a thorough acquaintance with the aims and practices of class-teaching ; the Italians stress the philosophic outlook of the teacher ; the Russians, indeed, make much of educational theory, but so do they also of psychology and sociology, and they have established a close contact with the labour activity of the community , the Americans are increasingly interested in the professionalisation of training ; and the British Dominions, when they are not more or less imitating English procedure, are experimenting with courses which meet their peculiar needs Against whom, then, is the criticism levelled ? Apparently against England herself, with her attempts to combine in a one-year, or at most two-year, course a study of the principles of Education with professional study of subjects to be taught and a certain amount of practice , against Scotland, with her somewhat similar courses ; and against such of the Dominions and such places in the United States as conduct courses on the English model The criticism referred to is largely an English criticism of English procedure, and when teacher-training in other countries is examined it would appear that the weakness in the English system of training lies in the endeavour made in a brief period of time to strike a balance among those interests and activities to which the attention of the prospective teacher should be directed ; the weakness of Continental systems of training lies in the emphasis laid on a particular interest or prescribed interests and activities The latter weakness has at all times been very clear in the case of French insistence on sound scholarship , it may become equally apparent in other fields in Germany in the future American professionalisation of training, though less open to criticism, is akin to the " technicalisation " of all human activities after which Russia is striving Such a system is in danger of attaining efficiency at the expense of developing personality, and may end by producing a race of doers but failing to produce men and women There is something terrifying about the statement of Pokrowsky, the historian of Soviet Russia, that " personality is only the apparatus through which history works "— an apparatus which it may yet be possible to produce artificially [1] ; but the statement is also a reminder of the old scholastic maxim that *like begets like*, and that *men* if they will not train *men* will more and more be regarded as *machines* to make *machines*.

Growing Recognition of the " Inwardness " of True Teacher-Training

In the British countries, however, one is conscious of an inherent recognition that neither in theory nor in practice, neither in insisting on scholarship nor in professionalising the subjects of the school curriculum, is the best training of teachers to be found, but in something much more intangible and difficult to provide for—in a species of life and experience closely related to the variegated needs and activities of mankind, and which institutions can do much to

[1] Based upon Keyserling *Europe, editio cit* , page 174, footnote, quoting from Fulöp-Miller.

foster but can never wholly give. And along with this recognition, in these countries, is found a desire to use such types of institution, and so to reshape existing institutions, as may best serve the purpose of education conceived in this way.

To this point of view other countries are coming more slowly, and in some instances with difficulty But from the German insistence on " blood and soil," as from the Italian plea for " spiritual activity," or the New Zealand demand for revised curricula to suit the changing economic conditions of the present, the same conception emerges—that education must concern itself with that which is vital, creative, significant, and that the training of teachers, however given, must prepare men capable of transmitting to the young a sense of reality

Conclusion

When Education is regarded as a life, the training of those who are to initiate the young into it will be thought of primarily as a widening and deepening of their own experience of life It will not be necessary any longer (to adapt a striking parable of Derwent Coleridge) to grow only such apples as will make cider for the country people , one may freely encourage " golden pippins and nonpareils " [1]

At the present time all countries are not ready to welcome this change in outlook Critics are bound to ask . What are its cultural, pedagogical and social implications ? For the first men are slowly realising that culture is a many-faceted thing , and to insist on the teacher's being a cultured man is simply to assert the supremacy of Value without determining " to what favour she must come." For the second . it is now recognised universally that the immediate tasks of teaching must be interpreted in terms of life, that all of them are highly particularised and yet must be so related to the general purpose of education as to secure integration of personality. For the last the improvement in social status of the teacher of all grades cannot be attributed to his own efforts to achieve recognition of the teaching profession as one—a major, but unattained, objective of German primary school teachers in the years immediately following 1918 ; nor is it due to any heightened recognition of his usefulness on the part of the community But it is the direct outcome of the two previous tendencies. The teacher is becoming increasingly a cultured man and a skilled man ; he is no longer a pedant and an empiric, but has become a trained man whose self-respect is reflected in the increased respect accorded him It is a saying of an Alexandrian Father, repeated by an English seventeenth-century divine, that " Christ is not *Magister scholæ* but *Magister vitæ* "—not a schoolmaster but Master of Life ; and, for the future, every teacher must to the best of his ability imitate this rôle.

W. Fraser Mitchell.

[1] *The Teachers of the People*, 1862, pages 17–18, quoted Rich . *op. cit* , page 110.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TRAINING OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN FRANCE

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1935, *pages* 819–38; 1933, *pages* 724–32)

Introduction

IN the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1932, M Ch -M Garnier, Inspecteur-Général de l'Instruction Publique, dealt with the general organisation of public education in France, and then in 1933 the special characteristics, the syllabuses, methods and spirit of secondary education, as provided by the French *Lycées* and *Collèges* In this chapter I shall refer only to a few of the points he has dealt with, in order to amplify them, by explaining in greater detail how secondary school teachers, masters as well as mistresses, are prepared, trained and chosen, dwelling particularly on the part played by the Ecole Normale Supérieure, an aspect which Monsieur Garnier did not cover

In one sense the Ecole Normale Supérieure, as well as the special classes in the *Lycées* which prepare for it, may not appear to play an essential part in the various stages leading to the status of teacher The steps which can, or should, be taken by the future teacher are, after the *Baccalauréat*, the *Licence*, the *Agrégation* and the *Doctorat*, and all these qualifications may be worked for and obtained by any student passing directly from a *Lycée* into the *Facultés* However, in actual fact, the majority of intending teachers, and generally the best of them, undertake some years of study after the *baccalauréat* in the special classes of the great *Lycées* and then attempt the entrance examination to the Ecole Normale It is this method of entering the field of secondary and higher education that I shall deal with first, before dealing with the *Licence* and the *Agrégation*

Types of Ecoles Normales

But it may first be necessary to make it quite clear with which Ecole Normale we are concerned, for the name—even that of Ecole Normale Supérieure—is applied in France to very different institutions There are, as a general rule, two Ecoles Normales in each Département, one for men and one for women, in which the primary school teachers are trained [1]; there are also two Ecoles Normales Supérieures de l'Enseignement Primaire for the training of those who will teach in the Ecoles Normales, and who form a distinct group. The students in these two colleges are selected by competitive examination from the whole of France, principally from the departmental Ecoles Normales, and receive a two-years' course of

[1] Cf Garnier, YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1932, pages 827 et seq.

very advanced training from teachers chosen from the secondary schools and University institutions; for men, this is the Ecole Normale de Saint Cloud; for women, the Ecole de Fontenay aux Roses The recently established branch of technical instruction (cf. Garnier, YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1932, pages 832 sqq) has also an Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris itself, which trains teachers for the different Ecoles Pratiques, Commerciales, Industrielles, etc. To meet the demand for secondary schoolmistresses, there is an Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, situated since its foundation in 1881 in the neighbourhood of Paris, at Sèvres: its former students retain the name of *Sèvriennes*; I shall come back to this later Finally, there is in Paris the Ecole Normale Supérieure in the true sense of the term, which was originally founded under the name of the Ecole Normale de Paris by the Convention in 1795, and has existed for nearly a century under its present name in the rue d'Ulm, on the "Mount of Ste Geneviève," near the Panthéon, around which are also grouped the Sorbonne and the *Facultés*, the Ecole Polytechnique, and some of the oldest Paris *Lycées*. It is with this school that this chapter will deal, under the style of the Ecole Normale [1]

It is an institution peculiar to our country. by reason of the scientific, literary and social influence which it has exercised for more than a century, it has won its right to a place in any exact and complete history of France of to-day But from the University and pedagogic point of view, it derives its importance not only from having trained the greater number of the scholars occupying the principal posts in secondary schools and universities, but also from the fact that almost all those who follow the teaching profession have intended to study there, have taken courses with this end in view, or at least have had as their colleagues, fellow-candidates and rivals, former students who have passed through it: directly or indirectly, it has had an influence of prime importance on the entire University system Before defining its complex aims and the part it plays, I shall explain how its students are recruited and prepared for admission.

Les classes de Spéciales et de Première supérieure

When a *bachelier* leaves school, about the age of 17, he may at once register at a *Faculté* of Science or Arts and start preparing for his *Licence* certificate: this is done by a number of young men, and even more by girls. But, in general, these young people acquire only a very limited amount of knowledge and lack the depth of culture which is necessary to success in the higher branches of study. Further, preparation for the *Licence*, as it is organised to-day (I

[1] Concise information may be found in an excellent little book, recently published, *L'Ecole Normale Supérieure D'où elle vient, où elle va*, documents collected by C. Bouglé, and published by the Société des Amis de l'E.N.S. —Paris, Hachette, s.d. (1934). A bibliography is included.

shall return to this later), tends to encourage them at once to specialise, without providing them with a wider general culture The *Facultés*, which have felt and recognised this difficulty, do indeed try to make the transition from secondary to higher education easier for these beginners, by instituting certain courses or classes which form a kind of introduction to higher studies ; but the large number of students and the full liberty accorded to them by the French Universities do not make such measures easy and restrict their efficacy Then, a large number of young people—their number has increased steadily during the past twenty years—prefer to remain at school in the first place, in the special higher classes established with a view to training pupils for the Grandes Ecoles there they receive over a period of several years (generally two, sometimes three, and in exceptional cases four, years) a course of general culture, with either a literary or a scientific bias, and it is only when this course has been completed that intending teachers take the entrance examination of the Ecole Normale, and, whether successful or not, begin work at the Universities for the degrees which they must have These classes, which are only to be found in the most important lycées, are called in the case of Science *Mathematiques Spéciales*, generally subdivided into *Spéciales Préparatoires* (first year) and *Spéciales* in the real sense of the word : and for Arts *Premières Supérieures* subdivided in the largest *Lycées* into *Première Supérieure Préparatoire* (first year) and *Première Supérieure*, in schoolboy slang—and often by the masters too, for it is catching—the first are called *Les Taupes* and the second *Les Khagnes*, the pupils being *taupins* and *khagneux* These classes are usually very flourishing the number of students often makes it necessary to duplicate or even triplicate them ; the colony of candidates for the Grandes Ecoles in certain great lycées sometimes numbers a population of 400 or 500 young people between the ages of 18 and 21, most often holders of scholarships, and most of them boarders (for they come from all over France). This gives these *lycées* a very different appearance from that of ordinary secondary schools.

The Mathématiques Spéciales

The *Mathématiques Spéciales* are an institution of many years' standing . they provide at the same time preparation for the Ecole Polytechnique (chiefly a military school for engineers and artillery officers) and for the scientific section of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, the syllabuses for the entrance examinations of these two establishments being almost identical, and so making this common preparation possible . a good many pupils sit for both examinations, and in the case of a double success, choose whichever they prefer. There exist also separate though similar preparatory courses for the other Grandes Ecoles, in which scientific culture plays a more or less important part, as in the case of the Ecole Centrale (engineers), the Ecole de Saint-Cyr (infantry and cavalry

officers), the Ecole Navale (naval officers), the Institut Agronomique, the Ecole Coloniale, etc. But it is only in *Mathématique Spéciales* that there is provided that fundamental training in advanced mathematics which is indispensable to all who wish to pursue the study of this science and to acquire capacity for carrying on independent research The syllabus of these classes includes important branches of algebra, analysis and analytical geometry, some mechanics and much descriptive geometry, in addition it includes physics, chemistry, freehand and geometrical drawing, a little French and modern languages The instruction, at least in the case of the mathematics, is in the hands of specially chosen teachers who form a kind of special group among the teachers of mathematics, and who devote themselves entirely to these classes and enjoy considerable material advantages Numerous individual oral examinations, called *les colles*, form an integral part of the course They are conducted not by the class teachers, but by teachers belonging to academic institutions or to other secondary schools, and thus tend to stimulate and control the work of the students As the latter do not usually enter these classes unless they have shown real scientific aptitude in the course of their ordinary secondary school work, and since they are spurred on by the hope of an early and brilliant success which will decide their whole career, the work thus achieved is generally energetic and well sustained, sometimes almost beyond the strength of the more delicate students the danger of overwork is ever present, and experienced teachers are constantly on the watch for it.

The Premières Supérieures

The *Premières Supérieures* present similar characteristics, but the freer spirit and more general nature of literary studies and a degree of concentration still more marked give these classes a unique appearance Whilst the *Mathématiques Spéciales* are relatively numerous (they are to be found in most of the Paris *lycées* and in most of the large provincial towns), the *Premières Supérieures* exist only in four or five provincial *lycées* and in four Paris *lycées* (they flourish particularly at Louis-le-Grand and at Henri IV); they therefore attract pupils from all parts of France, who have generally a record of brilliant work at secondary schools under different teachers, and who each, with their different outlook, introduce a new note, thus creating a singularly diverse, ardent and lively group. Up to quite a recent date, candidates for the *Lettres* section of the Ecole Normale did not follow a special preparatory course: they simply passed again, under the name of *Vétérans*, through one of the two last-year secondary classes, Rhetoric (called to-day *la Première*, since the name Rhetoric came to sound somewhat derogatory to many modern ears) or Philosophy: mixing with the ordinary pupils, the *Vétérans* certainly provided an impulse and interest very beneficial to the best of the *nouveaux*, but their presence sometimes

occupied rather too much of the teacher's attention, to the detriment of the majority of the class, and, above all, they themselves were obliged to repeat or to continue far too long exercises that they had already done and which were not specially designed for them Accordingly, about forty years ago, at the time when Rhetoric was rechristened to mark a reaction against too verbal and formal a system of education, it was decided to accede to the request, put forward in the name of the Ecole Normale by one of its most eminent directors, the historian Fustel de Coulanges, and create in a small number of schools under the name of *Premières Supérieures* classes reserved exclusively to the former *Vétérans*, that is, composed of students who had already passed the *Baccalauréat* These classes were entrusted to specially chosen teachers, from whom was required only a reduced number of hours of teaching, so that they could devote themselves to the preparation of their lessons and to the correction of homework, a particularly difficult and heavy task, owing to the number and quality of the students and the type of teaching necessary here Two teachers, of whom one is entirely responsible for Greek and the other for French, share the Latin teaching, another is in charge of philosophy, another of history, each of the four giving six hours a week to his teaching in the largest *Premières Supérieures* in Paris , a shorter time is devoted to the study of modern languages, and special teachers of English and German are attached to the *Premières Supérieures* in the principal Paris *lycées*. One cannot regard the *Premières Supérieures* as really forming part of *l'enseignement supérieur*, because specialisation is avoided here and the main concern is to make all the branches of study contribute to general culture , but this culture is developed as far as possible, and far above the level usually attainable in the ordinary secondary schools Without being tied to any special syllabus (in the case of history, however, study has been limited in recent years to certain periods of ancient history, the Greco-Roman civilisation, to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to contemporary history), the teachers in *Premières Supérieures* choose freely what subjects they take, the texts they will study, the written and oral work they will set the students . without losing sight of the entrance examination to the Ecole Normale, they encourage their pupils to explore the realms of thought in all directions, help them to develop their personalities, to acquire the art of reflection, of composition and of writing. These classes have sometimes been reproached for prolonging to excess the period of formal and more or less artificial exercises for able young people ; it is possible that in some cases pupils who are thus retarded acquire a certain disposition towards pedantry, verbal conceits and subtlety. But when the class is well conducted and alive, the results obtained are brilliant, and the atmosphere produced is unique. The pupils derive a lasting benefit from a thorough grounding in method, culture and reasoning, and acquire a taste for intellectual life and a sense of its directive power.

Entrance Examination for Ecole Normale Supérieure

At the end of their years of *Spéciales* or *Premières Supérieures* the students, who have sometimes found means of entering one of the *Facultés* and of passing one or two of their *Licence* certificates, enter for the entrance examination of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, which, since 1904, is at the same time the examination for the *Licence* scholarships The number of candidates for this combined examination has been for some time very high, and does not show any signs of diminishing During the past few years about 350 candidates entered for the literary section and 300 for the scientific section The examination consists first of written tests : for the literary section all candidates must write a French essay, a philosophical dissertation, an historical essay, a Latin unseen, a Greek unseen, or for a few candidates not taking Greek, an essay in a foreign language, English, German, Italian or Spanish The candidates in the scientific section are divided into three groups, which, besides three papers common to all (a philosophical essay, a Latin unseen and translation from a modern foreign language), have also in the first group two mathematical and one physics paper, in the second a mathematical, a physics and a natural science paper, and in the third papers in physics, chemistry and natural science Further, candidates admitted to the oral examination must pass even more numerous tests, which are held in public, as are all French examinations, competitive or not, and consist of an exposition by the candidate of some subject, text or question chosen by lot, followed by questions by the examiners In the literary section, the chief tests, written and oral, are marked by two examiners Finally, the twenty-eight or thirty placed first in the classification in the literary section and the first twenty in the scientific section are accepted as students at the Ecole Normale ; the thirty or forty placed next on each list receive *licence* bursaries at provincial Universities There are no *boursiers de licence* in Paris, or, more correctly, these are the *normaliens* who receive, as well as a very modest annual grant, the right to spend three years (or in certain sections, four years) as internal students at the Ecole in the rue d'Ulm There is no doubt that in an examination of this kind, in spite of all precautions, there are surprises and accidents ; candidates who are quite as good as the successful ones are sometimes forced to accomplish their University career without passing through the Ecole Normale, especially if they have been discouraged by a first check, and try shorter ways round. But the young people who are admitted have undergone a solid preparation and have been very carefully selected,[1] and usually bring with them serious guarantees of knowledge, culture or talent. What are they looking for and what will they find ?

[1] The proportion admitted to the Ecole Normale these last few years has been about 8 5 per cent in the literary section, and about 7 5 per cent in the scientific section At the Ecole Polytechnique the proportion accepted is about 15 per cent.

The "Ecole Normale Supérieure"

The prestige of the Grandes Ecoles has, for more than a century, been considerable in France, and in particular that enjoyed in intellectual circles by the Ecole Normale, periodically revived as it is by criticisms, skits or attacks which are never entirely absent This explains why it appears such a desirable aim to numbers of intelligent and industrious young people In the course of its short history, the Ecole Normale has from time to time won brilliant successes in very different spheres Cousin, Taine, Pasteur, Fustel de Coulanges, Jaurès, Bergson all passed through it Furthermore, the University, as formerly the Church, is patronised not so much by reason of its real function, but because it offers in present-day society the least unfavourable conditions for a life devoted to intellectual pursuits And for those destined for the higher branches of teaching, the Ecole Normale constitutes not always the shortest means of entry, but certainly the most honoured, and the most sure and advantageous

It is not very easy to explain in a small space what exactly the Ecole Normale is Monsieur Bouglé, in the little work mentioned above, sets himself specifically to reply, by facts and documents, to "many questions on this subject which are asked not only by our colleagues in other lands, but also by many of our fellow-countrymen Is the Ecole Normale a *Faculté*? Is it an Institute of Education? Or is it nothing more than a hall of residence, a kind of *Cité Universitaire*?" It is a little of all these things, but more besides Without changing its name or its essential aims, it has, moreover, developed to a notable extent Right up to the end of the nineteenth century it was a residential college for young men, subjected to a discipline which at one time was rather strict, and which gradually became milder, a complete organisation sufficient unto itself, with its *maîtres de conférence* attached exclusively to the school, and dispensing all the instruction which was considered necessary for the student; but on the scientific side, and then on the literary side, it began by degrees to broaden its outlook on the world in general, first to tolerate, then to encourage the students to attend the Sorbonne and the Collège de France In 1903 it passed through a crisis · for reasons of simplification and economy (these at least were the ostensible grounds) the Ecole was officially attached to the Université de Paris, it kept its civil personality, its situation, its method of selecting its pupils, and its own budget, but the permanent employment of *maîtres de conférence* was abolished; the instruction given at the Sorbonne by the Professors of the *Facultés* of Arts and Science had to suffice for the *normaliens*, who simply became 'le groupe des étudiants de l'Université de Paris qui se destinent à la fonction de l'enseignement'"[1] Naturally, the old disciplinary régime which no longer suited the *étudiants* had to disappear, the *surveillants* of former days became the *secrétaires* (they

[1] Bouglé, *op cit*, page 16.

continued, it is true, to be known as *caimans*) ; the students could be day students as well as boarders ; women could be admitted, at first under the title of *boursières d'études*, then as *élèves externes*. But soon things worked out so that the Ecole regained much of its traditional aspect, which it had, indeed, never entirely lost Just after the War, an *enseignement complémentaire* was reorganised inside the Ecole, and, as had been the case under the constitution of 1903, the professors of the Sorbonne under the title of *délégués temporaires* gradually became in fact the *maîtres de conférence* of former days. Residence was again recognised as the normal régime of the Ecole, with places for only a few external students, and among these even for a few women admitted as supernumeraries when they passed the Ecole's examination The *caimans* became again *surveillants*, but the constitution of 1920 provides that " students have the right to go out freely at any time ; they themselves are responsible for their hours of work and of rest " Changes were undertaken of which some were important and were hotly discussed, but which did not abolish, or even essentially change, the main features of the Ecole

Status of Teaching Staff

The Ecole Normale is not, and has never been, a *Faculté*. a *Faculté* confers degrees and offers to numbers of students, and to an unlimited public, instruction bearing on all branches of learning. But the teachers of the Ecole Normale have always been considered of academic standing , it is certainly higher education, that is, specialised individual instruction, directed by the wisest critical methods and carried as far as possible, that has been for long years given there Moreover, from the very purpose of the school, the aim has always been to enable the students to pass the *licence* and the *agrégation* But since the Ecole only accepts students of high quality, few in number and living together, they are of necessity subdivided into quite small specialised groups preparing for different *agrégations*, and so the instruction has always retained a more or less intimate and familiar character, implying constant co-operation between students and teachers. This relationship is reflected in the traditional life of the teachers : they are *maîtres de conférence*—the term in no way implying, as in the *Facultés*, an inferior position of a beginner waiting for a University chair ; usually they do not give formal dogmatic instruction, but converse, discuss, correct, stimulate and, above all, aim at provoking fruitful efforts in reflection and independent research. Fustel de Coulanges wrote in 1884 : " It is oral discussion which gives the Ecole its vitality and force. It is this characteristic more than any other which has assured the continual presence of a spirit of criticism and independence which has carried it through the years, without corrupting any of its traditions." [1] For some years past the work of the professors has been supplemented, in the same spirit, by

[1] Bouglé : *op cit.*, page 47.

agrégés-répétiteurs: two or three old students who have attained brilliant success in the *agrégation* themselves remain at the Ecole for a few years, and, whilst carrying on their own work, act as guides and pace-makers to their young comrades in still more simple and intimate discussions It is true that, since the War, the Ecole has opened its doors to a small number of Sorbonne students who are allowed to profit by the instruction given in the rue d'Ulm: but except for certain courses leading directly to the *agrégation*, open to all candidates for this examination, the number of those from outside allowed to follow the internal classes, styled preparatory, is limited, and the students are chosen in such a way that the work in common retains the special qualities which it had before and must preserve.

Aim of the Ecole

At the Ecole the aim is, above all, to train pupils to work. A director, an assistant director—the one literary and the other scientific—are both lodged in the building, ready to give advice to all without losing the authority demanded by their position. only men with a high university reputation are chosen to fill such posts

For the science section, though the actual courses which are held at the Sorbonne or at the rue d'Ulm are open to all candidates, the students find at the Ecole itself laboratories where they can work and live without interruption, important material alterations are in hand for enlarging and modernising these laboratories, but, as in the time when such men as Pasteur and Sainte-Claire Deville worked there, there are still a corps of eminent professors, surrounded by young *agrégés préparateurs* who are carrying out personal researches, teaching by example and advice the practice of experimental science. I make no particular mention of the pure mathematicians, freed from all these material conditions, who find at the Ecole the traditions and influence of an *école mathématique française* which has never ceased to be active and honoured. A notable publication, the *Annales scientifiques de l'Ecole Normale*, records the principal results of all these researches.

For the literary side, the intellectual centre of the Ecole is its library, formed partly by gifts and legacies (in particular, it inherited the extensive personal library of Cuvier) and containing from the beginning a rich collection of classical and historical works, it contained in 1878 about 60,000 volumes—to-day it contains more than 500,000. Lucien Herr, a great man whose moral and intellectual qualities exercised a profound influence on many generations of *normaliens*, was Director of this library from 1888 until his death in 1926, and succeeded in making it, as Charles Andler said, "le plus puissant instrument de culture générale supérieure qu'il y ait en France"[1] What distinguishes it from almost all other libraries open to a large public is that the pupils are at home there: a librarian and an assistant librarian with a single clerk are in attend-

[1] Bouglé: *op cit.*, page 73.

ance to help beginners by teaching them to make use of the admirable resources they have to their hand At almost all hours of the day one can see students there, perched on high ladders, exploring for themselves the somewhat dusty shelves, turning pages, choosing and noting what books they wish to take away. The loss that may sometimes result from this régime of entire freedom appears negligible in comparison with the advantages of a high order which it ensures . it is there that generations of young men have learnt how much one can extract from books when one knows how to seek, find, compare and judge Of all the literary students who have passed through the Ecole there are very few who do not recall with special gratitude what they owe to the library, and the old pupils continue to frequent it, not only from habit, and use, but in a spirit of familiar piety.

Esprit Normalien

Added to the instruction of the teachers and books, there is the mutual education, perhaps even more important, which results not only from work in common, but from the continual contact of young and different minds, which the ardour of youth and the inspiration of their surroundings incite to long talks and passionate discussions Nothing at the Ecole recalls the luxury of the great English colleges, nor even the elegance and comfort of our own young Cité Universitaire It is an old house, poorly furnished, somewhat old-fashioned, and rather like a monastery decorated with old plaster casts and busts of great men ; the inner courtyard has a fountain in the centre, and a tiny garden offers the shade of a few chestnut trees . there is no space for games (though there is one tennis court) or for solitude Opportunities are found, however, for private study in the midst of an ardent community life. For their studies, the students have tiny rooms, called *les turnes*, where groups of students, formed by mutual attraction, of four or five during the first two years, and in groups of two during the third, the year specially devoted to preparation for the *agrégation*, and there, side by side, pursue sometimes very different branches of study. The *vie des turnes* plays a great part in the Ecole Normale. Through every period, even in the distant time when discipline was very strict, there has always been this chance of discursive talk; meetings over cups of tea or coffee, prepared simply with whatever facilities the *turnes* afforded, were often held, and prolonged far into the night, and by some miracle work did not suffer. It is there, perhaps, that the *esprit normalien* is born and draws its breath, drawn from a universal curiosity, passionate discussion, sharp criticism, enthusiasm often more or less feigned, and never lacking in tolerance and liberalism, all this intensified—or corrected—by a kind of oblique irony, irresponsible nonsense, which sometimes in its extreme form, and on great occasions, becomes the *canular*, that is, a learned and subtle hoax. Mutual consideration is not the rule here, but nevertheless not only comradeship, but friendship is

firmly founded in these somewhat superheated surroundings. When one thinks of the energy shown by the *normaliens* in the Great War,[1] and of the diversity of tasks of which they showed themselves capable, one must believe that this intensity of spiritual life does not rob the character of every practical virtue.

The Place of Pedagogical Study

The place of pure pedagogical study in this home of future teachers may seem somewhat limited, especially if one thinks of the pedagogic seminaries of some foreign countries It must be admitted that there exists in France, at least in the centres of higher, and perhaps even more of secondary education, a certain mistrust of these practical hints, and of too meticulous initiation into the humble and necessary work of the classroom The French ambition is to ensure for secondary education its effectiveness and influence through the intellectual and moral authority of highly cultivated teachers, fit to serve as examples, and in one sense superior to their functions Pedagogy, like morality, is in a measure regarded as one of the natural consequences of experience and of literary or scientific training, that is, of the broadening of intelligence, of the training of the critical faculty, and of the development of a sense of values It is our belief that by making men of these young folk, we follow the best way of preparing them for the educator's task But even though pedagogy, in the narrow sense of the word, encounters a certain disdain on the part of many teachers and some instinctive repugnance from nearly all the students, the Ecole Normale does not consider it any the less essential to prepare its pupils for their profession as teachers All the instruction given them is based on intelligence and the practice of strict critical methods, without which no higher studies worthy of the name can be imagined to-day, and which are necessary to secondary education as we understand it ; further, all the exercises required of them aim at training them to work, to expound and to teach Moreover, for *normaliens*, as for all other candidates, preparation for the *agrégation* includes pedagogical classes which are conducted, in each separate branch, by the most highly qualified teachers, and are compulsory : their object is to provide all the information that science can furnish or experience suggest, to criticise condemned methods, to expound the best means of translation, of exposition, etc Further, a five weeks' course of teaching practice is compulsory ; generally in their second year at the Ecole Normale the students are sent out in groups of two or three to various *lycées* and attached to certain teachers, chosen for their experience and their high standing ; for the first three weeks they merely observe lessons conducted by several of these teachers, studying and comparing the methods employed ;

[1] Out of 800 volunteers from the Ecole Normale, 239 were killed ; the three most recent " promotions " have lost almost exactly half their numbers. No other of the Grandes Ecoles has suffered losses as heavy in proportion.

then, for two weeks, and under the direction of one of them, they take the teacher's place, conduct the classes, question the pupils, correct the homework, etc . . . The teacher with whom the last stage is spent draws up a report on the results of this test, and this is included in the record of each candidate for the *agrégation*.

The End of the Course

At the end of their years at the Ecole Normale—which number three or four according to the section, and which, in the case of modern languages, include a year in the foreign country—all the students sit for the competitive examination for the *agrégation* (they have usually passed their *licence* during their first year and the *diplôme d'études supérieures* in the course of their second) They leave the Ecole then and several ways are open to them

In most cases, they have first to do their military service : for two years they have followed at the Ecole itself and under the direction of officers, special courses of military preparation, comprising theoretic instruction and practical exercises in barracks ; they are then attached as sub-lieutenants to the military training schools, and spend one year, some (usually the scientific students) at the Ecole d'Artillerie de Metz, the others at the Ecole d'Infanterie de Saint-Maixent After that, or immediately on leaving in the case of students who have done their military service before entering the school, or are excused from it, they are as a general rule appointed as teachers in *lycees* Some of them, however, find means of carrying on at once with more advanced studies of different kinds ; one or two from the Arts section who have already more or less specialised in archæology or philology are admitted as students of the Ecole d'Athenes or of the Ecole de Rome ; a few more who remain at the Ecole itself as *agrégés répétiteurs* or *agrégés préparateurs*, or who are accepted by the Fondation Thiers, may carry on with a piece of work begun in their years at the Ecole, which will later—sometimes very much later—become an important thesis for the doctorate , others, specially since the War, are appointed as professors, lecturers or assistants in the Universities, or in *lycées* abroad ; up to the present, there are several who have been appointed to the Ecole de l'Extrême Orient But nearly always after the lapse of this preliminary period, which rarely lasts more than five or six years, they must, like the majority of their companions, start teaching in French secondary schools, where many of them will spend their whole career, and whence a certain number will pass sooner or later to academic positions.

Subsequent Careers of Students

There are at the present time a certain number of defaulters : one obstinate story, exploited in certain circles, leads one to believe that the Ecole leads anywhere but to teaching, and that the *normaliens* escape as soon as they can into politics or into journalism, as a start. It is true that there is nothing of life imprisonment about the French

university, and that, where circumstances have been favourable, certain distinguished *normaliens* have lent distinction to Parliament, the Church, Diplomacy, Finance, Industry and the most unexpected professions; the League of Nations at Geneva absorbs a fairly large number of them, young and old A cardinal, a bishop and several priests have been at the Ecole Normale; it has given leaders to the principal French political parties, for example, Monsieur Edouard Herriot, two contemporary authors, brought to the fore by their novels and plays, Monsieur Giraudoux and Monsieur Jules Romains, have retained, it is said, the mark of the Ecole, the present French ambassador in Berlin, Monsieur François-Poncet, presides, according to the true *normalien* tradition, over the young society of the Amis de l'Ecole Normale. But though brilliant exceptions such as these cannot fail to attract the attention, statistics nevertheless prove that teaching remains the most normal and most usual career · out of 1,700 names which appear in the *Annuaire de l'Association des Anciens Elèves*, one finds in round figures that 400 belong to university education, nearly 800 to secondary education, 80 to university administration, 130 teach abroad or in the colonies or in various other positions; altogether only 50 remain to fill official posts in other Government Departments than the national educational service, and about 200, that is, less than 12½ per cent, adopt professions outside Government service Thus the university allows a certain number of *normaliens* to escape, without letting the Ecole Normale cease to fulfil its essential function of a university seminary, whence the higher and secondary branches of education recruit a very large proportion of their members

As we have seen, the Ecole Normale confers no degree, and no title, as qualification to any office whatever Hardly any instruction to be had there is the unique privilege of its students It does not even offer the attraction of elegant and comfortable surroundings It owes all its reputation to the severe competition which in general allows only the *élite*, already trained in the *Premières Supérieures*, to enter, and to the conditions and traditions which make it an eminently favourable centre for intellectual life By its entrance examination it fixes to some extent the high level which secondary instruction must reach in its upper classes. By sending each year small groups of trained and well-prepared candidates for the *agrégation* examination, it makes its contribution to the maintenance of the standard of the teaching profession Its old pupils, without in the least forming a separate caste in the university, occupy there a most honourable position and contribute to its prestige. No essential mechanism of French organisation would disappear with it, but without any doubt the university would be very much weakened and would lose some of the most distinctive characteristics of its traditional aspect.

Whether one passes through the Ecole Normale or not, in order to become a secondary school teacher it is necessary at least to

obtain the *licence* and then, if possible, succeed in the *agrégation*. These two qualifications are of very different value and are obtained under very different conditions. It is now necessary to point out their essential characteristics.

The Licence

The *licence* is a degree, between the *baccalauréat* and the *doctorat*, conferred by the *Facultés*. In its old form, it was obtained after an examination, comprising written and oral tests, common to all students in the same section, literary or scientific, and there was only one *licence ès-lettres*, and one *licence ès-sciences*. Then each ended by being subdivided into *licences spéciales*, for example, literature, philosophy or history, but keeping certain common tests, and constituting in the main an examination of general culture. Since 1920 quite a different system prevails The insistent demand of the *Faculté* professors for a much higher standard of instruction (severely criticised, it is true, by the partisans of a broad general culture), has turned the *licence* into a test of specialised knowledge. To-day, one becomes a *licencié* by stages, obtaining successively four separate examination certificates, testifying to a sufficient knowledge in four of the subjects taught in the *Faculté des Lettres* (only three in the *Faculté des Sciences*) the degree of *licence* is the official recognition of success in the examination for the fourth certificate in the case of Arts, and for the third in the case of Science. Since in the large *Facultés* the subjects taught are many and varied, of very unequal importance and difficulty, it is easily seen that the knowledge of a *licencié* may lack homogeneity and breadth, and that the degree may be relatively easy to acquire It has therefore been considered necessary to draw a distinction between the *licence simple*, which I have just described, and that called the *licence d'enseignement*, which alone merits the old name of *licentia docendi*, since it is required of future teachers It also is gained through obtaining four certificates (or three) taken successively under the same conditions, but instead of the subjects of these certificates being chosen freely by the candidate, he is obliged to take a systematic and fixed group of four (or three) certificates, which force him to study methodically all the principal aspects of his special subject. Thus, for example, a *licencié d'enseignement* must obtain the four following certificates · Greek studies, Latin studies, French literature, grammar and philology, for the *licence ès-lettres* ; general history of philosophy, psychology, logic and general philosophy, ethics and sociology for the *licence de philosophie* ; ancient, mediæval, modern and contemporary history for the *licence d'histoire* ; or three of the following certificates : differential and integral calculus, rational mechanics, general physics, for the *licence de mathématiques* ; general physics and chemistry, together with one of the mathematics certificates of the preceding group or one of the biological certificates of the following group for the *licence de physique* ; zoology or general

physiology, botany or geology, and one of the certificates of the preceding group for the *licence de sciences naturelles* The *licence d'enseignement* entitles its holder in theory to serve as a teacher in a *collège*. But in spite of the fact that, failing a sufficient number of *agrégés*, many *licenciés* obtain teaching or administrative posts in the *lycées*, there have been in recent years so many young men and women who have passed the *licence d'enseignement* that only a percentage of them have been provided for : one of the difficulties of the crisis of to-day lies in the superfluity of *licenciés* Further, though the system of specialised *licences* has given higher education a vitality which has fully satisfied the promoters of the reform, one can readily understand that in the smaller secondary institutions where the young *licencié* must of necessity start whenever he has the chance of obtaining a position, his specialised knowledge does not always put him in a position to handle in competent manner the varied instruction which may be required from him Thus, in an attempt to remedy this, the *licenciés d'enseignement* in philosophy or in history have recently been compelled to take a fifth certificate, that of literary studies, which includes French, and some Latin or Greek, and this cannot but make the work in these two *licences* considerably heavier. There are difficulties here which call for still further reforms . they are being studied at the present moment

The Agrégation

The *agrégation* is of another order It is not, properly speaking, a degree . it does not give the right, as do the *licence* or the *doctorat*, to a further band of ermine in the shoulder knot of the academic gown ; it is not conferred by a *Faculté* after an examination, testifying to a certain amount of knowledge It is a qualification conferred by the State after a competitive examination taken before a special board, which entitles one to become a full teacher (*professeur*) in a *lycée* The State only admits candidates who have complied with the necessary conditions for appointment to positions in the public service of education The number of places for competition each year depends on the state of the service and the number of vacancies anticipated ; it thus varies to some extent according to the needs of recruitment, but it always remains small enough to force the examiners to be severe in their selection, and further, while the examiners cannot exceed the number fixed by the Ministry, they are not obliged to fill them. It is, in fact, the common opinion that the value of our secondary education depends essentially on the *agrégation* : certainly there are excellent teachers, experienced and devoted, who have not obtained it, but there are very few who have not at least for a longer or shorter period prepared for it, and its influence thus extends to practically the whole teaching profession Moreover, the examination for the *agrégation* is surrounded by many guarantees.

Every candidate for the *agrégation* must first have obtained from

the *Faculté* the *Diplôme d'études supérieures*, the requirements for which are the writing of a thesis on a subject chosen by the candidate and approved by the *Faculté* ; the discussion of this thesis before an examining board, and various other oral tests. In short, it is a kind of small doctor's thesis, which often ends by being transformed into a large one.

Syllabus of the Agrégation

Each *agrégation*—there are five in the arts section : literature, grammar, philosophy, history and modern languages ; and three in the science section : mathematics, physics and biology—has its special examining board, which consists of at least five members, sometimes six or seven, and usually includes . a president, who is generally an eminent personality, often a member of the *Institut*, an Inspector-general of the Ministry of Education, a Sorbonne professor, a professor from a provincial university, a teacher from a *lycée*, all, naturally, qualified in the special subject they are dealing with The written compositions (the number varying with the special subject) are all corrected by at least two examiners ; they decide whether the candidate is to be admitted to the oral examination, which is held in the presence of the entire board, and which consists of lessons or lectures on subjects chosen by lot For example, to give an idea of the proceedings, the *agrégation de philosophie* is composed of the following written tests an essay in general philosophy, an essay bearing on a certain part of the syllabus of the philosophy class and indicated each year on that syllabus, an essay in the history of philosophy, dealing with some periods or schools indicated in the syllabus , each of these three tests lasts seven hours without break , for the students who are admitted to the oral examination, the tests include the explanation of a Greek text,[1] of a Latin text and of a French text, taken from works indicated on the syllabus (maximum duration of each explanation : half an hour, after one hour's preparation with a dictionary), and two lessons, one of philosophy, the other of history of philosophy (maximum length of each lesson one hour, after five hours' preparation, with the help of whatever works the Sorbonne library, where the preparation is done, can supply) ; the board has a traditional rule not to interrupt the course of the oral tests, which are open to the public, but confines itself to listening to the candidates ; the board determines the mark of each test in secret conference after discussion. For the other *agrégations* the method is more or less the same ; there are, however, small differences ; for example, the history *agrégation* has an oral test of two stages, and has therefore a second process of elimination In general, and apart from limitations and additions announced annually, the syllabuses of the *agrégations* are the

[1] Candidates holding the *licence ès-sciences d'enseignement* or the *doctorat en medecine* may, if desired, substitute for the Greek translation an English or German translation Further, all candidates must give evidence of a certain degree of scientific culture.

syllabuses of secondary education itself, since this is what the candidate will later have to teach But it must not be thought that the candidates study only to produce before the judges lessons of a relatively elementary and simplified nature, of a kind to suit secondary school pupils , the board expects them to give proof of professional qualities beyond all challenge, and to be able to write and speak in a methodical, interesting and clear manner , but they demand still more—deep knowledge, mature and individual thought · they set themselves to judge the intellectual value of the man The reports of the chairman of the board appreciating and commenting upon the results of the competition are published each year.

Statistics

The candidates for the *agrégation* are relatively very numerous they include students coming from the Ecole Normale, students from the *Facultés*, teachers already working in the *lycées* and *collèges* Women may enter under exactly the same conditions as men for the *agrégation* in modern languages (which has a somewhat special character, since it does not require of all candidates the previous possession of the *licence*, but accepts a "certificate of proficiency for modern language instruction," which is peculiar to this branch) ; for the other *agrégations*, which were formerly closed to them, they have for some years been allowed to compete, but are provisionally excused from some of the conditions imposed on men, and only classed as supernumeraries (for they are not allowed as a general rule to teach in boys' *lycées*) when they obtain a total number of marks equal to, or above, that of the last male candidate accepted The number of candidates varies naturally with the special subject and is in the main in proportion to the number of places open to competition for each of them Certain *agrégations*, however, remain considerably more difficult than others. For example, last year at the *agrégation de philosophie*, out of the 132 candidates who entered, 8 men and 2 women were accepted, that is, a proportion of about 7 per cent , and these figures correspond more or less to the average of the last few years ; at the *agrégation des lettres*, out of 165 entries, 37 were accepted, that is, about 22 per cent ; for the other *agrégations* the proportion varies more or less within these limits.

By reason of the considerable extension of secondary education during the last half century, the number of *agrégés*, which, as we have seen, is not, on principle, augmented to any great extent, is much too small for them to fill all the teaching posts in the *lycées* which are theoretically reserved for them. This is still more the case since many of them, called to fill higher teaching or administrative posts, or sent abroad, no longer fulfil the exact functions for which the qualification of *agrégé* would seem to fit them. Nearly all the professors of the Arts Faculties, independently of the doctorate, have passed the *agrégation* ; it is only in the Science

Faculties that exceptions are rather more numerous, where a number of the professors have been trained practically in laboratories, and have not had the opportunity of gaining the general culture, without which it is more or less useless to enter for the *agrégation* In fact, by the very reason of its difficulty, the *agrégation* has become a personal mark of merit without which a teacher can hardly hope to rise to the higher posts in education or administration.

The Agrégés as Teachers

The entry into the Paris *lycées* is reserved entirely for *professeurs agrégés*,[1] there are only a few exceptions on the administrative side, or for one or two teachers without the *agrégation* but possessing the doctorate In the most important provincial *lycées*, *agrégés* again constitute the majority of the teaching staff, but the proportion decreases perceptibly in the small *lycées* where they are sometimes to-day in a very small minority; on the other hand, some *agrégés* may be found teaching in the larger *collèges* The secondary staff of the *lycées* thus includes an important number of masters who, under the title of *professeurs licenciés titulaires* or *délégues* or only *chargés de cours*, discharge exactly the same function as the *agrégés* without having any superior qualification than the *licence*; their salary is only a little inferior; the number of hours of service a little higher; and, above all, they have not the same chance of advancement Perhaps the development in boys' secondary education has been too rapid to permit of a perfect adjustment of the orders of teaching · in fact, they are far from presenting the perfect homogeneity and strict regularity sometimes attributed, it appears, to French administration

Secondary Education of Girls—L'Ecole de Sèvres

A rapid survey of the training of the staff of girls' secondary schools, which dates back scarcely half a century and which has known during its brief history far-reaching changes and a brilliant success, will bring to light several other difficulties In 1880 and the years following, its founders, under the guidance of Jules Ferry, wished to offer to girls, whose education up till then had been practically confined to convents, a national secular education, sufficiently advanced and liberal in spirit to enable them to become really cultivated women; but they had in view a course of education specifically designed for women, based on French, moral instruction and history, excluding the classical languages, designedly restricting the scope of science and philosophy, and thus clearly distinct, in programme and in length of course, from the classic secondary education of boys After a difficult start, and as soon as the pre-

[1] I am naturally only speaking here of the real secondary classes above the *sixième* Teachers of primary and elementary classes in the *lycées* receive another type of training; their qualifications are those of the *enseignement primaire*.

judices and hostility aroused by this bold innovation had been, if not conquered, at least weakened and disarmed, this scheme made rapid and continuous progress. Soon the force of circumstances, social changes, the general advancement of ideas and customs, began to affect the original rules and forms Girls began to want not only the limited culture offered to them, but the degrees and diplomas which opened the gates to liberal professions, and they consequently began to claim the same training as the boys Timidly at first, and as it were surreptitiously, special courses directed towards the *baccalauréat* were slipped into the girls' *lycées*, side by side with the regular girls' courses ; then, not without difficulty and confusion, two parallel courses tried to establish themselves, the one following the boys' programme, the other the girls' ; at last, because of the growing success of the former, and the decline of the latter, radical reforms were carried out, which, however, only sanctioned and organised the already accomplished movement. To-day, in girls' secondary schools nearly the same course is followed, and the same examinations entered for as in the boys' schools, though an effort is made to retain some traces of the original idea It is easy to understand that such a rapid evolution, such a complete identification, has produced difficult problems in the recruitment and training of the teachers.

Agrégations for Women

At first it had appeared necessary to establish a special and distinct procedure for women teachers it was unthinkable to require their *licence*, especially as at that time this was based on Latin and Greek, and women neither knew nor had need of these languages, or to allow them to compete for the men's *agrégations*, which presupposed an extended classical education Thus there was instituted as the first condition required of women teachers, for arts on the one hand and science on the other, a certificate of proficiency in secondary education, divided into two parts, that is, consisting of two tests passed successively, at an interval of at least one year, and bearing exclusively on the special programmes of the girls' schools. As this was a competition and not an examination, the value turned out to be at least equal to that of the *licence*, for which it was, for women, a kind of equivalent. Then, in order to obtain a higher degree of culture, special *agrégations* for women were instituted, designed, as in the case of the men, principally to supply teachers for the girls' *lycées*, but less numerous and less specialised on the one hand (since there was no need of an *agrégation de philosophie*, as girls' *lycées* did not teach philosophy ; a limited instruction only in psychology and ethics was included in the syllabus of all women's *agrégations*),[1] and, on the other hand, working in a more limited and easier field (since, in mathematics and physics the syllabus for

[1] Monsieur Garnier was mistaken when he mentioned, in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION of 1932, page 833, a special *agrégation de philosophie* for women. Nothing of the kind has ever existed.

the women's *agrégation* scarcely reached the standard of the *Spéciales* class, which women were not allowed to pass through) There were thus for women four *agrégations* : one for literature (without ancient languages), one for history and geography, one for mathematics and one for physics and natural history. For modern languages only, where the obstacles in the way of identical courses were less, women were given the right to enter for the same *agrégation* as the men, the latter being allowed, like them, to enter for it without a *licence*, but possessing the certificate of proficiency for teaching languages, which was required of all candidates Thus only the *agrégation* of modern languages has been " mixed " from the beginning and has remained so The women's *agrégations* were passed under conditions similar to those of the men, but remained a little less severe : since there are only a small number of posts, competition is difficult and has a high value thus excellent teachers were provided for the girls' *lycées*

Ecole Normale Supérieure for Girls

But in order to give vigorous impulse to the new secondary education for girls, immediate efforts were made to found an Ecole Normale Supérieure for girls, destined to play a part similar to that of the Ecole Normale Supérieure in the rue d'Ulm, and modelled largely on the latter, but taking into account the special conditions to which it seemed then that it would always be necessary to conform The students were chosen by competition from among those who had already finished their secondary school course, and for whom later special preparatory courses were provided in two girls' *lycées* in Paris and in three or four of the provincial *lycées* (the normal secondary training in the girls' schools lasted only five years , the sixth-year classes were really little *Premières Supérieures* for which were chosen distinguished teachers from the boys' *lycées* or from the *Facultés*) ; the pupils were boarders , their course lasted three years , there were two general sections, one literary, the other scientific, each divided in the second year into special sections directed towards the various women's *agrégations* for which the pupils must enter at the end of their third year ; the number of pupils was limited to at most twenty each year in the literary second, and still fewer in the scientific ; all this resembled as much as possible the organisation in force at the rue d'Ulm. But since no one thought that the pupils would ever have any recourse to the courses at the Sorbonne, as they would prepare for neither the men's *licence* nor *agrégation*, the new school was situated in the country ; it was housed at Sèvres, in a healthy, quiet and delightful position, surrounded by a beautiful wooded park, in a large, spacious house which had previously been the home of the porcelain industry, and which some clever alterations made elegant and comfortable ; relatively numerous *maîtres de conférence*, chosen from among the most eminent professors at the Sorbonne or the boys' *lycées*, came there to give the students all the necessary instruction ; several

répétitrices, chosen as soon as possible from among the old students, helped with the professors' classes and afterwards guided the students' personal work Thanks to the action of principals of high moral value, and to the high standard of instruction given by remarkable teachers who knew how to make thought, study and knowledge interesting and attractive ; thanks to the community life and to the resources of a modest but well-chosen library, as easily accessible as that of the rue d'Ulm, the *Sèvriennes* soon became attached to an establishment which received from them—and reciprocated—its own particular character ; scattered on leaving among all the girls' *lycées* in France, they carried with them, along with the distinction of manners and feeling, the " sacred fire " that had been lighted in them, and by their example and their influence on their colleagues and their pupils, they contributed largely to the rapid victory and notable success of the new form of education On the other hand, since they were not allowed, like the *normaliens*, the chance of rising to the higher academic posts, and since " escape " to other callings was much more difficult, all *Sèvriennes* devoted themselves exclusively to secondary school teaching, and almost all their number is thus absorbed each year

No part of this régime, instituted at the origin of women's secondary education, has yet been abolished , but since the time when the work in the girls' *lycées* assimilated to that in the boys', some transformation was felt to be necessary, and the resulting crisis is on the eve of receiving a logical and radical solution

In fact, on the one hand, one cannot continue to train women teachers under conditions which only permit them to be equipped for a part of the teaching now demanded of them ; if, without much effort, teachers of science had been able to adapt themselves to the programmes of the boys' schools, at least up to the standard of the *baccalauréat*, the difficulties were great in the case of philosophy and unsurmountable in literature ; and to ensure the teaching of Latin and Greek, and even often to start a real class in philosophy in the girls' schools, it has been found necessary to appoint a very large number of teachers from the boys' *lycées* ; out of this has come an organisation often ill-adjusted and differences, in certain troublesome respects, between teachers of the various specialised subjects. It is obvious that the present provisional and imperfect remedies will have to be done away with, as soon as it has been possible to train women teachers in sufficient numbers to provide all the instruction required by the new syllabus.

On the other hand, when the girls succeeded in following the same studies as the boys, they very naturally started to prepare for the examinations and competitions for men · after the *baccalauréat* very large numbers directed their studies towards the *licence* and obtained a diploma which did not give them the right of access to the profession of woman teacher, since the fundamental requirements of this profession included certificates of proficiency in secondary teaching as a primary and indispensable condition , the

administration could neither accept nor use the majority of *licenciés*. Several young women, as we have seen, directed their attention to the rue d'Ulm, and succeeded in being received at the Ecole Normale Supérieure des Garçons, although there existed an Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, for which their studies did not prepare them

Attempts to unify Types of Training

To-day there are thus, face to face, two differently trained types of teacher in girls' schools, who do not always succeed in mixing and co-operating; there are, on the one hand, the women who have followed the regular course of secondary school training at Sèvres, with a certificate of proficiency and a women's *agrégation*, of whom many find themselves partially or totally unprepared to give part of the instruction required of them by the majority of their pupils, and, on the other, the girls who have taken the course of the *licence*, sometimes at the rue d'Ulm, and the men's *agrégation*, a course which separates them from the Ecole de Sèvres, which would seem to be their natural place, but which secures to them qualifications not easily made use of in the present conditions of girls' secondary schools Such a confused and troublesome situation cannot last, and the Ministry, in agreement with the Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique, has already decided on a number of measures which are at the moment being put into force.

The end which is being aimed at, and rapidly attained, is the complete identification of degrees and qualifications required from all secondary school teachers, the logical conclusion of the identification of the courses of study in boys' and girls' schools It is assumed that by 1938 there will be the same *agrégations*, passed under the same conditions, which will confer the right to teach in any *lycée*; special *agrégations* for women will have disappeared But in order to protect the interests of candidates now engaged in study, and to facilitate the transition, it has been necessary to adopt a number of provisional measures, the details of which I do not think it of any use to describe For these reasons, the certificates of proficiency in girls' secondary education have already been modified to an important extent, and the entrance examination to the Ecole Normale de Sèvres is becoming more and more like the entrance examination to the Ecole de la rue d'Ulm (Latin and Greek have already been introduced), from 1936 onwards they are to be identical A certain number of women who have been able to pass the men's *agrégations* are already teaching ancient literature and philosophy in some of the girls' *lycées*.

In this transformation, what will become of the Ecole de Sèvres? It is certain that the quiet and secluded situation of Sèvres, far from the Sorbonne, the big libraries and the innumerable intellectual and scientific resources which are centred in Paris, will not lend itself well to the new conditions of study which are to be imposed on women, if they have, like the men, to obtain their *certificats de*

Licence, their *diplôme supérieur* and pass the same *agrégations* Shall we have to resign ourselves to bringing the whole Ecole into Paris itself, and to finding a place for it on the *Montagne Ste Geneviève* beside the Grandes Ecoles for men, that is, to giving up the house that was its cradle, which it has made famous, and which half a century has sufficed to make very dear to the hearts of its former pupils ? Will a material new organisation permit the Ecole to make the transformation where it is, and successfully to prepare its students for the heavier and more difficult tests which await them in the future ? The Ecole de Sèvres is already at work on this solution Or will it be necessary to let the Ecole itself disappear, together with the régime of specifically feminine education for which it was created and organised, that is to say, is the Sorbonne or a special section of the Ecole Normale to be asked to train the *élite* of the women teachers ? All these solutions have their supporters and a definite decision cannot be put off much longer The first appears actually to have the best chance of adoption

Conclusion

What strikes one, perhaps, as particularly characteristic of the training of French secondary school teachers is, first, that it is solidly grounded in special classes in certain great *lycées* where a serious culture is already fostered The next thing is that future *lycée* teachers do not receive an exclusive and distinct training, but, on the contrary, pursue exactly the same studies as the future teachers of academic institutions, and usually take the same examinations as the latter the Ecole Normale and the *agrégation* tend to maintain a high standard of culture in the whole French university Perhaps, finally, one may find interesting the effort which is being made at the present time to assimilate completely the secondary education of girls to that of boys, and to give the women who are called to teach in the girls' *lycées* the same training as men · the near future will show whether this bold and, in France at least, extremely novel venture is rash or reasonable.

GEORGES BEAULAVON.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Unity between Art and Technique as the Aim of Public Education in Art

Introduction

THE history of the evolution of things into shapes is the story of a struggle between the demands made by man on the purpose or object of the thing on the one hand, and on its expression, that is to say, its form, on the other hand The questions concerning the object or purpose of a thing are of a super-individualistic nature ; they represent the organic evolution as we see it in nature For example, the development of a technical apparatus, such as a locomotive, is the result of the intellectual work of numerous individuals who, like links in the chain of development, build up on the efforts of their predecessors

On the other hand, the demands which we impose on the Expression, that is to say, on the form of a thing, are of a purely spiritual nature The form is not a product of the intellect, but of human desire, and is therefore closely associated with the individual, with the nation and with place and time. The history of art contains many examples which reflect the struggle between intellect and desire, even to the most absurd contradictions between purpose and shape In our mechanical age, however, a new conception is beginning to make itself felt To-day, we insist upon the form of a thing following the function of that thing, upon the desire for expression of its creator following the same direction as the organic building-up processes in nature, and not running counter to that direction We insist upon harmony again being achieved between intellect and desire We are once again striving towards unity in the cultural world around us, out of the boundless diversities in which the individual feels himself helpless and alone The age just past, with its " isms " and its historical imitations, was, perhaps, merely the reflection of our unconscious desire to probe the secrets of the whole visible world, in order, in our longing for totality, to overlook nothing of importance in a new world.

Out of contradiction and affirmation, research and intuition, a principle has gradually crystallised which has spiritually permeated the technical age in which we are living : no longer must the isolated individual work continue to occupy pride of place, but rather the creation of the generally valid type, the development towards a standard.

This was to be the principal aim of all modern schools intended for artistic and technical training, since, both from the cultural and economic aspect, its realisation is of the utmost importance to the State. In our search for the right way towards this goal, it

may be worth while to glance briefly at the history of artistic education

The History of Artistic Education

In the last great cultural epoch of Europe, that is to say, the Gothic, the art school was unknown Artists and craftsmen of all grades grew up out of the midst of the working life of the people ; their training-ground was the workshop itself In close contact with the master and his practical work, they received their training without any scholarly supplement It was only much later in the France of the " Louis' " that the first Academy arose, primarily as a modest theoretical auxiliary school for the so-called " State manufactures " (Manufactures d'Etat), which was the forerunner of our modern factories, even though at that time it was still on a handicraft basis With the passing of time, these State manufactures either ceased entirely or passed into the hands of private undertakings, and the Academy, unfettered by practical considerations, became, as it were, an æsthetic island of theories on which artistic self-sufficiency grew apace

The Influence of the Academies

This form of Academy was adopted in nearly every country in Europe, with the fatal result that the rising generation of artists became gradually lost to technical production, retired to its garret and withdrew its forces, culturally so valuable, from working life With the subsequent development of the machine, which gradually supplanted the handworker, this process of isolating the artist became more and more intensified A yawning chasm formed between the world of production, dominated by machinery, and the artists, who stood aloof. The effect of the training in the Academies was to evolve a vast artistic proletariat, which was abandoned defenceless to social misery because, lulled to sleep in a dream of genius, it was trained to artistic self-sufficiency to the " profession " of the architect, painter, sculptor and the graphic artist, without being provided with the equipment of a genuine training, which alone would suffice to enable it to stand on its own feet in the social struggle for existence, and consequently also make it independent in its artistic aims. Its skill was merely a graphic and pictorial one out of touch with the realities of the underlying principles of technique or economy, and therefore doomed to end in æsthetic speculation, since any real relationship to the life of the community as a whole did not exist The radical pedagogic error of the Academy lay in its being focused on extraordinary genius instead of on average ability, although in spite of this attitude, it turned out an immense number of men talented in mere draughtsmanship and painting, but scarcely one in a thousand developed into a true architect or painter. The vast majority of these superficially trained academicians, with their vain hopes, were doomed to a fruitless

exercise of their art, totally unequipped for the struggle for existence, and were forced to join the ranks of the social drones, instead of being made of service, by proper training, to the working life of the people

As the Academies developed, true national art, pulsating throughout the whole life of the people, gradually died, leaving behind it that sham art isolated from life, which finally, in the nineteenth century, dwindled to an individual picture bearing no relationship to a larger structural unity

The Rise of Arts and Crafts Schools

In the middle of the last century, a natural reaction gradually set in against this symptom of decay In a number of European countries, and primarily in England (the oldest industrial country), spiritual centres arose, the aim of which was the idea of reuniting the world of art with the world of production At first, the struggle was directed against the machine itself Ruskin, as is well known, had his handicraft products brought to London in a horse-drawn stage coach, as a protest against the machine, an attitude of mind which, even though perhaps no longer in its primitive form, still has its parallel to-day This " swimming against the tide " is doomed to failure Art and production can only be reunited by accepting the machine and by subjugating it to the mind A few of the stages along this road are already discernible The importance of Ruskin and Morris was that they were the first to call a halt to the abandonment of form and the submersion of quality due to the influence of the machine, even though, in their flight from the machine, they employed the wrong means Later on in Germany there arose the " Deutscher Werkbund," which, gathering to its ranks artists, craftsmen and industrialists, systematically developed the mutual exchange of their work The conception " Arts and Crafts " arose, followed by the establishing of " Arts and Crafts schools," for the encouragement of " applied art " and which—standing as they did between the Academy and practical life—were destined to build the first bridge on the road towards the new working association between the artist and the producer A new attempt was subsequently made by the " Staatliches Bauhaus " founded by me, and which I propose to describe fully later on. The process of development is a long one, because it is closely allied with the metathesis of the whole intellectual and economic world of our time, and more especially with the organisation of a quondam autocratic cultural world of the craftsman into a social and therefore differently stratified technical world of industry. The most primitive aim of political economy lies, of course, in satisfying our needs more economically, that is to say, with less expenditure of money, labour and material, by improving the means of production, and by an increasingly intensified organisation. It was this urge which gave birth to the machine, to the division of labour, to rationalisation, conceptions without which our political

economy would no longer be conceivable. The fact that we have not yet mastered these new means, and in consequence still have to suffer from them, is not a valid argument against their necessity The more we are compelled, however, on rational grounds, to mechanise our work, the more necessary it becomes to encourage and develop the creative instinct in each individual, because all mechanisation can ultimately have but one object, which is to relieve the human individual of material labour for satisfying the necessaries of life, so as to leave his mind and hand free for more important work. If mechanisation were an end in itself, then the most important factor, the active full human nature, would become stunted, and the individual, the indivisible, degenerate into a partial nature Herein lay the cause of the struggle between the handicrafts culture and the new, mechanical culture It is inevitable that out of handwork and machine work, the new era should develop an organically new unity of labour Where is the distinction? Not in the tool, since the machine is merely a gradual advance on the old handicraft tool, but in the *unity* of labour on the one hand and the *division* of labour on the other hand

Individual Craftsman versus Machine

The struggle of the craftsman was, therefore, in no way aimed at the machine, the intention and value of which he fully recognised, but rather he was moved by the fear of losing his independence. A typical representative of mediæval culture, he was technician, artist and merchant combined The working process was from A to Z in the hands of one man, whilst the typical industrial worker of to-day, practically without any personal influence on the technical, formal and economical evolution of the product, is compelled to undertake merely a small partial process within the working process as a whole The rational character of this division of labour threatens the existence of the craftsman as an independent entity His product is increasingly succumbing to the cheaper and often better industrial product, and he is losing his caste consciousness For economic reasons he is either forced to descend to the level of a factory hand in industry or to turn his workshop into a shop, to change from a craftsman to become a merchant This compulsory restriction of personal initiative, due to the splitting up of working processes by technical mechanisation, is the threatening cultural danger of the present-day form of industry. Industry has become an end in itself, in which the human element becomes stunted.

The Place of Individuality in Modern Industry

The young man who feels the meaninglessness of mechanisation in his own life, and finds no answer, tries vainly to resist it and finally becomes blunted, and his pleasure in his own work, the inclination to learn and his sense of responsibility disappear. The only remedy for this devitalising sense of impotence is a completely

changed attitude towards work, which arises from the sensible realisation of the fact that the development of technique has shown how a collective form of labour can lead humanity to greater total efficiency than the autocratic labour of the isolated individual. This does not detract from the power and importance of personal effort; on the contrary, it enhances its utility by giving it the possibility of taking its proper place in the work of the whole. This attitude no longer perceives in the machine merely an economic means for dispensing with as many manual workers as possible and of depriving them of their livelihood, nor yet a means of imitating handwork, but rather an instrument which is to relieve man of the most oppressive physical labour and to serve to strengthen his hand so as to enable him to give form to his creative invention.

The Inequality of Natural Capabilities

Natural capabilities are not, however, equal, so that the most difficult problem this collective work will have to contend with in the future will be the proper grading and disposing of the creative energies according to their potentialities in the organisation as a whole In other words, it will be necessary to discover the most effective distribution of the individuals between the speculative preliminary work (laboratory, modelling work, disposition of work) on the one hand, and the manufacturing-executive work (production of materials, transport, current work), on the other hand The more highly accomplished, ingenious and self-reliant natures the community as a whole is capable of producing and absorbing into the economic body, the more vital and stronger this latter will be, not vice versa

Therefore, it is impossible to do too much to fit the individual for *independent* work by extensive manual and mental training As human inventive faculties are increased by training, so will the technical means for mechanical output be enhanced in a like degree. The number of independent, speculative workers will grow in proportion as our control over the tools of production, i.e. our modern machine slaves, whose numbers and influence have increased, becomes more absolute The handwork of the past has changed; handwork in future will for the greater part develop along with industry itself into a new working unit, in which it will undertake the important cultural task of being responsible for the experimental work for industrial production.

The Need for Liaison between Handwork and Industry

If inversely the present-day handworker runs the ever-increasing danger of being forced into mechanical, soul-killing machine work, it is primarily attributable to his one-sided, obsolete training and to the fact that his attitude towards his own work is wrong and autocratic instead of being collective. The handicraft method of instruction, in so far as it exists at all to-day, is substantially the

same as in the Middle Ages—but without the latter's fullness, thoroughness and comprehensive nature—because it has clung too tightly to the old ideas and has not made allowance for the rapid changes in the mental outlook and in the technique of our times Where is there a cabinet maker of to-day who, whilst taking into account all modern working methods, is capable of evolving a stool, both technically and as regards form, so as to set a fashion ? Here, too, there has been a division of labour The designer and practical man are no longer one and the same, the handworker no longer solves a problem of his own setting, but has become an organ for carrying into effect the platonic ideas of others, i.e of the artist draughtsmen The past " Arts and Crafts epoch," still too attached to handwork, too sceptical towards the machine, was as yet incapable of developing, within itself, the right type of leadership for the new world of labour and of establishing a liaison between handwork and industry. It was the borderland of the intellectual, addicted to æsthetic taste rather than to the creation of elementary forms, and was therefore regarded with doubt and mistrust by the practical handworker and industry The leaders of this period of development only succeeded in very isolated cases in securing a decisive entry into the sphere of industry Although their banners bore the slogan of quality, their idea of that quality was still an outwardly decorative one In this connection it will suffice to mention the outstanding example of the evolution of the chair What an essential difference there is between a Mackintosh chair and a modern plywood chair of Aalto or a metal chair of Marcell Breuer. On the one hand, we have the results of shape, born of new basic principles of production, inconceivable without an understanding on the part of their creators for the new possibilities of the improved machine ; and on the other hand, merely decorative nuances of a new taste, which, although associated with a sense of quality, lack any deep-rooted progress in the structural development, born of a knowledge of the new means of production These modern chairs are genuine examples of the first-fruits of the fervently desired new unity of art, technique and industry Going far beyond the hackneyed conception of design, their creators simultaneously had to solve the problem from all three aspects—shape, construction and economy—after their mentality had been prepared for it by training.

The Lack of Adequate Training Schools

What must this preparation be ? What new powers must we give the new generation ? What training establishments must we create in order to be able to achieve sterling results ? We need men who, simply and clearly, can give shape to the visible world around us, from the processes of life itself, of the best workmanship, from the best materials, and with economic methods of production, that is to say, men trained both as handworkers and machine workers, and equipped with technical knowledge, who will develop

and constantly improve the types which we need. The proper training establishments for this new generation do not yet exist, or if they do, only in very isolated cases. Handwork, displaced by the machine, was incapable of maintaining the educational level of the excellent free training given by the masters of a past age The existing public training schools, however, are lacking in any vital connection with practical production, mostly on account of a want of insight on both sides In the absence of a properly trained rising generation, industry had to take the law into its own hand and establish its own training schools Scarcely one of these schools, however, gives the pupil an exhaustive training, which will enable him to grasp the purport and the facts of his future profession, and convey to him a sense of solidarity in a unified object of life.

Training as envisaged in the Bauhaus

A new unitarian theory of artistic education—something on the lines which the Bauhaus,[1] and the university for students possessing artistic talents, founded by me, have endeavoured to develop—must, in order once more to regain contact with production, go farther and deeper than the epoch of " Arts and Crafts " By making use of handicraft discipline at its best, which remains the most valuable training medium, it will have to incorporate in the training, from the outset, the entire process of industrial production, with its causes and effects Any attempt to divide up the training of the new artistic generation into handwork on the one hand and industry on the other hand would not only be illogical but obsolete It must serve equally the individual handwork business—in so far as it still exists, as well as the small and large business run on industrial lines. For that reason, the new training, undisturbed by economic private interests and questions of the day, must start from an elementary ground training—a comprehensive training of hand and knowledge—on which subsequently any other special higher or lower grade training can develop Premature specialisation, on the other hand, produces the " partial " worker and the unharmonious being who, owing to lack of perception, is incapable of understanding the whole range in which he desires to include his activities, and loses touch with the other collaborators in the work The man of to-day is, from the outset, left too much to traditional specialised training, which merely imparts to him a specialised knowledge, but does not make clear to him the relationship in which he stands to the world at large and his fellow-men, and to the meaning and purport of his work.

The Bauhaus endeavoured to counteract this defect in that it did not put the " trade " at the beginning of its training, but the *human being* in his natural readiness to grasp life as a whole. The old idea of " school " had to be overcome, and to be replaced by a working community. The powers and talents which are inherent in every

[1] See Gropius : *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus.* (Faber & Faber Ltd.)

individual were to be united in free group labour, and, in fact, this community itself was " not to learn for the school, but for Life " and of itself to develop into a section of mature organic life The individual members of this community were made conscious of the fact that they have to learn to know not only their own powers, but also the conditions of life and labour in the world around them.

The Basis of Preliminary Training

The basis of this training was the so-called " Vorlehre," or preliminary training, which occupied six months and was intended to develop and ripen intelligence, feeling and ideas, with the general object of evolving the " complete being," who, from his biological centre, can approach all things of life with instinctive certainty and no longer be taken unawares by the rush and convulsion of our Mechanical Age.

This arrangement, which aimed at an undivided whole, led at the same time to the training of skill and also of the spatial powers of perception, directed to rendering the individual independent in his power of expression Accordingly, the handwork training at the Bauhaus was not to be regarded as an end in itself, but as an irreplaceable means of education It commenced by introducing the pupil to primitive experiences of materials and tools and allowing him to gain impressions—some of which at first seem unimportant From these first, as yet unarticulated, original experiences, life as a whole grows in organic development. For that reason, it is important to allow the pupil to pass through every stage of these primitive experiences in every sphere of his mental activity In this way, he arrives at self-expression, at his own form

Commencing with simple tentative experiments on materials—for example, observing the contrasts between rough and smooth, hard and soft, tension and repose—the pupil discovers for himself, by the exercise of his hands, the peculiarities of materials such as structure, texture and artificial surfaces produced on material by manufacturing processes.[1]

Avoiding the Choice of a Wrong Career

There is another important factor inherent in this initial training, viz. it prevents the wrong choice of a profession and premature specialisation on the part of the artistically gifted pupil. In working freely with tools and materials he becomes speedily aware of his own powers and capabilities. Very few know at the outset where their most fruitful possibilities lie, what material is best suited to their hand, whether stone, wood, metal or fabrics, etc , and whether their spatial talents tend more towards details or to the larger architectural composition. The " preliminary training " helps the pupil to shorten the road to self-experience, so that he does not commit

[1] See *The New Vision*, by Prof Moholy-Nagy, Harcourt, Brace & Co , Inc , 383 Madison Avenue, New York, which contains a full description of the " preliminary training " of the Bauhaus, with informative illustrations.

the fatal error of thoughtlessly and prematurely choosing his specialised profession merely as a result of chance or caprice. The " preliminary training " opens his eyes to the abundance of artistic professions, allows him to find a place where, within the limits of the gifts with which nature has endowed him, he can obtain a secure footing I have frequently experienced in the Bauhaus that a pupil, after the first part of the " preliminary training," came to a totally different decision as to his choice of profession, than that which his original intentions had revealed The objection that in this world of industrial economy such a general training for broadening the outlook implies a loss of time or extravagance, does not, according to my experience, hold good On the contrary, I have been able to observe that it not only gave the pupil confidence, but also considerably enhanced the productiveness and tempo of his subsequent specialised training It gave him an impetus and keenness for his own work, the higher and more comprehensive the goal was made Youth must be made enthusiastic, and then it despises obstacles The more there is asked of the young, the greater the output Only when an understanding for the inter-relationship of the phenomena of the world around them is awakened in them at an early age are they capable of incorporating their own personal share of the work in the creation of their age as a whole Accordingly, the culminating point of the Bauhaus training is the demand for a greater working unity, which conceives the creative process of formation as an indivisible whole Those gifted with talents are to regain the true conception of closely interwoven work both of hand and form The urge to build and shape is to revitalise mere drafting work on paper. The building unites all creative workers, from the simple craftsman to the outstanding artist, in mutual labour. For that reason, the basis of the joint training must be sufficiently broad to enable each talent to find its own way The experimental work, that is to say, speculation, is of equal importance to the work as a whole as the practical execution is to the production. A generally valid methodical method of selecting talents does not exist ; hence the individual, during the course of his development, has to find his sphere of work within the framework of the community. The majority become the representative of production, whilst no limit can be set to those possessing extraordinary talents After having completed their training in technique and design, it is to them that the free, speculative experimental work is entrusted, the object of which is to fertilise the work of the whole and to create standards which will prove of value in the future.

The Guiding Principle of the Bauhaus

The guiding principle on which the work at the Bauhaus was commenced was : " The Bauhaus aims at grouping all artistic creative work into a single whole, reuniting all the forms of artistic discipline into a new structural art, and as its indissoluble constituents. The ultimate—although perhaps remote—aim of the

Bauhaus is the homogeneous work of art—the great edifice—in which there will be no dividing-line between monumental and decorative art." This was the aim which attracted youth, which they endeavoured to realise The concentric structure of the training also acted as an incentive to delight in their work, because even the " preliminary training " embodied all the essential components of training in design and technique, in order to give the pupil an immediate insight into the whole.

The Training in Design

The training in design commences simultaneously with the material exercises, the nature of which has been explained above Working with materials and tools, the pupil begins to understand something of the aim and essence of both material and abstract space—rhythm, light and shade, colour, proportion and scale Those who design and build must, in addition to the technical and handicraft training, also learn a special language of shape, in order to be able to give visible expression to their ideas The elements of shapes and colours correspond to sounds, and their structural laws to the grammar of a language Understanding and consciousness guide the shaping hand, so that a creative idea becomes apparent to the senses The musician who wishes to make a musical idea audible to others needs, in order to represent it, quite apart from the instrument, a knowledge of so-called counterpoint, the theory of the building up of tones, which although in the course of the ages may have undergone changes is nevertheless still super-individualistic Without this mastery, the idea remains lost in chaos, because creative freedom does not reside in the infinitude of the means of expression and formation, but in free movement within its strictly legal bounds For instance, the " well-tempered harpsicord " of Johann Sebastian Bach implies a social agreement, still valid to-day, for governing the world of sounds.

The Need for a Knowledge of Theory

That which to-day is still a natural condition precedent to the musician in his creative work, that is to say, the scientific knowledge of theory, had to be rediscovered for the worker in art. The Academy, whose task it should have been from the Middle Ages, when it was still a vital force, to tend and develop it, failed in that task, because it lost touch with reality. This theory is naturally not a recipe for works of art, but it is the most important objective means of collective work in design ; it prepares the general scientific basis on which a multiplicity of individuals can together create a joint work The theory is not the work of individuals, but arises from the observations of generations

The forms and colours of a picture, object or building only acquire importance by their relationship to our intrinsic human character ; individually, or in their relations to each other, they are the means of expressing different inspirations and movements, that is to say, they

do not exist *per se* Red, for example, creates in us different psychic sensations from blue or yellow; round shapes impress us differently from pointed or serrated objects These basic elements of shapes and colours are the sounds from which the grammar of design is built up, its rules of rhythm, proportion, of shades of light and dark, of equilibrium, and full and empty space Why does one room appear to us to be more harmonious than another? Both may be constructed with equal technical perfection and be equally satisfying in the fulfilment of their object On what does their different effect on our mental sensations depend? It depends upon the influence of their proportions, colours, etc, which is so difficult for the layman to grasp These create a room of illusion, which is in no way identical with the real room, capable of being measured and constructed The sovereign application of these means of design can "work wonders" to which our eye and sense of touch are subjugated If, for example, we paint the white ceiling of a room with a dead black, there will naturally be no change in the actual dimensions of the room, but nevertheless its height *appears* to be reduced in consequence If we apply a bright coat over this black, this effect is again partially eliminated Or again, a hard, bright yellow on the wall of a room appears to bring it closer, whilst a deep blue makes it appear to recede and—in our imagination—the room becomes longer or shorter There is an endless number of such optical experiments, which should form part of the knowledge required by everyone who produces shapes They are objectively valid for every physical shape, for every object, for every room, and can be learned by anyone But what school teaches this A B C of the theory of shape? The careful cultivation and the further investigation of these natural truths would mean true tradition and not the imitation of old forms of styles The study of the old forms only possesses significance in order to show with their aid *the way* in which our forefathers mastered the laws of nature As a supplement to the training of the hand, I regard the knowledge of these spatial optical facts to be the most essential thing which the school can give to the artistically talented Because it is only the sounds and grammar of the language of design in art—its science, as it were—which can be learnt; whereas the most important thing in the work of art, that is to say, its organic life, emanates from the original creative power of the individual, who seeks and creates his own means of composition within those objective laws of nature itself. The most that the school can do, therefore, is to remove obstacles and shorten methods, in order to intensify the growth of innate capabilities and bring them to fruition

The foregoing remarks will suffice to explain the object and essence of the "preliminary training" on the example of the Bauhaus It is the foundation of the entire educational structure. Further training, that is to say, the training in handicrafts and building, merely give breadth and depth; it differs only in

degree and in thoroughness, but not in its essence from the elementary " preliminary training " From the graphic training scheme given on page 506, and extracts from the curriculum prepared by me, and which are also given, the reader will now be able to form an idea of the practical structure of the Bauhaus training as a whole

Aims

The Bauhaus aims at the training of people possessing artistic talents as creative designers in handicrafts and industry, sculptors, painters or architects A complete co-ordinated training of all handicrafts, in technique and in form, with the object of joint work in building, serves as the basis

Training

Training principle : Each student studies simultaneously under *two* masters, one a handicrafts master, and the other a master in design Both courses are closely associated one with the other [1]

(*a*) Scope of the training .

The training at the Bauhaus covers the handicraft and scientific aspects of optical arts

1 *Handwork Training*

(i) Stone (sculpture in stone)
(ii) Wood (joinery, wood-carving)
(iii) Metal (gold- silver- and coppersmiths, locksmiths, metal working (light fittings)
(iv) Clay (pottery)
(v) Glass (glass painting and formal construction in glass)
(vi) Colour (mural and canvas painting)
(vii) Fabrics (weaving, dyeing)

Supplementary courses
A Art printing (lithography, etching, woodcuts)
Letterpress printing
Photography and films
Publicity training
B Stage (the making of masks and stage figures, problems of theatrical art)
C Knowledge of materials and tools
D Basic ideas of bookkeeping, costing and the conclusion of contracts

2 *Training in Design*

I Observation
Nature studies
Theory of materials.
II Representation :
Arithmetical geometry
Theory of construction.
Working drawings and model-making

[1] The ultimate object of training masters in the Institute itself had already been achieved in the first generation of students Analogous to the method adopted in the old handicraft culture, they were intended to become versed in both the form and technique of our era After the Bauhaus had been transferred from Weimar to Dessau, five former students were placed in charge of the workshops The separation of the staff into masters of form and technique was then found to be superfluous.

III. Form:
Theory of space
Theory of colour
Composition training
Supplementary subjects
Lectures on all subjects in art and science, both past and present (*Outlines of Biology, Mechanics, Physics, Sociology*).

(*b*) Division of subjects
The training system comprises three sections
1 The preliminary training
Duration six months Elementary instruction in design in conjunction with material exercises in the special workshop for preliminary training
Result Admission to a training workshop
2 Trade training
Handicraft training in one of the Training Workshops—with a view to obtaining a legal certificate of apprenticeship—in conjunction with training in design Duration three years
Result Journeyman's certificate of the " Chamber of Handicrafts "[1] and, if required, the Journeyman's Certificate of the Bauhaus
(The examinations for journeymen are held by the " Chamber of Handicrafts " Independently of these, examinations are also held by the Bauhaus staff, the requirements of which from an artistic point of view go far beyond the standard of the public journeyman's and master's examination)
3 The Building training
Handicrafts co-operation on building (on practical building sites) and free training in building and designing (on the Bauhaus experimental site)[2] for specially qualified students

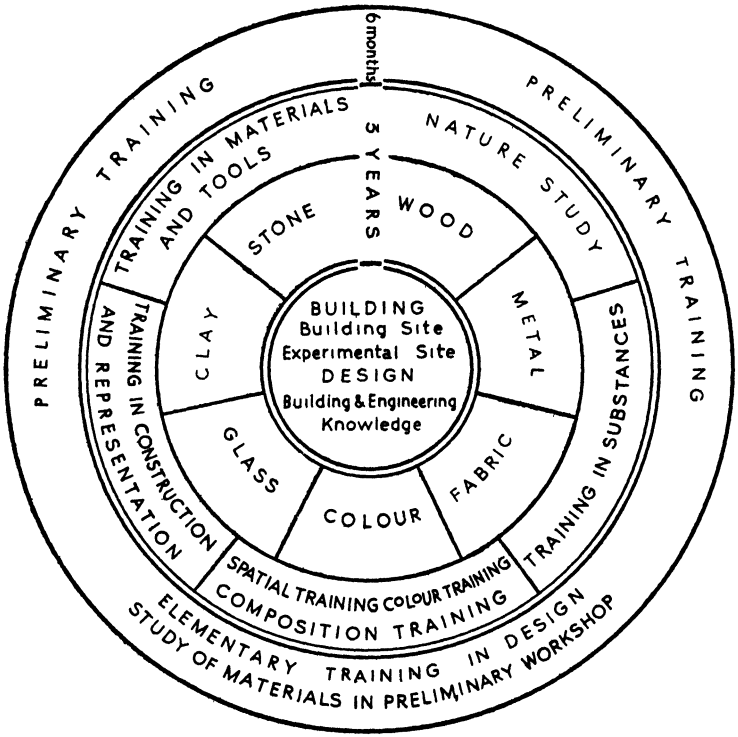
[1] In Germany, the rights of the crafts guilds are still in legal force to-day They alone—not the industry—are entitled to insist upon the pupil obtaining a legal certificate of apprenticeship, which compels him to undergo his three or four years' training with a master who is entitled to give instruction The journeyman's examination and subsequently the master's examination are held before a body of masters of the particular guild, who issue a legally valid Journeyman's or Master's Certificate During his training, the apprentice is, moreover, obliged on one or two mornings and in the evenings to attend a State " Continuation School," which gives theoretical supplementary instruction This arrangement safeguards the student against his master making use of his services merely as an assistant or for running errands As the " quality " of the training has fallen off considerably in the hard competitive struggle between handicrafts and industry, handicrafts can no longer fill the demand in industry for trained journeymen The result is a system of self-help on the part of industry, which sets up apprentices' schools, from which it covers its own requirements in trained workers The increasing technical quality of these industrial schools has in the meantime considerably lessened the value of the legal handicrafts certificate In practice, the finishing certificate of an industrial school often possesses greater value than the handicrafts certificate, although it has no legal importance such as that possessed by the latter The day is doubtless not far distant when the entire training of apprentices for handicrafts and industry will be organised as regards their rights and obligations on a uniform basis
With the aid of the State, the Bauhaus acquired the right to be treated as a valid practical training establishment, as prescribed for handicrafts by German law

[2] On the experimental site, practical experiments are also carried out with new materials, in order to investigate their uses, their adaptability and their constructive utilisation, etc.

Duration · According to capabilities and circumstances The building site and experimental site serve on a system of mutual exchange for continuing the trade training and training in design

Result Master's certificate of the " Chamber of Handicrafts " and, the case arising, also of the Bauhaus

The aim of the Bauhaus training is the work connected with and on the building, in which all classes of work combine On the experimental site, only the most talented, advanced students are admitted, who are capable, from their own creative ability, of trying out and developing technical and formal problems They have access to the designs workshop attached to the experimental site,



PRACTICAL STRUCTURE OF THE BAUHAUS TRAINING

and also to all the workshops in the Bauhaus, in order to enable them also to acquire a knowledge of other handicrafts as well According to the orders in hand, their services are also enlisted to collaborate in formal and practical work in practical building problems (building site), to enable them to become acquainted by actual practice with the co-ordination between all handwork and industries on the building and at the same time to find therein the economic possibility of earning their living.

Where the Bauhaus provides no courses of its own for providing a theoretical supplement, in the technical engineering sciences (industrial practice, heating, installation, technical chemistry) it is desirable that those endowed with special architectural talent should,

after consulting their masters, temporarily supplement their knowledge at technical and building schools

Trained students should, on principle, also work in outside handicraft workshops, and particularly industrial workshops (also work on machines), with the object of obtaining a more comprehensive training with a view to mutual influence

Whether students can remain at the Bauhaus after sitting for their journeyman's examination, and find productive employment in the workshops and on the building site, depends upon their formal and technical efficiency, and also on the number and extent of the practical orders available which the Bauhaus undertakes to execute The Bauhaus cannot, however, enter into any undertaking to furnish students with constant orders, as productive employment depends upon the economic situation

Masters

The masters are appointed and conduct the individual training of the students at their own discretion within the scope of the general training curriculum and of the scheme for the distribution of the work, which is drawn up afresh every half-year [1]

For the training in design, the Bauhaus appoints designs masters architects, sculptors and painters

For the craft training the Bauhaus appoints handwork masters who are responsible for the technical direction of the individual workshops If necessary, assistant masters can be appointed for the training in design and assistants for the craft training

Lectures and demonstrations are sometimes also given by outside teachers

Admission

Provided vacancies exist, any person of good character is accepted for the preliminary training, whose talents are considered sufficient [3]

No rules were laid down regarding the age for admitting applicants this age varied between 15 and 30, the majority being between 18 and 20 years of age

Students who have already sat for their journeyman's or master's examination outside of the Bauhaus, have also to pass first the preliminary training

The duration of the individual courses for students (handicrafts training) is fixed by legal enactments

[1] Students may, after completing their trade training, also continue in the Bauhaus as free painters or sculptors For these students, courses are given by the form masters involved

[2] In a subsequent stage of development, the designs masters are entrusted with the supervision of the workshop, although the handicrafts master remains responsible for workshop discipline

[3] Experience has shown that the possibilities of development of a pupil can only be judged very inadequately from the work which he submits when applying for admission Wrong training or puberty disorders may impede the possibility of artistic expression, but this can subsequently be eliminated by a correct, comprehensive training I have frequently experienced that suddenly, for reasons which are outwardly not discernible, a pupil makes great strides which had been scarcely expected For that reason, we have taken a very broadminded view in admitting pupils to the obligatory preliminary training A careful assessment of the general proficiency in accordance with strict standards, for the first time at the end of the preliminary training, and finally after the first six months' trial in the workshop, gave much more reliable results in the selection of talent.

Applications must be made in writing As a basis for the admission applied for, the following work has to be submitted

1 Independent work (drawings, pictures, plastics, handicraft work, designs, photos),

2 Details of career with particulars of previous training, nationality, personal situation and means of support (in the case of minors, by parents or guardian),

3 Testimonial from the police,

4 Doctor's certificate of health;

5 A photograph of the applicant,

6 If necessary, references regarding previous handicraft training (for example, Journeyman's Certificate)

Each applicant is primarily accepted for preliminary training for a period of six months During this preliminary training, which can only be omitted in the case of exceptionally talented pupils of special artistic maturity, students have to attend the obligatory preliminary instruction Admission to a workshop on completion of the preliminary training depends upon the personal qualifications of the applicant and upon the quality of the independent work which he has produced during this six months' trial [1] The accepted pupil can himself select the workshop to which he wishes to go, having due regard to the question of vacancies and subject to the consent of the two workshop masters

Rights and Obligations of Students

The handicraft training and training in design constitute the foundation; no pupil or apprentice can be exempted from either of them Every student accepted is at liberty, in addition to the instruction given by his designs master, also to attend courses under the other designs masters, and by arrangement with his own teacher also to seek technical or artistic advice from other masters

Every student engaged in a workshop is obliged, both before and during production, constantly to discuss with his two masters each individual piece of work which he carries out in the workshop; only in this way can the penetration of artistic and handicrafts work be achieved and a new generation be trained, which has simultaneously mastered both aspects.

The Bauhaus furnishes each student with the material requisite for his handicraft work A receipt has to be given to the head of the workshop for all materials issued. Each individual is answerable for the material entrusted to him.

On principle, a material and work slip has to be kept for each job, and must be regularly signed by the head of the workshop or his representative

The Bauhaus has a claim to all work made from materials belonging to the Bauhaus Any exceptions to this rule are subject to special conditions All finished work must be delivered up, together with the completed work slip, to the workshop chief, who hands it over to the secretariat. Work done for the Bauhaus is

[1] As on the basis of experience, and the vacancies available, the number of students had to be restricted to 150, and to a maximum of 200, the staff of Bauhaus masters both after the first and the second half-year used to weed out all students whose talents or proficiency did not appear to be sufficient.

paid for. The director of the Bauhaus, in conjunction with the masters involved and the business manager, decides whether the work will be taken over by the Bauhaus and what amount corresponding to its estimated selling value is to be paid to the maker for his work.

All work taken over by the Bauhaus bears the Bauhaus stamp, approved by the State

Each student has the right to submit proposals, which must be handed to the Directorate in writing Those students who have got the Journeyman's Certificate of the Bauhaus act as the representatives of all the students In the case of important decisions, their opinion is asked [1] Pupils possessing special talents (for example, panel painters) may be granted a special position, which temporarily exempts them from attending the workshop

Training Fees

In view of the nature of the course of training at the Bauhaus, no occasional pupils can be accepted

The fees for the preliminary training (six months) amount to Mark 60, and are payable in full on admission to the Bauhaus If the pupil attends the preliminary training for a second time, the same amount is again payable in advance On admission to a workshop after successfully completing the preliminary training, a single amount of Mark 20 is paid as admission fee The workshop training is free

Relationship to the State Government [2]

The administration of the Bauhaus is vested in the Thuringia Ministry for Education

The appointment and dismissal of the Director is in the hands of the Ministry, after hearing the Board of Masters

The appointment and dismissal of designs masters is effected, with the approval of the Ministry, within the limits of the annual budget [3] by the Director, after previous consultation with the designs masters

[1] In a later stage, Bauhaus students were given the right to delegate one or two representatives to the regular meetings of the masters This arrangement has proved excellent and was very necessary for creating an understanding between teachers and students

[2] From 1919–24 the Bauhaus was at Weimar, Thuringia, and from 1925 onwards in Dessau/Anhalt The authority responsible for the Institute here was the Municipal Council of Dessau, the Supervisory Authority being the Anhalt State Ministry. The legal basis of the Bauhaus remained substantially unchanged

[3] The annual budget of the Bauhaus varied between M 80,000 and 100,000, including salaries for 20–24 teachers to 150–200 pupils The supply of raw materials to the workshops also had to be met from the budget In later years, the receipts of the Institute were increased by the royalties for models supplied to industry (furniture, fabrics, carpets, porcelain, lighting fittings, wallpaper, etc) These additional funds were utilised for increasing and improving the equipment and for the payment of outside

[*Continued on page* 510

The designs masters are usually appointed for three years The renewal of their contracts, if necessary for longer periods, is effected on the proposal of the Director by a decision of the Ministry The appointment and dismissal of the business manager, handicraft masters (workshops directors), the extraordinary teachers and assistants, and also the conclusion and extension of their contracts is effected by the Director, with the approval of the Ministry, and after previously consulting the Board of Masters The annual budget of the Bauhaus is drawn up by the Director and the business manager (Syndicus) and submitted to the Ministry for approval

The Director represents the Institute in external matters, unless it is a question with which the Ministry has to deal He is also responsible for discipline in the Bauhaus, with domestic authority The Director is responsible for the whole of the artistic and administrative management of the Bauhaus.

All the masters—designs masters and handicraft masters [1]—form, together with the Director and the business manager, the Board of Masters

In the case of important decisions, the outside teachers and also one students' representative from each workshop are added The Board of Masters is intended to advise the Director in all important decisions The Director comes to the responsible decisions on the basis of the joint discussions The members of the Board of Masters have at all times the right to submit proposals for joint decision, and with which the Director has to comply as soon as possible.

The business manager [2] has to attend to the entire business management of the Bauhaus in close conjunction with the Director He represents the Director in current business matters when the latter is absent, but matters of fundamental importance require the decision and signature of the Director

teachers The funds obtained from public subsidies were, however, by no means adequate to meet the requirements of the Bauhaus, in so far as current funds are concerned An increase in the subsidy would have enabled it to increase its efficiency, particularly in regard to industry, to an even more far-reaching extent An excellent feature was the equipment with buildings and plant, particularly in Dessau The building erected for the Bauhaus on the instructions of the city of Dessau cost, in 1925, M 850,000, and the equipment, such as furniture, machinery, tools, etc , about M 120,000

[1] In the second stage of its development at the Bauhaus in Dessau, the handwork masters no longer formed part of the Board of Masters The greater certainty the designs masters acquired in dealing with technical questions, the better they were able uniformly to represent both the technical and artistic spheres The final solution of this question, however, only took place when former pupils of the Bauhaus, who had proved that they possessed outstanding capabilities and had passed right through the handicrafts and designs training, were appointed masters

[2] In view of the nature of the workshops as model laboratories for industry, great value is attached to the administration of the Institute on commercial lines (purchase of raw materials, obtaining licences, conclusion of agreements, execution of orders, etc) For that reason, the manager was a merchant thoroughly versed in commercial life.

The Scope of the Handicraft Training[1]

I Sculptors in Stone
- 1 Stone-working
  - (*a*) Free work in stone, with and without model
  - (*b*) Pointing with machine and compass (enlarging, reducing, transferring)
  - (*c*) Working in marble and alabaster
  - (*d*) Tinting, grinding and polishing
  - (*e*) Bedjointing and calculating large pieces of work
- 2 Work in plaster and stucco
  - (*a*) Appliqué work in limestone, plaster, cement, terranova, encrusted plaster work
  - (*b*) Cutting in plaster (positive and negative)
  - (*c*) Plaster moulds (temporary moulds, piece moulds, size mould)
  - (*d*) Drawing and turning plaster
  - (*e*) Colouring, tinting and hardening of plaster
- 3 Framework construction for clay models modelling
- 4 Knowledge of the classes of stone
- 5 Instruction in the various methods of measuring, materials, auxiliary materials and tools
- 6 Costing and bookkeeping

IIa Joiners and Turners
- 1 Treatment of wood
- 2 Cutting and lay-out of wood
- 3 Use of tools and machines
- 4 Wooden structures, assembling furniture and building work
- 5 Veneering plane surfaces, arcuate shapes and sections
- 6 Wood bending
- 7 Turning on lathe
- 8 Surface treatment of wood (staining, waxing, polishing)
- 9 Knowledge of kinds of wood and materials
- 10 Knowledge of machinery and industrial organisation
- 11 Determination of wood required with the aid of drawings, costing, bookkeeping, trade literature

IIb Wood Carvers
- 1 Wood working
  - (*a*) Free work in wood, without model
  - (*b*) Compass and pointing method from drawings and model
- 2 Dressing and gluing
- 3 Surface staining, preserving and gilding
- 4 Knowledge of kinds of wood
- 5 Knowledge of tools
- 6 Costing and bookkeeping

IIIa Smiths and Metal Workers (lighting fittings)
- 1 Knowledge of tools, independent production of simple tools
- 2 Forging iron and steel for building fittings, lighting fittings, containers

[1] The work in connection with advertising (typography and art printing, photography and films—publicity training) and the stage (study of art problems connected with the theatre form, colour, light, movement, tone and also the making of masks and stage figures) is not regarded as handicraft work within the meaning of the legal handwork training, but received careful encouragement as supplementary training The period of the training was the same as that in the other workshops Many artistically gifted pupils received here their training for subsequent practical work.

3. Autogenous welding on welding apparatus
4 Filing, hammering and thread cutting
5 Theory of materials
6 Costing

IIIb Gold-, Silver- and Coppersmiths
1 Knowledge of tools, independent making of simple tools
2 Beating, hammering and mounting, alloying, tinning, etching, colouring, gilding and silvering, making hinges, locks, end-pieces, etc , engraving and chasing
3 Power pressing
4 Knowledge of machinery—handling and care of machines, and industrial organisation
5 Working in glass, amber, ivory, semi-precious and precious stones in conjunction with metals
6 Material theory
7 Costing, bookkeeping, trade literature

IV Potters
1 Working in clay
2 Building up clay vessels and clay pieces for firing
(*a*) Turning pots on potter's wheel and fitting handles
(*b*) Building up of brick plastics (building plastic) pressing out of plaster mould
(*c*) Building up of ceramic stoves
(*d*) Turning plaster moulds
3 Glazing, spraying, painting in accordance with various processes
4 Firing in kiln (open firing, rotary firing), stoking and regulating the temperature
5 Preliminary chemical knowledge necessary for the composition of glazes
6 Industrial organisation
7 Knowledge of tools, costing, bookkeeping and trade literature

V Painting on Glass and Glass-building
Knowledge of various types of glass and their uses according to colour and structure
1 The stained-glass window Cartoning, pattern-making, cutting, painting, shaping, tinting, etching, matt finishing, firing, leading, soldering
2 Glass in conjunction with plastics and architecture Glass inlaying, backing, bending The stained-glass window as spatial component Wood and metal framework construction Glass for lighting elements
3 Costing

VI Interior Decorating and Picture Painting
1 Colour theory
Water colour, distemper, casein, lime, mineral, oil and varnish colours, bronze and metal colours Glazing and coating colours Chemical nature and composition of colours (lead, zinc, iodine and tar colours) The earth colours Poisonous colours Miscibility Solubility Fastness to light
2 Painting technique.
Nature of the ground work for painting and of the colours on stone, cement, mortar, plaster, wood, metal, glass and fabrics Gilding Priming Trowel work Grinding, staining and varnishing Painting on wax, frescoes, sgrafitto, sculpto-painting Colour schemes of rooms and whole buildings Binders, diluents and siccatives Resins, balsams

3 Knowledge of materials, structure of framework making patterns, cartons, working drawings, perspectives, models
4 Measuring, costing, bookkeeping, trade literature

VII Weavers.
1 Knowledge and use of various looms and apparatus for flat weaving, tapestry weaving, and carpet weaving Assembling of looms, beaming, spooling
2 Knowledge of materials, of wool, cotton, silk, yarns, fabrics, etc
3 Various methods of weaving on
(*a*) flat loom, (*b*) tapestry loom (upright and flat), (*c*) Jacquard loom
4 Industrial organisation
5 Carpet weaving on loom
6 Embroidering in various techniques
7 Setting up of work
8 Costing, bookkeeping, trade literature

Rules governing Examinations for " The Journeyman's Certificate of the Bauhaus "

Each student at the Bauhaus who is in possession of the Journeyman's Certificate of a " Handicrafts Chamber " can, immediately he feels capable of doing so, and in arrangement with his masters, apply in writing for the " Journeyman's Certificate of the Bauhaus "

For the examination, he has to make

1 A free, independent work of his own choosing, which reveals his ability in designing and handicrafts

2 A work representing the solution of a problem, the subject of which and time allowed will be fixed by his two masters in conjunction with the Director

Finished work is exhibited in the " Bauhaus " on behalf of all those connected with it Every student is entitled to lodge an objection to the election of the examinee on personal or material grounds , this objection must be lodged with the Director in writing within eight days The matter is then decided by the Board of Masters The election of the examinee must be unanimous

The elected examinee receives a certificate signed by those who have elected him, and who thereby acknowledge that his training as an apprentice in design and handicrafts, his knowledge and capabilities, as understood by the Bauhaus and the strict requirements of the latter, have attained a specific level

The holders of this certificate (Journeyman's Certificate of the Bauhaus) represent the whole of the students in the Bauhaus and benefit by rights accorded them on the strength of that representation

This description of the training in the Bauhaus merely gives the bare outlines of the scheme of organisation based on my education experience ; in order to understand it more clearly, further explanations are required :

Training Equipment

The main consideration which we had in mind when selecting the technical means of instruction and equipment was the endeavour to familiarise the pupil step by step with the evolution of the means of production, from the simple hand tool to the mechanically operated machine, by letting him use them himself

The preliminary training workshop possessed simple work-benches and simple hand tools for working in wood, metal, paper, fabrics, etc Waste materials from all the workshops were used here for free exercises in the use of materials, those abstract and concrete compositions of the first training in handwork and design

The workshops themselves had their correct trade equipment, such as working places, tools and machines which were purchased after careful consultation with practical men engaged in handicrafts and industry Each pupil had his own work locker, for which he was made responsible. The machines used were multi-purpose basic types of the latest design and not special machines More advanced pupils were familiarised with the latter types later on in industrial works, to which they were temporarily sent from the Bauhaus for the purpose of special study The purchase of raw materials was effected in accordance with trade and business principles, the students being frequently consulted, in order to develop their knowledge of materials and business acumen

The scientific training was assisted by a well-stocked library and a comprehensive selection of art and technical publications from all countries, and also by collections of photographs, slides and models

Basic Principles of the Bauhaus Production—Model Types

The practical work of the Bauhaus served primarily for the development of housing from the design of simple household utensils to the finished dwelling, in keeping with modern practice In the conviction that house and household utensils should stand in intelligent relationship to each other, the Bauhaus endeavoured by systematic experimental work in theory and practice—on formal, technical and industrial lines—to discover the appropriate shape of every object from its natural functions and limitations Modern man, who wears a modern and not historic dress, also requires a modern dwelling-house in keeping with himself and his age, equipped with up-to-date things for daily use A thing is determined by its intrinsic nature In order to design its shape so that it functions properly—as a container, a chair or a house—its intrinsic nature must first be investigated, because it must serve its purpose perfectly, that is to say, fulfil its practical functions, be durable, cheap and beautiful

The result of this investigation of the intrinsic nature of things is that in consequence of the resolute consideration of all modern manufacturing methods, designs and materials, forms arise which, departing from tradition, frequently have an unaccustomed and

astonishing effect Consider, for example, the change in design of heating and lighting

The search for new forms at all costs, on the other hand, unless they result from the thing itself, is equally as erroneous as the use of merely arbitrary ornamental forms which have not been evolved from structure and technique, because the ability to design an object " beautifully " is based on a masterly command of all mechanical, technical and formal conditions precedent from which its organism results The way in which the designer arranges the relation between the masses, the materials and colours of the thing which he desires to design imparts to the latter its characteristic aspect. Its spiritual values lie concealed in the dimensional proportion of this arrangement, not in the external addition of ornamental embellishment and profile Only by keeping in constant touch with advancing technique, with the invention of new materials and new forms of construction, can the designer acquire the ability to bring the present into living relationship with tradition, and to evolve therefrom new working values

The creation of standard types for the articles of utility in daily use is a social necessity The standard is by no means an invention of our own era , it is only the methods of producing it which have changed It still implies the highest level of civilisation, the seeking out of the best, the separation of the real and super-personal from the personal and accidental It is to-day more necessary than ever to understand the underlying significance of the conception " Standard," that is to say, as a cultural title of honour, and violently to combat the shallow catchword propaganda which simply raises every industrial mass product to the level of a standard The Bauhaus workshops were essentially laboratories in which utensils typical of the modern age and ripe for series production were carefully evolved in the model and constantly improved The object of creating typical models demands the selection of the best, comprehensively trained minds, who have been trained in thorough working practice and in the exact knowledge of the formal and mechanical elements of design and their structural laws Even though their models are made by hand, these model designers must also be fully acquainted with the mechanical works methods of production on an industrial scale, which differ from those of handicrafts, because it is from the peculiar nature of the machine that the new " beauty " and " genuineness " of their products are evolved, whereas the widely disseminated imitation of the handwork product by the machine always bears the stamp of the substitute Even in the future, the independent work of gifted artist handworkers will continue to live and find a market independently of any connection with industry Apart from such efforts of a purely artistic handicraft nature, the Bauhaus was, however, primarily devoted to the task which to-day is becoming ever more urgent, of saving the mass product and the home from mechanical desolation, and restoring to it purpose, sense and life It therefore endeavoured to

eliminate the drawbacks of the machine without losing its advantages; it endeavoured to find a "standard" instead of a "nouveauté." The models thoroughly evolved and designed in the Bauhaus workshops were produced on an industrial scale in series in outside factories with which the workshops were connected

Accordingly the Bauhaus production did not imply competition with industry and handworker, but on the contrary created for both a new structural factor, since it gave to industrial life men possessing creative talents as well as practical skill, men who are intended to relieve from industry and the handworker the preliminary work necessary for actual production

The manifolded products made from Bauhaus models attained their marketable value as a result of mass production in industry and the resultant turnover. The danger of any diminution in the quality of the products, in material and design, as compared with the original models, was counteracted with every available means The Bauhaus fought on the side of a new high-grade product against substitutes, inferior work and industrial art dilettantism

The most important and the most essential factor in the Bauhaus work was the fact that with the passage of time, as a result of the consciously developed spirit of mutual labour, and in spite of the co-operation of the most divergent personalities and individualities, a certain homogeneity was evolved in all the products, which was not based on external stylistic features, but rather on the effort to design things simply and truthfully in accordance with their intrinsic laws. The shapes which its products have assumed are therefore not a new fashion, but the result of clear reflection and innumerable processes of thought and work in a technical, economic and formal direction The individual cannot attain this goal, and only the collaboration of many can succeed in finding solutions transcending the individual aspect, and which will retain their validity for many years to come

Imitators and those who fail to understand, who profess to see in every building and appliance of modern times, which are lacking in decoration, a relationship to some Bauhaus style, merely distort the clearly defined intention of the Bauhaus work The aim of the Bauhaus is not a "style," not a "system," dogma or tenet, neither is it a recipe nor a fashion Its idea is a living one, as it does not depend upon form, but seeks behind the changing form the essence of life itself.

The Relationship of the Bauhaus to Industry

An art institute of to-day which seeks and finds no relationship with the industrial world fails to accomplish one of its most important tasks, namely that of restoring the artistically talented to practical industry. Notwithstanding the protracted preliminary work accomplished by the "Deutscher Werkbund," the Bauhaus still had a hard struggle against the initial indifference and adverse

attitude of industry before it finally secured recognition. It seems quite comprehensible that the practically minded men of industry should have refused recognition to the artistic problems connected with their sphere of activity until they were compelled by economic reasons to give them a hearing A start first had to be made to convince a few of them that the shape of their products had to be more thoroughly elaborated than is possible by merely engaging designers, who are expected to turn out "Art" for seven to eight hours a day, in order that their more or less superficial designs may be turned out and disposed of in thousands of copies Just as technical invention and commercial management require self-reliant brains, so the invention of good shapes depends upon independent artistic personalities It is more than a question of technical proficiency and value for money to gain the market The material increase of the products alone is not sufficient good, creatively designed forms bring about a multiple increase in the value of the products and secure an advantage in international competition What a repletion of export possibilities the styles of Louis XV and Louis XVI secured for France or the Chippendales, Sheratons and Wedgwoods for England!

What must be done to-day? Artist and industrialist must, by mutual encouragement, each recognise and understand the work of the other and learn to overcome the difficulties which the alteration in the tools of production in the last century has brought in its train

At the Bauhaus an attempt was first made to produce models completely designed in its own workshops instead of mere designs drawn on paper—furniture, wallpapers, fabrics, lighting elements, metal goods, porcelain, etc By means of exhibitions and partly by direct contact, and occasionally also by placing direct orders for mass production, works were found which as an experiment undertook series production from our models The success of the individual models depended essentially on the degree of understanding and the intensity which the particular works brought to bear on their manufacture and sale Models which at first failed to achieve success, but of the utility of which we were convinced, were subsequently handed over with greater success to other works for manufacture and sale

As the Bauhaus became increasingly better known, industry was gradually won over through the public itself Exhibitions in various towns and at the Leipzig Fair, articles and lectures, served as publicity for the nature and quality of our models, and even after a few years, the growing influence of the Institute could be recognised in numerous outside products which had been adapted to the character of our products and of our designs. Finally, their influence even passed beyond the frontiers of the country.

The important factor in this increasing influence was the work of our own pupils Even during their training, the Bauhaus sent out its best students for a time with a view to practical work—mostly on their own models—in factories, to enable them to study practical

methods of production. Inversely, practical workers also came from the factories into the Bauhaus workshops, to discuss the needs of industry with our masters and pupils In this way, a mutual influence arose which found expression in valuable products, the technical and artistic quality of which, for well-thought-out mass-production possibilities, were appreciated by manufacturers At the same time, however, the pupils obtained the inestimable advantage of making their work useful in practice at an early date, instead of continuing to work, as is usually the case, for several years on merely platonic designs After undergoing the complete course, many of them left the Institute with such a degree of practical maturity, as to be able to secure a position in industry which gradually they succeeded in developing into one of decisive influence on production on Bauhaus lines Others set up their own art handicraft businesses, while others again became teachers at existing art institutes, where they passed on the Bauhaus method in the training of a new generation.

In its collaboration with industry, the Bauhaus also attached special importance to bringing the pupils into closer touch with economic problems I am opposed to the erroneous view that the artistic abilities of a student may suffer by sharpening his sense of economy, time, money and material consumption Obviously it is essential clearly to differentiate between the unrestricted work in the laboratory on which scarcely any times are imposed, on the one hand, and work which has been ordered for completion within a certain time, on the other hand, between the creative process of inventing a model and the technical process involved in its mass production Creative ideas cannot be made to order, but the inventor of a model must nevertheless develop trained judgment of an economic method of subsequently manufacturing his model on mass-production lines, even though time and the consumption of material play only a subordinate part in the design and execution of the model itself

The problem of organisation, which consists in deciding how the mass production of the model can be carried out in detail as cheaply as possible and fractions of times and material can be saved in order to reduce the price of the mass-produced article, is only a subsequent process with which the model maker need not be bothered Here again we see the divergence between speculative and productive work and their educational preparation for the laboratory, on the one hand, and for the factory, on the other hand We foresee a time when the clear division of the three classes of work responsible for the product, namely that of the artist, the technician and the merchant, and their collaboration will be customary in every factory.

Even though the industrialists, remembering previous unfortunate experiences due to the mistake inherent in the former methods of artistic training, may still be somewhat chary in regard to new effects of training institutes to come into working contact with them, they will, in the end, no longer close their eyes to the need for giving

the coming generation a thorough training in the laboratory. They will speedily recognise that these methods of preparation afford a practical means of transition, a bridge towards the restoring of creatively gifted men to industry, and from which the latter will ultimately derive extensive advantages and profit

The realisation of such an aim naturally entails a struggle on both sides, even in the Bauhaus setbacks and disappointments were inevitable at the outset and had to be overcome.

Orders executed by the Bauhaus

The whole institution of the Bauhaus training shows the educational value which was attached to practical problems, which impel the pupils to overcome all internal and external friction

Collaboration in actual orders which the master had to execute was one of the outstanding advantages of handicrafts training in the Middle Ages. For that reason, I endeavoured to secure practical tasks for the Bauhaus, on which both teachers and pupils could prove their work A few extensive public exhibitions, for the first time in 1923, and the sending of exhibits to other exhibitions sustained the interest of both pupils and teachers by mutual encouragement and brought our problems and work into the limelight of publicity The exhibitions furnished matter for animated discussions of concrete working problems in the Bauhaus itself and led to intensive group work in the individual workshops

An equally encouraging factor was the co-operation of pupils in private orders obtained by the masters and in my own practical building problems In particular, the erection of our own institute buildings and also dwelling-houses in Dessau, in which the whole Bauhaus and its workshops co-operated, represented an ideal task for all those taking part for putting into practice the ideas which had been conceived during the first six years of the Institute's development The opening of these buildings in 1926 aroused astonishing interest Innumerable visitors came to inspect them from all parts of the world The demonstration of all kinds of new models made in our workshops, and which we were able to show in practical use in the building, so thoroughly convinced manufacturers that they entered into licence agreements with the Bauhaus, which, as the turnover increased, proved a valuable source of revenue to the latter.

In securing practical orders, we carefully avoided competing with handworkers and industry, because conflicts of that description would only have been harmful to the Institute. The public gradually came to understand that instead of competing with them, the Bauhaus did preliminary work for both manufacturer and handworker and provided them with new possibilities of employment.

The institution of productive work simultaneously afforded the possibility, even during the three years' training, of paying students for articles and models which possessed a selling value, and which provided many a capable student with the means of existence, even though only on a modest scale.

Designs Masters and Handicraft Masters

The success of any idea depends upon the personal attributes of those responsible for carrying it out. The selection of the right teachers is the decisive factor in the results obtained by a training institute For the Bauhaus the plan was to get together two entirely different classes of teachers, reputed artists of outstanding creative ability (painters and sculptors) as designs masters, and the best handicraft masters in their trade, who brought with them a clear understanding for industrial production as well Their personal attributes as men played an even more decisive part in their selection than their technical knowledge and ability, because it is upon the personal characteristics of the master that the success of fruitful working collaboration with youth primarily depends

The idea of starting with two different groups of teachers was a necessity, because neither artists possessing sufficient technical knowledge, nor handworkers endowed with sufficient imagination for artistic questions, who could have been made the leaders of the individual working departments, were to be found A new generation which combined both these attributes had first to be trained

In keeping with the widely divergent demands made on these two types of teachers, the conditions governing their appointment also differed If one wishes to gain for an institute men of outstanding artistic ability, they must, from the outset, be afforded wide possibilities for their own further development, they must be given time and space to work and money The mere fact that such men continue to develop their own work in the Institute produces that creative atmosphere which is so essential to a school of art, and in which youthful talents can develop This is the most important preliminary condition, to which all other questions affecting the organisation must be subordinated There is nothing which deadens the vitality of an art school, as when its teachers are compelled year in, year out, to devote the whole of their time to classes Even the best of them tire of this unending circle and must in time grow hardened The urge for self-preservation alone makes outstanding artists refuse to assume a yoke which does not leave them adequate time for their own work Creative gifts must be constantly renewed on their own special work, and it is from this renewal alone that the intensiveness and vitality spring which carry the student along with them Art, in fact, is not a branch of science which can be learned step by step from a book. Innate artistic ability can only be intensified by influencing the whole being—by the example of the designs master and his work Whereas the technical and scientific subjects can be learned by progressive courses of lectures, the training in design must, to be successful, be conducted as freely as it is possible to do so, at the personal discretion of the artist The student must from the outset be made, in so far as possible, to rely on himself in converting into practice, either alone or in group work, the impressions which he receives

from the teachings of his designs master. The hours of instruction which are intended to give direction and artistic incentive to the work of the individuals and groups need by no means be very frequent, but they must provide essentials, so that they stimulate the student The ability to draw is all too frequently confused with the ability to produce creative artistic designs. Like dexterity in handicrafts it is, however, no more than a skill, a valuable means of expressing spatial ideas But virtuosity in drawing and handicrafts is not art The artistic training must provide food for the imagination, and the imaginative powers Imagination gives the student the impetus to increase his expressive ability, his means of expression He can only succeed in doing so if, apart from the intellectual imparting of mere knowledge, he is thrown into the experience of his own self, so that he learns to know his own limitations and can estimate his own capabilities with more modesty Perplexity in a student confronted with difficult problems provides the most favourable opportunity for the teacher to intervene to useful effect It is, however, only the born teacher who instinctively grasps what is passing through the student's mind and how he can turn his fits of depression into a new incentive to work The *innate* ability of the teacher to work on psychological lines, unfortunately cannot in my opinion be replaced by a preliminary course of study in pedagogy The appointment of mature personalities of international repute—such as, for instance, the painters L Feininger, W Kandinsky, P Klee, J Itten, L Moholy-Nagy, G Muche, and the sculptors G Marcks and O Schlemmer—at the Bauhaus secured a high standard of training in design and its pedagogic effects Their acquaintance with artistic problems in their own work made me perceive in them the appropriate leaders for the Bauhaus training

The temporary presence of outside teachers in the Bauhaus also had an encouraging and stimulating effect on both teachers and students As a result artistic problems appeared in a new light The success of these special courses also depends upon the artist being given space in which to work, and time to continue his own work during the courses, from which, without being tied down in advance to a specific theme, he can exert his influence on the students. One or two ateliers were kept ready at the Bauhaus for guest teachers The instruction which they gave was not wedged in advance into a schedule of classes, but this itself was made sufficiently elastic to enable the Directorate to await the guest teachers' own proposals before embodying them in a schedule Only the artist, in fact, can correctly decide what he can impart to the students and the form in which the instruction appears to him to be most suitable. If he gives liberty gradually to evolve his instruction on organised lines and to incorporate it in the existing instruction, the Institute will in this way derive the maximum benefit from his temporary collaboration

With a view to increasing the comprehensive means of stimulating the students, and to extending the sphere of influence of the Bauhaus

in public life, we succeeded in establishing a circle known as " The Friends of the Bauhaus," the curatorium of which included such poets, artists and scientists as Adolf Busch, Albert Einstein, Gerhard Hauptmann, Franz Werfel and Hans Poelzig For many years this association regularly held " Bauhaus Evenings "—concerts, lectures, recitations and performances—which gradually made the students acquainted with a number of outstanding personalities in art and science, who could not fail to influence them from many angles.

As a result of the loose-knit, unconstrained character of the artistic influence at the Bauhaus, an intensive " atmosphere " was created, which was the most valuable thing the students received Such a *fluidum* can only exist when a number of personalities are working together to a common end ; it cannot be created by organisation, nor can it be defined in terms of time

It is, however, essential not to misunderstand this Freedom of artistic atmosphere in no case means neglect of discipline in training Naturally, even an art school must maintain strict order, because training in handwork and science must be associated with regular lessons ; they form the backbone of the obligatory training, which each individual student must be compelled to undergo A special task which devolved upon the handicrafts masters in the workshops was the maintenance of good discipline in the latter During the early years, a certain jealousy arose between the responsible handicrafts masters and the designs masters, a weak point due to the initial necessity for dividing the teachers into two groups, between artists and technicians It disappeared in the subsequent stage of the Bauhaus, when the new generation took charge of the workshops, that is to say, when the fusion between artist and technician took place for the first time The handicrafts masters then acted as assistants to the head of their workshop, in the supervision of the work and in guiding and supervising the students.

Undoubtedly one of the most difficult problems of the Bauhaus was to find the right handicrafts masters for the workshops The comprehensive knowledge required, coupled with teaching ability and farsightedness in dealing with questions of modern production, was not easy to find. Journeys for the purpose of orientation and occasionally repeated changes in personnel ultimately led to success The abilities of these masters ensured a solid foundation of reality to the training ; it was due to their work that handicrafts and industry slowly forsook their prejudice against any dilettantism in technical matters.

Why " Bauhaus " ?

We insist emphatically upon leaving to the art of building and the architect the leading place in art and art training. It is not a question of giving one profession intellectual precedence over others, but a natural arrangement in keeping with their varying natures. A painter, a sculptor or an art worker builds up his work personally

with his own hands, whereas the work of the builder is dependent upon the collaboration of numerous assistants History speaks of the art of building as " the mother of the arts " ; all outstanding periods of history find the architect occupying the leading place. Painting, sculpture and handwork are all developed in organic relationship with the art of building How great was the influence which builders such as Wren, Nash and the brothers Adam exercised on the English production of their day and on the generation to come !

It is the task of the architects of our generation to regain the lead in the arts which became lost to them during the change-over to the machine in our own era They must once more develop the abilities of a leader, by virtue of which there can be unity in the work as a whole, in spite of the multiplicity of collaborators. The object of his profession to-day is that of a comprehensive organiser who, starting out from social conceptions of life, that is to say, conceptions which are valid for the entire community, has to gather under one head all the scientific, technical, economical and artistic problems of building and to weld them systematically in conjunction with numerous artists, specialists and workers into a homogeneous whole

During the last decades, modern architects have successfully assumed the leading place in the modern development of art in Germany We, in the " Deutscher Werkbund," took the initiative The greater a spiritual power the Werkbund became, the more we succeeded in mobilising the support of the State and other public authorities for our cultural aims, and especially for exhibitions Since the great Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne in 1914, a whole series of Werkbund Exhibitions both in Germany and abroad (Barcelona, Paris, Monza, Milan, Stuttgart, Berlin, Breslau, Vienna) have been devoted to fostering, by the widest publicity, the understanding for the necessary collaboration between artist and industry. Each of these Werkbund Exhibitions was under the direction of an architect. The modern art of building in Germany finally succeeded, thanks to the reputation of the Werkbund, in gaining the lead and, through the Bauhaus, in exercising its influence on the new generation. The story of its experiences and its results is symptomatic because it was able to demonstrate the possibility of actually uniting art and technique. Not only other German schools, but also Czech, Austrian, Italian and American schools adapted much of its experience to their own courses of training, in most cases on the initiative of individual school directors or masters

The State and Art

What can the State do, however, independently of private initiative, to bring the artist into the ranks of practical industry ? The rôle which it has to play is, indeed, a difficult one. It must exercise the greatest circumspection if it is to prove of assistance

in achieving the goal; in fact, the things which it must refrain from doing are often far more decisive than its active interest Art needs no tutelage; it must be able to develop in complete freedom. The direction of art by public authorities, central supervisory organisations and laws is more likely to destroy creative impulses than to assist them By its very nature, creative work also cannot be determined in advance, no one knows what direction its originator will take—often he himself does not know, because he creates out of the unconscious Therefore, the very most that the State and public authorities can do is to concur intelligently in the initiative which comes from the artists themselves, by supporting, benevolently and wholeheartedly, every attempt to stimulate industry and the public, and especially exhibitions Such exhibitions are the appointed " Cultural Exchanges " between the artist and industry At these, not only can ideas, visible to all, be brought to the knowledge of the public in general, but the work of preparing for the exhibition itself provides the first line of communication between designer and manufacturer During this work each can study the possibilities of the other The more fundamental and homogeneous the theme of such exhibitions—if possible under the direction of *one* creative mind—the more fruitful the results will be At the same time, a certain onesidedness can do no harm, and is even necessary for the sake of clearness Artistic questions can, by their very nature, be decided in each case by the individual alone and not by committees

Problems of Reorganisation

We regard keen support of exhibitions on the part of the public authorities as being particularly helpful Measures of this kind do not, however, go down to the root of the matter Our century has been so revolutionary, and the conflict between tradition and new technical progress so great, that in the reorganisation of the system of artistic training, the State must go deeper if it desires to restore the gifted artist to the sphere of practice And it is in connection with training that the practical possibility of its active intervention would to a certain degree appear to lie The predominating question is, how can those gifted with talent be sifted out from the new generation as a whole, so as to enable them to receive effective training? This would mean, in the first place, a general basic training in art for all, starting with the smallest child, special training as soon as necessary, but as late as possible. We need a new groundwork for all schools on the lines of the " preliminary training " of the Bauhaus, differing in degree according to the age of the classes. Trade training should undergo a certain reformation in its curriculum, by giving it a broader basis, on the lines of that which we have indicated in the example of the trade training at the Bauhaus. It should not implicitly impart merely a knowledge of trades and specialised subjects, but also things which constitute the most

essential condition of every kind of creative work, such as spatial perception, power of presentation, knowledge of materials and an understanding of business and industry, and the proper handling of materials and ordinary machines The " how " of the training is therefore primarily of greater importance than the " what " If manual skill, the understanding for materials and the powers of observation and thought are first properly trained, any specialised training can be absorbed rapidly and without effort. As in the case of all attempts at a reformation, the State will be wise first to concentrate on *one* point, in order to determine what influence such a school for specially talented students would be capable of exercising on architecture, industry and handicrafts For this experiment it should get together the best teachers, give them far-reaching powers and leave them at liberty to discover in actual practice an elastic form of organisation, because only in this way can a high level be reached To maintain this level only a small number of schools of this kind for talented students will be possible even at a later stage, but the tendency of the training accomplished therein will be able to influence other kinds of schools for the artistic and technical professions and render them productive In my opinion, less importance attaches to the nature of the organisation which tradition and local requirements will evolve in these schools, than to a homogeneous fundamental tendency of the training in all schools in the country This, however, can only be achieved by the gradual recruiting of personalities that the training in these schools for talented students will progressively produce

Whereas the ideal is to concentrate these schools for talented students at a few centres only, the State should—by extending all the existing instruction in manual skill and drawing—make the general artistic initial training obligatory in all schools This would be in keeping with experience gained from Froebel to Montessori and would bring the whole problem a gigantic step nearer to solution

Suggested Basic Scheme

We shall endeavour in the following remarks to suggest a simple basic scheme for the general artistic instruction, as a supplement to what we have said above .

I Groundwork for the Art Education

Principal Each individual is originally capable of producing spatial forms, but the optical-spatial sense must be early developed

1st stage Crêches Kindergarten

Modelling, drawing and painting in very free form as play, which is intended to attract the child and stimulate its imagination

2nd stage Elementary Schools Secondary Schools Public Schools

Awakening the creative substance in the growing child Modelling and simple handicraft instruction for all kinds of materials in conjunction with free training in design Bipartite but simultaneous instruction in manual skill and form perception Modelling, building, assembling, free-hand and geometrical drawing and

painting throughout the whole duration of the training No schemes, no specimens, no elimination of the urge to play, i e no artistic tutelage The whole task of the teacher is to keep the child's imagination awake and constantly to stimulate its desire to model and draw

II. Art Training for More Advanced Pupils

3rd stage State and Local Art and Handicraft Schools Schools for Apprentices in Industry Trade and Technical Schools of lower and higher grade, including all kinds of architectural schools

Intensified instruction in design and handicrafts—duration about six months to a year—as obligatory preliminary training with a view to weeding out artistically talented pupils from all schools for training in the special schools

Thereupon division into two courses of professional training, A and B of the fourth stage

4th stage A (For pupils remaining in 3rd-grade schools)

Continuation of trade instruction in same schools Special training in manual skill for the trade selected, work on machines, technical drawing, works technique, costing, etc

Result Trade workers for industry and handicrafts, industrial and architectural draughtsmen, works technicians, works foremen, handworkers

B School for talented pupils (partly in conjunction with and supplemented by existing special schools for architecture) particularly for pupils possessing artistic talent Extensive instructional powers

Comprehensive hand and brain training Free introduction to independent design in modelling and drawing

Extensive handwork and machine practice Active training which enables the students to discover results for themselves and opens the way for their creative powers

Result Independent architects, sculptors, painters The men responsible for the experimental and designing work for industry Art teachers Independent art handworkers

Future Prospects

The most essential factor in artistic education is the *unity* of its entire structure in all stages of development It can only grow concentrically, like the annular rings of a tree, embracing the whole from the beginning, and at the same time gradually deepening and extending it The dividing up of the training into individual sections, carried out separately as regards time and place instead of simultaneously, must destroy its unity It is the sense of coherence in what he learns, and not the accumulation of organically unconnected scraps of knowledge, which makes the adolescent harmonious, far-sighted and productive. A creative art training such as we have here attempted to outline as an ideal aim would fuse art with technique, and reintegrate the artists into the daily work of the nation.

The art school itself, however—considered as an instrument that serves a disrupted period of transition between two different cultures —may, by virtue of its own success, some day render itself superfluous, because once organic unity is attained, manufacturers, as practical men, and men who have reacquired adequate powers of

judgment, will begin to turn their attention to the proper training of the uprising generation

This new teaching, which will resemble the free handicrafts training of the Middle Ages, except that it will be infinitely wider and profounder in its scope, will be able to adapt itself to the spirit of human progress and the changed productive machinery of the modern world

WALTER GROPIUS

SECTION V

New Ideas for Training in Citizenship

CHAPTER ONE

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Introduction

THERE are few schools which do not claim to include in their aims that of training for citizenship, but apart from a brief and inglorious intrusion into the elementary schools of thirty or forty years ago of a subject known as "Civics," it is only of recent years that much attention has been given to what specific training for citizenship involves and what forms it should take. It is now widely recognised that it is necessary, not only to train the child for his vocation and the wise use of his leisure, but also to equip him specifically for his relations with the various communities of which he forms part.

The fact that there is greater concern than formerly as to what qualities need to be encouraged in the citizen of to-day, is largely due to the fact that citizenship in a democratic state has had to meet a double challenge: first, the challenge offered by the complexity of the problems, economic and politic, which the citizen is called upon to solve, and secondly, the challenge offered by the authoritarian states whose citizens are successfully trained for obedience only. It has become increasingly recognised that in order for the citizens of this country to form an effective and critical public opinion and to be capable of intelligent and independent judgment, a specific training is necessary.

Training for citizenship is, then, the answer to these challenges; and it is because of the clearer conception of the end in view that the phrase has acquired a somewhat new content—at the same time narrower and broader than before. It has become narrower in that such training is no longer regarded as co-extensive with the whole range of a child's education, but with those parts only which affect his social relationships—although it is of course obvious that the quality of a man's relationship to the community inevitably depends on and is limited by his quality as an individual. It has become broader, in that it is recognised that the comprehensive training for citizenship is much more than the mere acquisition of knowledge about political institutions, and must embrace many of the subjects in the curriculum and the whole life of the school and its outside activities.

It was this new conception that enabled the Association for

Education in Citizenship,[1] when it was formed in May 1934, to define training for citizenship as follows: "Training in the moral qualities necessary for the citizens of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in everyday affairs and the acquisition of that knowledge of the modern world usually given by means of courses in history, geography, economics, citizenship and public affairs"

"Transfer" of Qualities

The growth of the opinion that training for citizenship should be specific is also largely due to the fact that the faith is no longer held that habits of mind and emotions, aroused in connection with one set of studies and activities, can automatically be "transferred" to others quite different The conclusions of the majority of leading educationists and psychologists to-day show that the "transfer" of training from one subject to another takes place on a much smaller scale than used to be thought—often there is none at all It follows that to train pupils for a certain purpose involves their study of subjects useful for that purpose in preference to those which are studied mainly for the mental discipline they are supposed to afford

The Qualities required of a Citizen in a Democratic State

Those who hold this view—and they are increasing in number—have had to determine the specific qualities which the citizen in a democratic state must possess, and the kind of knowledge with which he must be equipped The qualities have been summed up as follows (*a*) *Moral*—A sense of social responsibility, a will to sink personal and class interests in the common good and to take a full share in work for the community; a capacity for independent judgment, a love of freedom and tolerance; and a preference for methods of persuasion rather than force (*b*) *Intellectual*—An interest in the affairs of the modern world; some knowledge of recent history and of the political and economic affairs of the world of to-day, the habit of applying scientific methods of thought to public affairs, a recognition of one's own prejudices and susceptibility to propaganda

By what means, then, are schools and colleges attempting to develop in their pupils these necessary qualities?

1 Elementary and Secondary Schools

Moral Qualities

To deal first with the schools; there are some—how many it is impossible to say—in which the activities are deliberately planned to this end The living of a corporate life at school offers great opportunities as a preparation for the life of a good citizen Children are encouraged to appreciate and share in the high social ideals of the

[1] 10 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

school community and to recognise the value of a freedom in which order and discipline are preserved in the common interest Most of our schools make it their aim to develop individuals who can use freedom wisely, and many different types of schools are carrying out experiments in the wider extension of freedom both within and outside the classroom

Loyalty to the school itself is encouraged everywhere ; the team spirit which is so general in games is now, in many schools, being evoked also in the classroom through co-operative or group methods of work which take the place of individual competition A sense of responsibility is now often required, not merely of selected leaders, but of the ordinary pupils throughout the school, and where these are given the opportunity of choosing their own leaders, a most valuable practical training in the exercise of public responsibility is afforded, which appears seldom to be abused

The influence exerted by the teacher in promoting public spirit and an interest in public affairs can be great if he himself is an active-minded citizen He will find, if he wishes to do so, many opportunities of directing the attention of his pupils to the obligation of the citizen to make what return he can to the community from which he is receiving so much Heads of schools are therefore beginning to realise the need to have on their staff a certain proportion of teachers with a keen civic consciousness

But, although it will be generally agreed, that the task of training the child for the community life in school itself has in most cases been successfully accomplished, something more is required in order that loyalty to the school may be " transferred " to the wider sphere and that the citizen's duty to the community or town, state or world itself may be realised Here the schools are up against a difficult problem—that of making the children sheltered in the community of the school realise the needs of the wider community outside

Some schools—but they are in a minority—are tackling this problem and are trying out interesting experiments Thus Leighton Park, Abbotsholme and others, include among their school journeys visits to the slums of a big city, or to the distressed areas Gordonstoun (Elgin) is undertaking the watching of a certain section of the coast. Boys and girl in the Portsmouth elementary schools, and others, are realising keenly the needs of their district through co-operating in the making of a social survey, and the boys and girls of the elementary school at Lockeridge, Wiltshire, have helped to make a village hall for the use of all There are few secondary schools—whether boys' or girls'—which do not assist in the maintenance of some social activity, whether this takes the form of a school mission or collections for some philanthropic object. The work of the Scout and Guide movements as performing magnificent work in training for practical citizenship is well known

An increasing number of schools are encouraging discussion of ethical aspects of political and economic problems with their older

pupils in the classroom, chapel or debating society; the fear of dealing with such subjects, either because they are considered too controversial or too priggish, is rapidly abating.

Knowledge of the Modern World

An ever-increasing number of schools—it is again impossible to estimate how many—are conscious of the need for giving in school some knowledge of the modern world and of what has led up to it, as a foundation for the acquisition of further knowledge of this kind in later life. This knowledge is given through the medium of many different subjects; in fact, there are few subjects which cannot make their contribution, provided that the teacher is prepared to select his material so that it has a bearing on the real world of to-day.

(*a*) *Training for Citizenship through the Existing Curriculum*

History.—The contribution made by the study of history to an understanding of contemporary conditions and to an appreciation of our national heritage can be pre-eminent if it is recognised that the type of historian required is he who looks upon the study of the history of the past as a means of interpreting the present. Every year the courses chosen and the textbooks published on British history stress more and more the history of economic and social conditions, of culture and ideas, and demand less the details of diplomacy and wars. Broadly speaking, it can be said that schools with a more progressive outlook now aim at giving a conspectus of the growth, not only of our own country, but also of civilisation itself, and relate the teaching of history closely to that of geography and—where taught—of economics and public affairs. The value of the study of local history is widely recognised, and some schools complete an historical study of their district by a regional survey. It is justly claimed that the importance of local affairs is more keenly realised if the child is brought to see the influence that has been exerted in his own district in the past by individuals not so very different from himself.

Many different experiments are being worked out in the teaching of world history; and though this is sometimes dealt with only in a purely elementary fashion with junior classes, the need for a wider study of modern international problems is being increasingly realised and is leading to the inclusion in the syllabus of more countries and of recent and contemporary periods. It is satisfactory to note that the majority of pupils who take history for the School Certificate Examinations choose the period up to 1914, and that in some Sixth Forms at any rate history is continued to the present year.

Geography.—To-day, geography in the modern-minded school has passed far beyond the stage of being concerned with physical features only. The geography course in these schools usually starts in its turn with the known, so that by means of the

acquisition of knowledge of his own district the child begins to appreciate which factors in the social environment are of primary importance Attention is next directed to his own country and to the world as a whole Human geography of this type aims at developing some knowledge of the conditions, both economic and political, in which human beings live in different parts of the world, and of the problems which have to be solved The study of geography in its economic aspect—transport, communication, etc.—serves as an admirable introduction to the study of economics itself

Science —Of the various natural sciences, biology is that most obviously related to the problems of government , its significance with regard to questions of public health, problems of population, and to social hygiene makes its study in proper hands an admirable training for citizenship It is probable, however, that the importance of these human aspects of biology are only just beginning to be realised and are comparatively rarely stressed , and that although a consideration of the practical applications of the physical and chemical sciences to modern life and thought is encouraged by some science teachers, these are all too often omitted

Languages —These—whether classical or modern—serve a double purpose from the point of view of the training of the citizen Practice in the right use of words and in their arrangement in logical sequence is an indispensable training in clearness of thought In addition, the intelligent teacher of modern languages makes use of his opportunities to direct his pupils' attention to the life, thought and problems of other nations Some knowledge of the great democracies and of the political thought of Greece and Rome is the prize for the classical scholar who reaches a comparatively advanced standard

Mathematics —A frequent approach to the teaching of citizenship in the elementary school is now found in arithmetic, in which the problems frequently chosen are those which deal with the affairs of everyday life—rates, taxes, wages, etc For the older pupils mathematics are occasionally used to show the need for a quantitative survey of social problems

Scripture and English —The value of these subjects as a training for citizenship is too obvious to need any elaboration In many schools the scripture lesson is used, in conjunction with the general religious life of the school, to inspire in the child an ideal of service to the community and to mankind. The study of English not only involves essential practice in clear and logical thinking, but also affords an opportunity for bringing the child into touch with the finest expressions of the ideals of his race

(*b*) *Training for Citizenship through New Subjects—Public Affairs and Economics*

So much for the curriculum as it usually is. But in many schools to-day it is felt that in lieu of, or in addition to, the existing curri-

culum, it is desirable that courses in public affairs and economics should be introduced as special subjects. Schools which adopt this point of view feel that unless their teachers of history and geography are both interested in and competent to teach contemporary public affairs, these may be very inadequately dealt with We find therefore in some schools of all kinds classes known as *citizenship*, *public affairs*, *politics*, etc , which terms are applied to the study of the institutions of government—local, national and international—and, in the case of older pupils, of the principles underlying them

Elementary Schools

Most of the recent reports on the curriculum, e g the Hadow Report on Senior Schools and a report of the Education Committee of the London County Council on the teaching of citizenship, advocate that before leaving the senior school children should, probably in the history course, be given some knowledge of contemporary public affairs In many elementary schools to-day, therefore, we find citizenship lessons closely related to the life of the children and usually taking local affairs as their starting-point In this, as in other subjects, the most satisfactory methods of approach are those which give scope for the pupil's own activity In many schools dramatic methods are being tried, such as model parliaments, mock assemblies of the League of Nations, the work of the Law Courts, etc It is impossible to say in what proportion of elementary schools experiments in the teaching of public affairs are being tried, but the number is steadily growing, the range of the subject-matter is increasing, and new methods of approach are being worked out

In a few schools corresponding experiments have also been made in the teaching of economics In certain cases an approach to economics is made for quite small children, either through the dramatic method, or through discussions on the economic problems found in the camp, desert island, etc In some few schools, such as those around Loughborough in Leicestershire, classes in elementary economics, mainly of a descriptive character, are given to the older children The familiarity of much of the material used gives the subject a strong appeal.

Secondary Schools

As regards older pupils in secondary schools, the realisation of the need for some systematic knowledge of the problems underlying contemporary affairs is spreading rapidly in its turn The means by which this knowledge is being supplied fall into several different categories. In some schools a general introduction is given to boys or girls in the middle school ; the first approach to contemporary affairs is in many cases given through a " current events " class ; but it is being increasingly realised that in order to avoid a spasmodic

and superficial approach, this should be supplemented by a more systematic course in politics, economics or recent history Some schools make use of odd weeks after the School Certificate Examination for a short intensive course in politics, and others—mostly girls' schools—provide a citizenship course for classes of the less intelligent children who are taking an extra year to pass their School Certificate In the post-Certificate years a great deal more can be done The study of institutions can be carried much further, and, in addition to facts, elementary political theory can be begun The number of schools, however, which have such courses, apart from pupils who are working for a history scholarship, is not great Where found, the study of politics usually forms part of a modern course which may include also economics, modern history, elementary philosophy and psychology, etc Many schools have a course on contemporary problems or current events either starting or continued at this stage. It is interesting to notice, that up to the present, the need for the study of international relations has been more widely appreciated than that for the study of home affairs and institutions

The study of economics runs pretty well parallel with that of politics ; rarely found in the lower forms in the ordinary school, it is more frequently found in those which have a commercial bias The number of pupils who take economics in the School Certificate Examination is very small indeed This is probably due to the facts that few schools provide economics in the pre-Certificate years, that few boards set papers in it, and that dissatisfaction has been expressed with the type of syllabus and textbooks prescribed where papers are set

There is, however, a small but increasing number of both boys' and girls' schools which make use of a foundation of industrial history and geography to run an economics course for post-School Certificate forms These are mostly straightforward courses in which descriptive economics and the practical applications of economic science take precedence over the niceties of economic theory. In Roedean, for example, a course of this kind is compulsory for all in the Sixth Form, and several boys' secondary schools take economics in the Intermediate Examinations

Grouped Courses.—In addition to the schools which give separate courses in public affairs and economics, others are trying interesting experiments in grouped courses, which are given, either in the Middle School before the School Certificate work begins, or in the case of schools which keep their pupils till 18, after the School Certificate has been surmounted. An example of a grouped early course is found in Bishop Wordsworth's School, Salisbury, where the place of separate lessons in history, geography and economics is taken by a grouped course which includes all three. Examples of senior grouped courses are those given at : (1) St. Paul's School, London, where a post-School Certificate form of boys who are not going on to a university takes a course which includes politics,

economics, history, law, geography and philosophy (2) Liverpool Collegiate School, where the Sixth Form takes biology, economics and political science and the development of civilisation (3) Marlborough College, where in the Modern Department a combined course of history, geography, economics and politics is taken by boys in post-Certificate years who do not intend to specialise along scholarship lines.

In none of these courses is it expected that young political scientists or economists will be turned out ; the aim of the schools, and one in which they are markedly successful, is to arouse interest and to give some background of knowledge, and, what is more important, to give training in a scientific and dispassionate approach to modern problems

Although schools giving systematic training in politics or economics are still a small minority, there are few which do not provide some medium by which contemporary events can be discussed in a school society, such as a debating society, branch of the League of Nations Union, etc It does not yet appear to be widely recognised that the partisanship required in a debate, and the inevitably superficial type of preparation, means that if training in citizenship is left to such methods only, little more is accomplished than the arousing of interest, and no training is given in achieving a dispassionate approach to the consideration of the problems involved

2 Continued and Technical Education—14–18 Years

It is extremely difficult to form any adequate picture as to the extent to which direct training for citizenship is being given in institutions such as Junior Technical and Junior Commercial Schools, Day Continuation Schools, Juvenile Instruction Centres, Junior Evening Institutes, classes in boys' and girls' clubs, etc In theory, the value of giving these young people—who have already made contacts, through their work or through their training, with the life of the real world—some insight, however slight, into the current political and economic problems is generally realised. The difficulties of enlarging their curriculum and of finding the right kind of teachers are, however, proving formidable. Nevertheless, in many Juvenile Instruction Centres and in certain Day Continuation Schools—more especially those started by individual firms—some instruction is being given in subjects such as industrial history, international history, citizenship and kindred subjects. Modern history and human geography and citizenship are also taught in London, Manchester and no doubt under some other local authorities in most of the Junior Technical Schools. Commercial institutes give courses in so-called " business economics," but in few is the subject approached from any wider standpoint. Generally speaking, Junior Technical Schools, whole-time and part-time, are fully aware of the need to widen their studies, and also

of the need to give, where possible, training for life in a community through clubs, games and other outside activities.

3 Training College and University Training Departments

There are some colleges—such as Goldsmiths', Avery Hill and Hull Municipal—which for some time past have arranged courses for their students in social economics, public affairs, etc , and have encouraged their students to take part in active social work During the last few years considerable advances have been made ; and there are individual colleges which ensure that their students are brought in touch with modern problems and with civic activities This is, however, far from being general, and there are many colleges where the attention of the students is not directly called to the responsibilities of citizenship—except perhaps through the medium of a debating society, a local branch of the League of Nations Union, etc It is rare to find methods of teaching citizenships actually being studied, but it is usual to find stressed the need for relating history and geography to modern public affairs

4 Universities

The place given to the social sciences at the various universities and the provision made in Honour Schools such as those of economics, modern history, political science, and in grouped courses, such as the Modern Greats School at Oxford, are familiar In certain of the university scholarship examinations, in intermediate courses, and in subsidiary courses in final examinations, opportunities are given to take papers in subjects bearing on modern political and industrial problems A greater insistence on a knowledge of the social sciences in various types of university examinations—especially in the entrance examinations—would go far to stimulate an interest in public affairs from school days onwards

In the vocational courses taken at the universities little effort seems so far to have been made to relate the study of any particular profession or calling to its social background, though this would form a valuable jumping-off ground for training in citizenship Discussion and debating societies there are, of course, in plenty, but all too many university students are prepared to express definite views on intricate subjects to which they have merely devoted an evening in listening to other people's speeches, or a cursory reading of newspapers.

5 Adult Education

Adult education would appear to offer admirable opportunities for training in citizenship, as many of the difficulties which prevent more from being done in schools do not here obtain It is therefore regrettable that the total number of individuals who come within the ambit of adult education constitutes so small a proportion of the population, and further that the great majority of these are not

interested in, or have not the time to deal with, social studies. Thus, whereas in non-vocational classes about one-third of those organised by University Committees, by Extension Delegacies or by the W E A deal with social studies, only about one in ten of those held under local education authorities are even remotely connected with the social sciences In the case of technical part-time students it is generally found to be impossible to fit in any additional subject, and even commercial classes frequently omit economics, except a narrow version known as " business economics " As regards the less formal side of adult education something is being successfully attempted by bodies such as the League of Nations Union, Women's Institutes, etc , to interest the man and woman in the street in contemporary affairs

Broadcasting

The discussions and talks on citizenship for both schools and adults organised by the B B C are well known and invaluable, for they call on the finest talent in the country, and make individuals or institutions, which would otherwise remain but names to the listener, personally familiar to him

6 Difficulties in the Way of Training for Citizenship in Schools

Although, as has been shown, direct training for citizenship is certainly on the increase, it is necessary to enquire what are the difficulties which have delayed its general acceptance

Lack of Time

Perhaps the most important of these is the question of time ; to overload an already crowded curriculum is obviously undesirable, and although much relating to citizenship that can profitably be taught at school, or in educational institutions other than universities, can be brought within the limits of subjects now included in the curriculum, even this means a certain readjustment in the syllabuses used, and often in the relation between subjects Many suggestions which are before the educational world at present urge the modification of the curriculum, ranging from the reduction of time given to different subjects to the breakdown of subject barriers and the adoption of a " project " method Whether through these means or otherwise, there are fortunately already a sufficient number of schools and other institutions which manage successfully to solve the problem of time to serve as an example to others who wish to do likewise, but have not as yet discovered how.

The Danger of Bias

The fear that a teacher may display political bias has prevented many schools from giving teaching which in theory they hold to be desirable. It is thought that a biased presentation by teachers might justifiably be resented by parents and governing bodies, and be

unfair to the pupil through imposing on him a ready-made set of views. In actual practice, however, difficulties arising from this possibility are shown to be few; complaints from parents seem to be wholly absent, and only in a few cases have objections been raised by members of governing bodies or others It is generally recognised that the standard of conscientiousness among the teachers of this country is high, and that undue or unfair bias is reduced to a minimum, even in dealing with contemporary problems which inevitably have a controversial aspect Teachers are accustomed to handling controversial subjects carefully and generally know how to deal with that kind of bias which is always and inevitably present, if only in the selection and presentation of material—that is to say, the bias which is due to the unconscious expression of the individual teacher's personality and sense of values Those schools which are being bold enough to allow the discussion of controversial political and economic issues claim, however, that far from inculcating bias, the scientific method of approach developed in the classroom serves to widen the point of view—itself picked up in the narrower confines of home or from current newspapers—of the average boy or girl, provided that the teacher discriminates between what is a matter of opinion and what a matter of fact, and always encourages free discussion Moreover, if training for citizenship is given through many different subjects, each child will be brought in touch with several teachers with probably differing views The danger of biased teaching is, of course, often of less importance in the case of older students

The Difficulty of Finding Teachers

With regard to junior forms, no problem arises, as the teaching of citizenship can usually be given in connection with history and geography and there are many teachers who are prepared to stress these problems. With regard to Sixth Forms, greater difficulty is encountered, but this will certainly be overcome if the demand for such teaching is made by headmasters and headmistresses, and greater encouragement is given to their study at the universities.

The Difficulty of Finding Books

The teacher, who is not himself trained in political or economic studies, is apt to be baffled when he regards, on the one hand, the overwhelming number of books on certain aspects of the subjects, and on the other hand, finds himself without the particular type of book required for certain other aspects. The Association for Education in Citizenship is here stepping into the breach, as it has in preparation a reasoned bibliography on those aspects of public affairs, economics, economic history, recent history, geography and elementary logic and psychology, up to, but not including, university standard. The advice of the Association has also been asked with regard to the publication of other books to fill some of the more obvious gaps.

Summary

To sum up, it can be said that a great deal of interest has been aroused all through the educational world in training for citizenship ; many experiments are being tried and many schools and colleges are doing valuable work But much remains to be done if teaching on the lines that have been indicated is to become at all general In a very large number of schools to-day nothing specific is being attempted beyond, perhaps, an occasional talk on some event of outstanding importance, and in many schools the only kind of history and geography taught is of the old-fashioned type It is still widely assumed in schools and universities that the mental discipline of classics, mathematics and the physical sciences will fit the boy or girl to tackle political and social problems, and it is not yet sufficiently widely recognised that the approach to these is fundamentally different and demands its own preparation There is also considerable ignorance in one part of the educational field of what is considered possible and is actually being carried out in another , here there is reason to hope that the Association for Education in Citizenship will fulfil a useful function in collecting and disseminating information and in forming a meeting-ground for all interested in the subject

EVA M. HUBBACK

CHAPTER TWO

The Study of International Relations in Higher and Secondary Education

I Introduction

MORE than the span of a half generation has passed since the Treaties of Peace came into effect In that period, innumerable efforts have been made through public and private initiative to provide the educational facilities which were thought by their originators to be essential for the present and future inhabitants of the modern world These efforts are now spread over so wide a range, and are so divergent in purpose and form, that it has become almost impossible to frame any comprehensive judgment about their desirability or their effectiveness

It is possible, however, to trace in the midst of this heterogeneous activity a growing demand for the encouragement of international studies in different branches of education This paper is concerned solely with a review of the position of the study of international relations in education at the higher and secondary levels, and of some of the more important issues which proposals for its extension raise

Absence of Official Direction

Apart from a few isolated proposals and experiments before the war, the movement to develop and spread the study of international relations dates from the early post-war years At the time of the Peace Conference, a few voices were raised to draw attention to the importance of education in the new international peace system, and proposals were presented by national and international organisations that the future League of Nations should include an educational branch But neither the Peace Treaties nor the Covenant of the League contain any provisions bearing upon educational policy Thus a new method for conducting the political relations between the peoples of the world was officially introduced without the accompaniment of any provision for the educational preparation of the future generations who would be called upon to work and to live under the system A roughly analogous situation would arise, if one Sunday morning, without any previous notice, motorists in the United Kingdom were required to drive on the right instead of the left of a road system constructed for driving on the left

This omission can, it is true, be readily explained in the light of the atmosphere of national jealousy and suspicion prevalent at the Peace Conference and the close watch kept by each nation over its independence in determining educational policy But it was none the less singular that the framers of the Covenant failed in their

official capacities to press, either for measures to prevent a continuance or resurgence of national educational policies incompatible with the system of peaceful co-operation envisaged under the Covenant, or for a policy, pursued in collaboration, designed to equip the future generation for the new world order It is difficult to acquit the statesmen of the Peace Conference, and in particular the members of the League of Nations Commission, of a lack both of retrospection and foresight , for, on the one hand, the sinister power of nationalistic educational policy in Prussia and other countries had been fully demonstrated before the Great War, while, on the other, it could hardly have been expected that the deterrent effects of the experience of the war itself would influence those who had not been born when it came to an end

It is necessary to stress this passivity on the part of the Peace Conference , for the haphazard and unco-ordinated character of the attempts which have been subsequently made may be partly attributed to the want of any official international direction from the framers of the Peace Settlement

The Promotion of Teaching on the League of Nations

Four main streams of effort have contributed to the growth of the movement for the promotion of international studies The first is derived largely from the aims of unofficial League of Nations associations and of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies to encourage support on as wide a scale as possible for the ideals of the Covenant The influence which these unofficial societies have been able to exercise has varied very greatly from country to country In Great Britain, through numerical strength and resolute direction, the League of Nations Union early became the agency mainly responsible for awakening a popular interest in international affairs in the post-war decade In collaboration with the teaching profession and sympathetic local educational authorities, the educational activities of the Union penetrated rapidly to many State-aided and non-State-aided schools, secondary, central, elementary and private property schools and training colleges A separate but affiliated organisation was formed later to take over the work of encouraging a similar interest among university students

But the strength and achievements of the League of Nations Union in Great Britain are unique In France, pre-Hitler Germany and Italy the national societies were numerically far weaker and without any effective educational influence. In many of the smaller neutral countries, individualistic traditions in education often combined with an enlightened governmental policy either to impede or to remove the necessity for the growth of a strong national society. The combined opposition of the Soviet Government to the " capitalist institution of Geneva " until 1933–4 ruled out all possibility of educational activity for its support, and there is no evidence of any change of educational direction since the U.S S R joined the League in 1934. It is a strange commentary upon the

history of the Far East since 1931 that Japan, after Great Britain, had numerically the largest membership of any League of Nations society in the world—a fact which was referred to in the course of the Council's proceedings with regard to the Sino-Japanese dispute

The rejection of the League of Nations by the United States of America, and the ensuing period of "isolationism," rendered the American contribution to this stream of educational activities necessarily an indirect one Innumerable platforms have been used under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association, the League of Women Voters and other widespread organisations to advocate indirectly, and sometimes directly, American membership of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice But the initial problem in America has been, not so much the kindling of support for a given international institution, as the maintenance of the consciousness of contact with the non-American world which the Great War for the first time fostered on any large scale Paradoxically, however, the study of international relations in the university made its first appearance in the United States

Formation of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation

The pressure of private organisations for the promotion of the aims of the League and of individual intellectual leaders was successful in bringing about the formation of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in 1922 under the official auspices of the League This body was given the competence to formulate and discuss, *inter alia*, proposals for developing "a liberal spirit of goodwill and world-wide co-operation" In 1925, an administrative organ, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, was created in Paris by the French Government and placed under the auspices of the League to serve the Committee

The formation of the Committee at once gave an impetus to the movement for promoting through educational activity a wider knowledge of and interest in the League A resolution was passed by the Fourth Assembly urging "the Governments of the States Members to arrange that the children and youth in their respective countries, where such teaching is not given, be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of the Covenant" This was followed by a resolution of the Fifth Assembly widening the definition to include the training of the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs, and requesting the Secretariat to report to the Sixth Assembly on the measure taken by Governments The result of the report was the establishment of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations.

The Sub-Committee of Experts conceived that its duty as an organ of the League was to propose and survey the carrying into effect of measures for making the principles and achievements of the League known to the children and youth of the States members.

Its work was principally embodied in the recommendations issued in 1926 and 1927 for teaching the ideals and activities of the League of Nations in schools and developing the spirit of international co-operation. These not only constitute in themselves a valuable and frequently quoted collection of suggestions, but they also have been the means of stimulating a considerable development in instruction upon the League of Nations in a number of different countries [1] In 1933 the Sub-Committee was reorganised and became the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching [2]

Before and after the formation of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Governments of a number of countries with centralised systems of education issued educational regulations requiring compulsory teaching on the League of Nations in specified branches of education, as, for example, in the higher primary schools in France by a decree of August 1921, or in the primary and higher primary schools of Czechoslovakia by a law of July 1922 In some countries compulsory lessons or talks on the League of Nations have for some time been required to be given on certain occasions, as, for example, in Denmark annually on the date of the opening of the Assembly of the League, and in France on Armistice Day The co-operation of school authorities in countries with a non-centralised system has often been obtained for the organisation of similar activities at the instances of voluntary associations or the teaching profession

This first stream of activity is distinguished by the emphasis laid upon instruction about the League of Nations with a view to creating support for its principles The effects of this emphasis will be considered later.

Revision of School Textbooks

The second stream of effort has centred round the problem of rendering national school textbooks politically inoffensive to other countries It has been held that at least one cause of ill-feeling would be eliminated, if the history textbooks used in the *lycées* and *collèges* of France, for example, could, while remaining objective, present the history of Franco-German relations in such a way as to avoid giving offence to Germans or encouraging feelings of resentment among French children Considerable efforts, both private and official, have been made since 1920 to translate this principle into practice. A number of private international organisations, such as the World Federation of Educational Associations, the International Committee of the Historical Sciences and the International Bureau of National Federations of Public Secondary School Teachers, have launched general or local enquiries. Individuals in different countries have also studied the problem.

[1] The Recommendations are published in *League of Nations Document*, A 26, 1927, XII

[2] Reports of the work of the reconstituted Committee will be found in the annual *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, published by the Secretariat of the League in Geneva.

The Cesares Resolution

The League of Nations formally took up the question in 1925 when the Cesares Resolution was adopted This resolution laid down a procedure whereby the machinery of the National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation could be used for securing the deletion or amendment of passages in textbooks relating only to questions of fact signalised by the Committee of another country as " of a nature to convey to the young wrong impressions leading to an essential misunderstanding of other countries " In 1930, a proposal of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the revision of school textbooks was adopted by the Assembly of the League, and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was instructed to prepare a report to serve as a basis for the work of a special committee of experts to be formed for the purpose of presenting proposals The report was first issued in 1931, and the Committee of Experts for the revision of school textbooks met in February 1932

Recommendations of the Committee

The recommendations of the Committee, with certain changes, were subsequently incorporated in resolutions adopted by the Council and Assembly in 1932 [1] By these resolutions the scope of the Cesares procedure was extended to include, "not only history textbooks, but textbooks on the history of civilisation, on geography, on civics and morals, ethnographical maps and anthologies, and readers used both in public and in private education " Requests for " the rectification of opinions revealing a spirit of animosity towards foreign nations, or of comments such as intentionally place a nation in an unfavourable light " could also be received by a National Committee The procedure itself was strengthened It was further provided that if two National Committees failed to agree, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation would be prepared to place itself at their disposal as mediator Positive recommendations were also included upon the appropriate method for the selection of textbooks by public and professional bodies and for closer international collaboration through professional organisations in ensuring revision.

But two of its recommendations indicate that the Committee of Experts recognised the inadequacy of a policy of revision pure and simple. The first records the unanimous conviction of the Committee that " it is of capital importance that the history of civilisation and the intellectual, social, economic and juridical evolution of nations should not be sacrificed to political history " and " considers that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should examine the means of promoting, in the different countries,

[1] The texts of the recommendations and resolutions will be found in *School Textbook Revision and International Understanding*, 2nd (English) edition, 1933, compiled and published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, pages 23–30 and 189–92.

the compilation of textbooks as well as historical and literary readers conceived in this spirit and, while scientifically accurate, of a nature to further international understanding" It is significant that all reference to the conviction of the Committee of Experts concerning the importance of the history of civilisation was omitted from the text of the resolution ultimately adopted by the Council and Assembly The second recommendation, which was adopted unchanged, asks that a study should be undertaken of the psychological influence exercised by textbooks on the minds of pupils.

But although these efforts have undoubtedly brought about some improvement in the quality of the textbooks of a few countries, it was widely realised by 1932 that successful revision not only could not by itself create the necessary educational background, but also was itself impossible without the solution of more far-reaching problems concerning the place of international studies in education

Moral Disarmament

The third stream of influence may be more accurately described as a confluence of the first two It begins with the proposals of the Polish Government for moral disarmament circulated before the opening of the International Disarmament Conference and subsequently referred to the Committee on Moral Disarmament of the Political Commission of the Conference The Committee set to work on a draft Convention on Moral Disarmament which would ensure that teaching given in the territories of contracting countries was " not only not of a character to create or maintain amongst the younger generation hatred, contempt or misunderstanding of other peoples, but is also so conceived as to develop good understanding and mutual respect between peoples" The varied aspects of an international relation between different countries were to be brought out at every stage of education, and account was to be taken as far as possible " of the new situation created by the establishment of the League of Nations." Special provisions were to be included to ensure a fair presentation of rival theses in textbooks and for their revision in the interests of goodwill

The fate of the proposed Convention on Moral Disarmament is still uncertain, but the official and unofficial discussions which the proposals have aroused both in Geneva and in different countries have added further contributions from a particular angle to the general movement for the promotion of international studies.

Education for Citizenship

The fourth stream is different in origin, though not in kind. It is associated with those who are, each in their own country, concerned with the education of youth for citizenship in the modern world The objective in view is an educational training which will fit its beneficiaries, or victims, according to the political philosophy of the appraiser, to take their place in the community within which

they live. The advocates of education for citizenship in some countries further urge that the inter-dependent character of the contemporary world requires that due attention in this training should be given to international relations [1] The necessity for international studies is stressed on the grounds that " only a good citizen of the world can be a good citizen of his country." At this point the stream partially joins forces with the movement for moral disarmament and a combined pressure is set up in favour of the teaching of international relations with the emphasis upon one particular aspect—the evidence of inter-dependence.

Summary

This introductory survey of the main streams of influence which have contributed to the movement for the promotion of international studies in education has been designed to bring out the different paths by which the subject has been approached since the Great War One result is that pressure is now being continuously exercised on educational authorities in many countries for further attention to be given in all branches of education to international relations Reflection upon what has been attempted or advocated during the past fifteen years suggests a number of important questions of educational policy and method The following sections are written more with the purpose of drawing attention to some of the issues involved, than of attempting to provide final answers

II. The Justification for the Study of International Relations

It is by no means improbable that half a dozen people selected at random would give quite different answers to the question: " Why should the study of international relations be encouraged? " There are some authorities, eminent in their own fields, who would deny altogether the desirability of attempting such studies Their objection would be based principally on the ground that the subject inevitably involves an interpretation of political aims and practice Even with the best will in the world neither teacher nor pupil can divest himself of subjectivism in such matters. The introduction of the study, therefore, would imply the intrusion of politics into the classroom and the prostitution of teaching in the university and schools.

The same argument, however, could be applied not only to political science, but also to many historical studies, at least in so far as they involve an interpretation of events. Moreover, it would tend to disqualify for educational purposes every branch of the social sciences of which an essential part of the study consisted in the examination of the assumptions underlying the system of analysis.

[1] See, for example, the publications of the *Education for Citizenship Association*, Morley College, London.

Furthermore, many of these " conscientious objectors," who nevertheless admit the study of legal principles, overlook the fact that by banishing the study of international relations they are, *ipso facto*, making certain assumptions about political and social organisation —namely that it can be scientifically examined and understood without reference to the influence of international relationships.

The Utilitarian Attitude

The argument stated in this sweeping way recoils like a boomerang upon the heads of its authors. Few would question the proposition that there must always be a measure of subjectivism involved in the study of any social science. The practical issue concerns the degree of subjectivism. The degree involved in the study of international relations, as in that of any other social subject, depends in the last resort upon the approach to his subject made by the teacher, student or pupil. Indeed, part of the cautiousness of Governments and educational authorities in promoting the study of international relations within the formal system of education may be attributed to the character of many approaches made in the last fifteen years and, in particular, to what may be called the " utilitarian attitude " This term may be applied to all those who favour international studies as a means of promoting a given material end. In its extreme form it is summed up in such phrases as " Education for the Brotherhood of Man " But it may also be found disguised in less easily recognisable forms The more important of these forms have already been alluded to above

One group comprises those who are concerned with the use of the educational system to create support for a specified policy or cause. In the first post-war decade many voluntary bodies advocated educational activities which would create support for the ideals and principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, just as the Soviet Government has systematically used education as a means for spreading the ideals and principles of Communism, or the Italian Government of Fascism A further group, closely akin to the first, approaches the question from the angle of " Moral Disarmament " Their primary interest is not in education, but in a given international system, a system of peaceful co-operation based on the principle of collective security and a limitation and reduction of national armaments. They put to themselves the question : " Given this system, what educational measures are necessary to ensure that future generations accept and operate it ? " There is undoubtedly much to be said for a policy which supports the creation of such a system. But there is reason to pause before delivering education into the hands of those who desire to use it as a means of advancing a cause.

Thirdly, the study of international relations is urged as essential to a training for citizenship in the modern community. Education should not only provide the necessary equipment of " the three R's " and the basis of a general culture, but it should also take a hand

in so forming the citizen of the future that he may come to the right decisions. The essential concern of the " educator for citizenship " is that the future citizen should support the " right " or the " better " rather than the " wrong " or the " worse " courses. But by what, or more accurately, by whose standards is the rightness or the wrongness of the course to be determined ? In short, is this approach at all different in kind from that of the enthusiast or mystic with a cause to plead ?

The Educational Attitude

This " utilitarian " approach is opposed by that great majority of educational experts in European countries whose criterion of the educational suitability of a subject is, first and foremost, whether or not it contributes to the training of the intelligence and personality of the individual This criterion constitutes the basis of the educational systems of all the European countries in which the principle of freedom of thought is cherished National conceptions of the ideal result of the application of this principle may vary and be expressed in divergences of educational practice But the ultimate purpose of education remains essentially the same—the training of the capacity of the individual for self-development. According to this view international studies are to be encouraged only if they encourage a more rounded intellectual training The essence of intellectual development is intellectual honesty But intellectual honesty and tendencious teaching or wishful thinking are contradictory terms

But acceptance of this proposition is not incompatible with a disposition to recognise that a man or woman in the present age who is unaware of the degree to which human activity in any direction is affected by international influences or of the institutions established to regulate these connections will tend to be inadequately formed intellectually. Consider, for example, the position of a member of one of the learned professions, or a skilled worker anxious to improve the standard of living of his fellows, who remains ignorant of the extra-national forces bearing upon his work and position. Both are at best capable of only a limited material and spiritual development.

The essential difference between this approach and that of the " utilitarian " is that the purpose of the studies is to form an intellect capable of independent judgment, not a living " carbon-copy " of another's mind. The educated man should know about the principles of the League of Nations because they are a formative factor in the environment in which he lives, not because he should support them. This distinction is held to be vital, for it strikes to the very root of educational standards in these countries. It also has important practical consequences, for it affects the conception of the content of the subject and method of teaching at different educational levels.

International Education

Before these further questions are considered, it is convenient at this stage to refer to a popular confusion between "the study of international relations" and "international education" The latter must be taken to signify either one of two things It may indicate either a form of education which is not based upon any one national system, but attempts to blend the cultures of different countries, or a form of training for membership of a given type of international community Both forms differ from the study of international relations, though in both forms again the study might well find a place Consideration of the many interesting questions involved in proposals for either form of international education lies beyond the scope of this survey It may be suggested, however, with regard to the second form of international education, that, quite apart from the question of its desirability, even the most superficial study of the philosophy underlying the educational system and practice of each of the larger countries of Europe alone cannot but reveal divergences so deep as to provoke the gravest doubt about the practicability of proposals for encouraging lions and lambs to enter the same fold

III The Scope and Content of the Study

The answers to requests for a definition of the subject of study have largely depended in the past on the type of approach favoured by the respondent. The result has led to widespread confusion and uncertainty in different countries—even among members of the teaching profession and educational authorities Zealous advocates of the League of Nations have, in the past, wittingly or unwittingly, given the impression, that for them, the study of international relations was the study of the principles, organisation and achievements of the League of Nations at the narrowest, and of international co-operation at the broadest The result in practice has been that much instruction has begun and ended with the League of Nations The responsibility cannot be laid solely at the door of voluntary associations for the League of Nations and other peace societies , for the action of several Governments in Europe in prescribing obligatory teaching for a certain length of time annually on the League of Nations, or organising in the schools official demonstrations for the League of Nations, would seem to imply when no other measures have followed that they have adopted the same limited view

The educational value and the instructional effectiveness of teaching and demonstrations of this isolated kind are now being widely questioned on the grounds of principle and method. It is held that teaching in this form is thinly veiled propaganda, and ineffective propaganda at that. There has been for some time a tendency to replace it—in Great Britain, for example—by instruction upon the evidence of the need for, and of, the practice of international

co-operation in general But this again is open to the criticism of the guardians of the principle of intellectual training on the ground that while international co-operation may represent one facet of international practice, it is by no means the only one. Teaching, therefore, which sets out to convey an impression of the predominance of co-operation is as tendencious in character as politically inspired instruction upon the problem of poverty

Another tendency, peculiarly prevalent in the United States of America, is to identify the study of international relations with the amassing of facts about anything bearing upon current international affairs Indeed, the anthropologist of the future, with functionalist views, may be tempted in his survey of the primitive present to discern a connection between the invention of the filecase and the growth of interest in international relations It is difficult to discover in some American universities, which claim to provide for the scientific study of international relations, any attempt at synthesis or interpretation Many monographs, compiled under the influence of methods of American scholarship, display the same peculiarity Full allowance has to be made both for the traditional aversion in the New World to generalisation or philosophical interpretation and to the conviction which is at least in part shared by students of the social sciences in other countries that empiricism should be as widely encouraged as possible But critics are arising in the United States, particularly in certain of the privately endowed universities, who question whether the easy way of the collection of uncorrelated facts by itself is any educational substitute for the strenuous discipline of inductive or deductive reasoning

This tendency to concentrate on amassing unrelated facts would seem to have made considerable headway in recent years in Europe It is seen in the multiplication of agencies of so-called research, of publications reporting contemporary facts and perhaps most significant of all, in the enthusiasm with which classes on " current events " are hailed by adult audiences and in many secondary schools It is not uncommon to find these activities described as the study of international relations and for their participants to labour under the impression that they have studied international relations

It is not for one moment suggested that a knowledge of the facts is not as essential to the study of international relations as to that of any other branch of the social sciences But no competent student of history would pretend that a person who has acquired nothing more than a store of facts about events and personalities in Ancient Athens is more than at the beginning of the study of classical Greek history The facts are merely the wood and bricks, essential to the builder, but meaningless without him. Current events classes undoubtedly serve certain purposes, but they are not in themselves the study of international relations.

The scientific study of international relations extends over the whole field of human affairs in so far as they involve the contem-

porary relations between the peoples or the Governments of different countries. It includes, therefore, not only official, but also he innumerable forms of unofficial relations between individuals and groups subject to different political authorities But the two qualifications are important The first excludes the whole range of purely internal or domestic relations, except, of course, in so far as heir character—for example, the relations between the Government and the Central Bank—affects other countries The second provides a focal point for the study The object of study is constituted by a contemporary situation or tendency, as, for example, the existing distribution of colonial territories and its repercussions on national policy, or the movement towards the nsulation of national economies But the study of both questions requires a consideration of the historical, economic, psychological, demographic, political and other data which can throw light on the present situation

The study does not end with the collection of the data On the contrary, it is at that point only that the study proper begins; whether its object be an original contribution to knowledge or an ntellectual exercise for the student or pupil, its essence lies in the process of synthesising these varied scraps of information in such a way that each factor is given its appropriate weight and the permissible conclusions are drawn The process itself involves the earless testing, rejection or amendment of explanatory hypotheses

Several points must now be noticed The scope of the subject is vast Attempts to limit the field to certain aspects are educationally untenable and scientifically unsound This applies as much to the endency of the specialist to over-emphasise the importance of the ispect which interests him, whether it be the economic, political, geographical or legal, and to ignore others, as to the advocate of a particular cause, whether it be " Peace," the " League of Nations," ' International Co-operation," " Free Trade " or " Fair Wages or All " The study of international law or international trade, herefore, is only a part of the scientific study of international elations

The subject, far from being a " soft option," is highly complicated since the nature of international relations is itself complex, attempts o simplify the subject by one device or another—precocious generalisation is one of the commonest—threaten to destroy the cientific and educational value of the study.

Again, the study itself involves a borrowing from other disciplines nd is to that extent dependent on them. Yet none of these disciplines can by itself encompass the scientific study of international elations.

Finally, because the picture of the present is almost always more vivid than the memory of the past and is always threatening to destroy perspective, it is indispensable for the student of international relations to possess the corrective of a sense of continuity which a knowledge of historical development alone can train.

IV. International Studies in Higher Education

In what form is the study of international relations appropriate at the higher level of education? The final answer to this question for any specific institution could only be given after a close consideration of many factors. It would depend, partly, upon the intellectual equipment of the teacher and pupil of average standard, partly, upon the limitations imposed by the existing educational organisation, partly, on the relative value of different uses to which limited time and financial resource could be put. It is only possible here to draw attention to some of the more important general conclusions to which the application of the principles suggested above, in conjunction with such experience as may be available, seems to point. The question in reality involves two connected issues, the type of study suitable to the intellectual capacity of the level of education and the most appropriate form of organisation for its pursuit.

It is necessary to distinguish at the outset between the university study in the form of research work and in the form of teaching, and again between teaching at the post-graduate (graduate in American terminology) and at the undergraduate stages. Moreover, research work is an omnibus term which may include the conductor who collects the fares, the driver who is responsible for guiding the bus to its destination and an indefinite number of passengers who expect to be driven. In short, research work may be undertaken primarily in order to add to the sum of knowledge, or primarily with a view to carrying further the process of intellectual training in higher education. The latter type of work will be considered in connection with post-graduate teaching.

(a) Research Work

The pursuit of pure research work in the field of international relations has advanced rapidly in the course of the last decade. The initiative has often come from individuals personally interested by disposition or experience in international relations. Some of the pioneers were attached to universities, others worked independently or in connection with a profit or non-profit-making organisation. Indeed, already before and during the war, a thin stream of research work in the field of international affairs which was not solely legal in approach had begun, especially in the United States of America. The work of Mr. Leonard Woolf in England may also be recalled and the research work pursued at the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* in Paris.

But the great development of interest in the field of international relations for the purposes of research has taken place since the war. The official institutions in Geneva have opened up new horizons for investigation and demonstrated that progress towards international agreement in a number of directions is dependent first on fuller and more accurate knowledge coupled with objectively minded

interpretation. They have themselves set a high standard of achievement. It is only necessary to mention the attempts to lay the bases of an international standard of working conditions for the workers of all countries Before progress could be made in any of the many directions which the activity of the International Labour Organisation has taken, investigations had to be undertaken to disclose the existing position and the way in which it had arisen It is impossible to recall the work of the late Mr Grimshaw and his colleagues upon the enquiry into the conditions of native labour in colonial areas and dependencies without realising that the social sciences, no less than the natural and applied sciences, may call forth the highest qualities of disinterested devotion Similarly, problems of double taxation, international nutritive standards, the protection of women and children, have given rise to extensive research work on the part of the Secretariat of the League or collaborators subject to its direction

Institutions for Study of International Relations

Another important influence has been the circle of special institutes devoted to the study of international relations of which the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York are pre-eminent examples The formation of institutions of the same type in a number of other countries has opened up facilities for pure research work in international relations non-existent before the war

The essential features of an institute of this type for the purposes of research are coming to be recognised as being

1 That it should be independent of political or other affiliation and precluded from expressing a corporate opinion

2 That it should provide, through a library and information service, as complete a centre of documentation and reference as possible

3 That it should be in contact with similar centres in other countries and other authentic sources of information in its own country, especially in different fields of practical experience

4 That it should possess facilities for publishing itself or aiding the publication of the results or research work in the field of international relations

The successful organisation of an institute on these lines requires considerable financial resources and a high standard of direction to ensure both that the services are properly organised and developed, and the funds available are used for promoting research work of a genuinely valuable kind These requisites, which are not always satisfactorily fulfilled in large countries possessed of considerable reserves of wealth and talent, present greater difficulties in the case of smaller countries with far more limited resources. The establishment of an institute and the development of its work then come to depend largely upon grants from external sources and, in particular, the two great American philanthropic organisations, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for

International Peace. In certain countries, even greater difficulties have arisen through the want of an adequately trained group of men and women with the necessary linguistic knowledge to staff the institute and conduct its research work. There is every reason to suppose, however, that this obstacle will diminish with time when it becomes clear that a new occupation awaits men and women with the appropriate qualifications.

The Spread of Institutes

Institutes on broadly similar lines have now been formed in about twenty countries Their constitution and range of interest in international affairs varies considerably Geographical location determines, in some cases, the direction of the research work undertaken It is as natural, for example, that a Bulgarian or a Roumanian institute should tend to pay greater attention to Near Eastern and Balkan conditions as that a branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Australia should concentrate more especially on the Pacific region The tendency towards local or regional specialisation, if properly co-ordinated, should eventually provide a valuable facility for research work under certain conditions The work of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu provides a model of regional specialisation.

It is desirable that the process of collecting information under the auspices of the local institute should be comprehensive in kind and drawn from as broad a circle of sources as possible The work of business and financial organisations, for instance, related as it is to actual practice, is often of special value for the purposes of research. It is no less essential that the research work conducted by the institute itself, or by independent scholars with the help of the facilities of the institute, should be unbiased and free from any form of political control

Unfortunately, these conditions are far from being fulfilled A number of institutes, for personal as well as financial reasons, tend to devote their main energies to one aspect, whether it be the legal, the economic or the historical, and to make no provision for the others It is not for one moment suggested that their work is not in itself useful. But an institute organised on these lines can only make a limited contribution to the study of the international relations even of a region

A far more serious factor, however, is the interaction of the official policy of the Government in whose territory the institute is organised upon the work of the institute itself The problem is, in fact, analogous to that of academic freedom in general. The principle of intellectual freedom is a vital condition for the scientific study of international relations, for the possibility of the latter is dependent in great part upon reliable sources of information, and the free play of individual minds upon the facts available. It is seldom easy to discover the degree of influence exercised by governmental policy ; for while the statutes of the organisation may emphasise the inde-

pendent and non-partisan character of the institution, yet a closer examination of its practice may reveal a bias which undermines the scientific value of its work. If it be true that only a sceptic in any given branch of the social sciences is fitted to do pure research work in that field, the growing intolerance of political scepticism displayed by many Governments, especially since the Great War, gravely prejudices the scientific character of institutes theoretically independent It is not even essential that the influence of the Government should be exercised in any positive way ; indeed, it is very rarely necessary for a strongly entrenched authoritarian Government to resort to direct measures. It suffices that the sympathies or fears of the directors and collaborators of the institute should impel them to refrain from questioning the correctness or examining critically the general tenets of the régime or its specific policies, for intellectual integrity to be pierced and scientific standards to be debased

Unhappily the amalgam of pragmatism and nationalism in the educational attitude of the authoritarian State in the post-war period, peculiarly noticeable in Italy, has so twisted the minds of many of those upon whose shoulders the burden of guarding the scientific tradition rests, that very little reliance can be placed upon the objective value of the work of institutes in these countries When politics and science are drunk together, only the taste of politics remains

It is necessary, however, to avoid exaggeration. There are branches of the work of an institute of international affairs in countries where political liberty is suppressed which in practice may lie outside the range of governmental influence. Statistical compilation and even certain financial and economic studies may be comparatively free from influence by reason of their technical character or of the lack of any fixed principles on the part of the régime The information services of an institute within these limits may be of great value to a research worker But the difficulty remains that at any given moment it is almost impossible to estimate the pressure of the unseen hand of an authoritarian Government The position is continually changing. An inflexible determination to force a given economic policy upon the country may replace an attitude of unconcern. From that time onwards an institute would not be permitted, or in most cases attempt, to publish a compilation or a study tending to criticise or throw doubts upon the propriety of the official policy of the régime. Statistics then become suspect ; the sins of omission are committed on a wider scale, and in the new zone of silence, the notes of independent reason may no longer be sounded.

The International Studies Conference

The advantages of collaboration between the institutes and university bodies providing for the study of international relations were recognised as early as 1928, when the first Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations met in Berlin,

under the auspices of the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. Until 1931, the purposes of collaboration were confined to administrative matters, but at its meeting in Copenhagen in 1931, the Conference decided, while continuing the administrative work, which had become largely routinal, to proceed at future sessions to the study of a chosen problem of international relations. The first subject—" The State and Economic Life "—was discussed in 1932 and 1933 After this initial experience, it was decided to make the study meetings biennial instead of annual—the administrative meetings continue to take place annually—to allow more adequate time for preparation, and to relieve the pressure on the organisations in each country responsible for the preparatory work The second subject of study—" Collective Security "—was discussed in 1935

The International Studies Conference, as the organisation is called, has proved so far of peculiar value, first, in making scholars working in the same field known to one another, and, secondly, in helping to stimulate the formation of institutions for the study of international relations in countries where previously none existed.

The Difficulties of Collective Study

Its experiment with collective study, which may be defined as the previous study of a given problem simultaneously by groups of scholars in different countries leading up to common discussion of its different aspects at the meetings of the Conference itself, has thrown into relief some of the formidable obstacles barring the way to success Some of these difficulties are technical and may be removed without great difficulty More serious, however, is the divergence of intellectual method in different countries and the consequent difficulty of conducting a discussion in which progress is made towards both a clearer and a scientifically purer understanding of the problem in its different aspects and the establishment of agreement upon any general principles of conduct which the study of the subject may have suggested

It is possible, that the regular association of scholars in biennial meetings may, little by little, smooth away the rougher edges of these differences, and the spread of familiarity in intellectual commerce forge a useful instrument for international discussion But the continuity of composition which would be required for this purpose would almost certainly prejudice the authoritative character of a conference discussing subjects demanding different competences or " expertises."

The most serious obstacle to the success of the experiment springs from the inroads upon intellectual freedom to which reference has already been made in some of the countries participating in the Conference The consequence is the presence at the discussions of persons nominated with the approval of their Governments or of " the party," as reliable instruments of propaganda for the peculiar tenets or policies of the national régime. The attitude of these participants is that of the advertiser ready to seize upon any occasion

for extolling the virtues of his employer's products or vilifying the wares of another rather than that of the disinterested scholar. A resonant dogmatism drowns the quieter tones of cautious comment by the scientific investigator An exchange of ideas, accompanied by their critical examination, becomes impossible Collective study under these circumstances can be nothing but a travesty

It is necessary to insist upon this point the more because the study of international relations is everywhere in its infancy and consequently subject to the watchful and often jealous scrutiny of those elder studies which have already won recognition The charge of subjectivism is given substance when groups of so-called students approach their subject on the basis of assumptions held with the fervour of religious convictions Nothing is more essential to the future progress of international studies than the rigid maintenance of a high academic standard, even though the result may be an immediate slowing-down of the pace of apparent development.

Research Work in University Institutions

But in most countries the bulk of any pure research work that is being done in the field of international relations is pursued under the auspices of the universities or institutions of university standing not specifically devoted to the study of international relations, as, for example, commercial high schools and schools of political and economic science The amount of such work, in comparison with that undertaken in other branches of the social sciences, is slight in all countries, with one possible exception, the United States of America.

In many of the smaller countries research workers are handicapped by linguistic difficulties and by paucity of materials. They are often remote from good centres of information and libraries Under these circumstances even where the university itself does its utmost to facilitate the work of scholars in this field—and this is by no means always the case—scientific work can only be conducted under almost insuperable difficulties. Indeed, unless the subject of study is of extremely limited scope and capable of adequate investigation on the basis of a specialised information, residence abroad in one or more of the great centres of information becomes indispensable But this requires linguistic ability, a certain psychological aptitude for living normally amid strange surroundings and, more frequently than not, financial assistance.

Not the least of the services rendered by great institutions such as the *Ecole Libre des Science Politiques* in Paris and the *Hochschule fur Politik* in Berlin (before the Third Reich) was the opportunity offered to foreign research workers from smaller countries to pursue their work under congenial and helpful conditions. More specifically devoted to the field of international relations, the Post-graduate Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva has since the war helped further to fill a gap especially felt by the research worker of the smaller countries by providing in one of the

greatest centres of post-war international activity a congenial setting for scientific study.

(b) Post-graduate Studies [1]

Research work, which may more fittingly be described as thesis-writing, may also be pursued for the purpose of completing a university training in most countries with developed educational facilities. University regulations for the degree of master in American and many British universities, and of doctor in almost all countries, provide for the presentation of an original thesis on an approved subject as an optional or obligatory part of the necessary qualifications for the degree. In some universities, the place occupied in others by the thesis may be taken by additional examination papers on approved subjects of study

Suitability of Subject

There is general agreement in most countries, that in principle, the subject of international relations is eminently suitable for post-graduate studies of this kind The student may be expected to have been intellectually formed by his previous studies and, therefore, equipped to grapple intelligently with the chaotic mass of materials involved in any study of international relations Further, the special subject chosen by the post-graduate student for his thesis or the special examination will generally tend to be closely connected with his previous work. Thus a post-graduate who has specialised at the undergraduate stage in economics will tend to choose a subject within the field of international economic relations, the student of law within the field of international law and so forth But the extension of the scope of studies to cover the international aspect of a special economic or legal subject may have little to do with the scientific study of international relations, as it has been previously defined ; for it has been seen that the latter is essentially synthetic in character. It is not so much the prolongation of a given discipline into the international domain, as the conjunction of different disciplines for the purpose of analysing a contemporary situation.

The study of the " international aspect " of a given subject and the study of international relations proper differ, not only in character, but also in the teaching or supervisory organisation required. In practice an attempt is made in only a few countries to provide specially organised facilities for the synthetic study of international relations at the post-graduate level It is not surprising that provision for the university study of international relations has been carried farthest in the United States of America and Great Britain. The greater autonomy enjoyed by each university in the determination of academic policy in both countries, and the peculiar flexibility of faculty and departmental organisation in American

[1] The term is used throughout in the British sense of university studies after the first university degree has been received

universities, have made possible developments which the more rigid system of Continental higher education has so far prevented. Moreover, the great financial resources hitherto available for academic purposes in the United States, coupled with the influential position in the academic world held by the great private universities of the Eastern States, have permitted experiments with new subjects of study which the more modest means of the average European university would not support.

The Position in U S A

The incorporation of the study of international relations in programmes of formal university education, which had begun in the United States before the Great War, has spread very largely in response to the practical considerations that the world has shrunk in space-time A recent survey of development in American universities puts the point picturesquely. "The contemporary world is prodding education, and is in turn being prodded by the professors who have directed their thinking to the reconstruction of contemporary life" [1]

The response has been generous, for by 1931 it was reported that it was possible for candidates for masters' or doctors' degrees in a considerable number of universities to choose the field of international relations as their major interest

This growth is the result very largely of the gradual multiplication of courses in different aspects of international relations within the departments providing for the disciplines of history, economics, political science and law In this process of multiplication the influence of the intellectual interests of the individual teacher has often been predominant Rarely is it possible to discover any systematic pattern or even any underlying educational principle unless it be a general belief in the virtues of modernity Tradition and personnel have been the main factors in determining the direction and bias of development. Thus, the important place held by the study of international law at Harvard in association with the study of political science has provided a basis for the building up of a group of courses upon International Law and Relations. The study of the history of American Diplomacy at the North-western University led to the growth of the equivalent of a section devoted to international relations within the history department. The emphasis given to the study of international economic relations at the University of Michigan has been largely attributed to the influence of a single member of the teaching staff.

The American development, therefore, from the angle of organisation, has taken the form of the establishment rather of "sections" within existing departments concerned with the older disciplines than of separate departments devoted to international relations.

[1] See *The Study of International Relations in the United States*, 1934, edited by Edith E Ware, page 203 The book contains a great amount of factual information about American practice.

An important factor in facilitating this process of expansion from within has been the widespread existence of faculties or departments of political science As far as possible courses bearing upon different aspects of international relations given in different departments have been co-ordinated in such a way as to offer the post-graduate an opportunity of specialising in the international aspect while remaining associated with his own particular branch of studies

Only in one university hitherto—Yale—a separate department of international relations has been formed for post-graduate studies The training in this department is intended to be comprehensive courses are given on International Politics, International Government, International Law, International Economics and Diplomatic History. It is too early to pronounce judgment upon this experiment. But in theory it would seem to offer the advantage of a balanced curriculum and provide the basis for the synthesis of the different aspects of international relations which, it has been suggested, constitute the essence of the scientific study

British and other Universities

Development has proceeded along fairly similar lines in British universities, though at a much slower pace [1] The restraining influences have been more powerful Foremost among them has been the traditional conception of the university as a centre, on the one hand, for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake without ulterior motive, and, on the other, for the provision of a training designed to make possible the ultimate self-development of the individual personality. Considerations concerning the utility of a subject or its modernity have been wont to play a less dominant part in determining academic policy than in the United States The tendency in America to regard the university in part as a public service institution has made little progress in Great Britain A less reputable influence has been a traditional academic conservatism, which in the past lifted its head to oppose the natural sciences as violently as it has tended more recently to frown on the social sciences. A more material factor has been the absence in many universities of financial facilities for the endowment of international studies There has been no British counterpart to the huge benefactions made to the private universities of the Eastern States or the generous grants of Mid-Western legislatures to their State universities.

Yet in one respect development has run ahead of American practice. The two first separate Departments of International Relations in existence were formed in Great Britain ; the first at the University of Aberystwyth and the second in the University of London at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Both

[1] The details will be found in S H. Bailey *International Studies in Great Britain*, Chapter I, which deals with Higher Education at the research, post-graduate and undergraduate stages.

Departments provide instruction for undergraduate and post-graduate students

Provision for the work of post-graduate students in the field of international relations who are candidates for higher degrees has also been made in a few universities, notably Oxford and Lyons, by the establishment of a special Chair, the holder of which, amongst other duties, directs the studies of post-graduate students and gives lectures on subjects within the field No special department, however, is thereby created This development constitutes a middle course between the fuller development alluded to above and the prolongation of the range of studies of a particular faculty

But it is most common for provision for international studies at the post-graduate level to be made only within the organisation of existing faculties and their specialised departments In almost all continental universities with the rigid division between the faculties of law and letters, the post-graduate student who is working for a higher diploma continues his work within the faculty to which he originally belonged Thus the student who has specialised at the undergraduate level—and specialisation in universities organised on the French model is very limited—in modern studies, law or economy, continues his work in international relations primarily from the historical, the legal or the economic angle Similarly, in British universities where no special provision is made, the post-graduate continues to work within his previous discipline

This form of organisation is commended by those who insist upon the necessity for linking international studies at each stage of university education to a particular discipline if academic standards are to be maintained But it must also be recognised that, given the rigidity of faculty organisation in most universities and the pressure under which most university teachers are required to work, the essential feature of the study of international relations—the synthesising of the various aspects involved—may recede far into the background. Furthermore, the measure of the danger of a lowering of the academic standard will depend mainly upon the previous training of the student and the calibre of the director of his studies. If an able student has acquired, as, for example, he should have done in the undergraduate stage of his studies in France, a sound intellectual disciplining, there is no reason to suppose that he would not continue to apply the standards and methods he has been taught to his more advanced work.

The Obstacle of Professional Training

The reluctance to depart from traditional paths may also be partly ascribed in many cases to considerations of professional training. With a few outstanding exceptions faculties of law continue to regard their main purpose as the professional training of their students. Ninety-nine per cent of the students of law, it is asserted, are concerned with acquiring a knowledge of the law adequate to gain them admission to the legal profession or to the

other careers for which a legal training is required. Similarly, the student of modern languages, or history, or geography, is often concerned with acquiring the necessary qualifications for entering the teaching profession It is, therefore, the duty of the faculties providing for these studies to organise their teaching or direct the studies of their students within the limits of the examination qualifications attached to each discipline.

This preoccupation with professional training is probably the most powerful single obstacle to the development of the study of international relations at the post-graduate stage. Theoretically, it might be argued that university studies at the post-graduate level should not be affected by professional considerations at all, but should be pursued with a view to general intellectual training irrespective of the ultimate choice of career But in practice the rapid tightening of the connection between post-graduate studies and entry into different occupations, the great numbers of students involved, and the elaborate social organisation which has grown up around this development, destroy, at least for some time to come, any possibility of applying the theory of disinterested study The development of the connection represents the large-scale commercialisation of post-graduate studies The higher degree or diploma becomes necessary for entry or success in the subsequent career But for the great majority of these careers the study of international relations is not held to be sufficiently necessary to justify either the exclusion of material now included in the syllabus for the examination or the breaking down of the rigid specialisation in the compilation of theses which characterises the practice of many European institutions of university standard

The strategic centre from which these views radiate outwards is inevitably the examination But the conception of the appropriate character of the examination is formed in the minds of the leading members of university faculties, often with the collaboration of governmental administrators or prominent leaders of the professions, themselves imbued with the traditional view of the content of the particular subject

The Growth of a New Attitude

Nevertheless, a growing body of opinion in several countries now recognises the need for ensuring that greater attention is paid to the study of international relations within the scope of the existing examination system at the post-graduate stage Already some progress has been made by including in written examinations in modern history questions bearing upon the study of contemporary affairs. Also the influence of individual university teachers who have become interested in international relations is on occasion reflected in the form and scope of theses prepared under their direction.

The desire to make more adequate provision for international studies, in spite of rigid faculty organisation, has led, in France, for

example, to a plan for the establishment within the framework of the university of a special post-graduate institute of Political Science and Economy at the University of Strasbourg, which is partly designed to provide for international studies

But inevitably the development, for financial and other reasons, must be slow In the meantime, the great majority of countries remain without any provision for the synthetic study of international relations at the post-graduate stage Under these circumstances institutions such as the Post-graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva acquire an added importance

(c) The Undergraduate Stage

There is a considerable conflict of opinion about the desirability of providing for the study of international relations at the undergraduate level In the United States of America, opinion in the majority of universities would seem to favour the inclusion of the subject amongst those which may be chosen by the candidate for a first degree In almost all colleges or centres of undergraduate instruction, one or more courses in international affairs are reported to be available An eminent American authority, however, has found it necessary to add a word of warning, to the effect that beneath the title " international affairs " may be concealed a multitude of academic sins Even more significant than the existence of these innumerable courses of varying content and merit is the development whereby it has become possible for undergraduates in a considerable number of universities, as, for example, at Harvard, to " major " in international relations for their first degree

In Great Britain only three universities—Aberystwyth, London and Oxford—offer an opportunity to the candidate for a first degree to devote part of his time to the study of international relations A candidate for a first degree in certain subjects in each of these universities can now choose international relations as his special subject for the final examination The specialist at the same time pursues his study of economics or history or political science Thus the new subject is grafted on to the stems of the older disciplines. It is very exceptional for any similar provision to be made in Continental universities

Many of the same difficulties mentioned above in connection with post-graduate university studies apply to the development of undergraduate studies The conservatism of many universities, the rigidity of faculty organisation, lack of financial means and the influence of professionalism are formidable obstacles. There is, however, an additional restraining consideration. University teachers and administrators in the great majority of Continental countries, and in some British universities, remain doubtful about the educational value of the study of so complicated a subject by undergraduates whose intellectual training is only at an early stage. It is held that the main function of the university at that stage is to train the mind by means of one or more of the accepted disciplines of

history, law, economics or modern languages and to lay the foundations of a general culture The student should be required to concentrate on the formative studies and to postpone those which presuppose an intellectual formation and a considerable general knowledge It is more important that his time should be spent in acquiring a grasp of general economic theory than in attempting to understand the many and varied factors contributing to international economic problems Similarly, the student of law should give his attention to the study of the main principles of legal theory and practice and refrain from attempting to relate legal to economic theory or to political practice Further, the importance given in France to general culture lays great emphasis on the broad scope of studies for the *licence* and allows little or no opportunity for the addition of a further subject to the already heavy programme for the *licence ès lettres* or the *licence* and *doctorat en droit*

Experiments in European Universities

Nevertheless, a few interesting experiments in the undergraduate teaching of international relations are taking place in European universities One is the Division of Diplomatic Studies of the Faculty of Law at the University of Lwów in Poland The course is connected with the existing organisation of legal studies and is spread over three years The Polish student of law may be admitted to the course after he has passed the law examination at the end of his first year Students of other faculties than law may be admitted, provided they take such legal courses as are considered necessary to an understanding of some of the advanced courses in the Diplomatic Division The course itself comprises studies in Economic Geography, Modern History, the Comparative Study of Public Law, the History of Diplomacy and Diplomatic and Consular Practice, International Economic Relations, Maritime Law and New Institutions of International Law. A student with a degree in law, who is also successful in the three annual examinations for the courses of the diplomatic division is given the additional degree of Master of Diplomatic Science The course is also open to foreign students One of the most interesting features of this experiment is to be found in the degree to which the practical world is drawn upon in the selection of lecturers.

Another institution providing for the undergraduate study of international affairs is the *Reale Istituto Superiore di Scienze Sociale Politiche, Cesare Alfieri*, at Florence. The course of studies for the *laurea* is spread over four years At the end of his second year the student can choose between three main branches of study, of which one is called the Diplomatic-Consular branch The course comprises the History of Treaties and Diplomatic Relations, Modern and Contemporary History, the History of Political Doctrine and Institutions, Public and Private International Law, Political Economy, Financial Science and Law and Political Science or Colonial Geography and Ethnography.

The *Istituto Cesare Alfieri* has also organised an *Ecuole di Perfezionamento* in International Political Studies. The school, which lasts one year, is open to students who have obtained the *laurea* at the Institute or in the Faculties of Jurisprudence, Political Science or Economic and Commercial Science Students from other faculties and from abroad are admitted when their qualifications are recognised as adequate by the Council of the Institute The course covers five subjects, Problems of Public International Law of War and Peace, Problems of Private International, Administrative, Industrial, Labour and Penal Law, the Theory and Practice of Commercial Treaties, International Economic Problems with special reference to Money and Banking, Diplomatic and Constitutional History, and the League of Nations

These arrangements should be distinguished from the schools of diplomacy, intended to provide a training for the foreign services, as, for example, the diplomatic section of the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* at Paris or the School of Government at the George Washington University in the United States Although a successful student may ultimately enter the foreign service of his country, the facilities are intended for students of all types as a general intellectual rather than a specifically technical training

The Conditions and Nature of Undergraduate Study

Experience has hitherto tended to show that special departments or special sections of departments for international relations can most effectively be established in centres of higher education which already provide for the study of the main branches of the social sciences The teaching and study of international relations can then be kept in close and unbroken connection with the major disciplines of economics, history and law It may be assumed, that in most countries, students admitted to the university will be proficient in at least one major foreign language and that they will acquire in the course of their first years at the university a reading knowledge of a second It is hardly necessary to add, that in practice, the students of smaller countries in general are far better equipped in this respect than those of the greater States.

The close connection, alluded to above, has a double advantage First, the danger of a slackening of academic standards is reduced to a minimum Secondly, it facilitates the formation of a teaching body for the subject of international relations, and ensures that those who are themselves responsible for such teaching are in a position to keep in continuous touch with developments in the several branches of the social sciences which play a part in the study of international relations

What form should be given to the undergraduate teaching of international relations ? If it is assumed that the basic aim is not professional training, but the intellectual development of the student, the teaching would take on a twofold shape. First, it is essential, as with most branches of the social sciences, that a certain

amount of necessary information to which the student would not otherwise be introduced should be systematically imparted. Secondly—and far more important—the teaching should seek to build up for the student a scientific method of approach to the study of the problems of international relations. In short, it should aim at creating for the use of the student a system of analysis, and at exercising the student in its use.

It is doubtful whether the second and more important of these aims is as yet fully realised in any of the institutions of university standing providing for the study of international relations Unfortunately, all too often in the United States of America, for example, purely factual surveys of international organisation, sometimes made with a barely concealed emotional bias, masquerade as the study of international relations The student in this way may follow courses on " The Diplomatic Relations of the Far East " or " Economic Imperialism " without acquiring even the elements of a systematic method of approach At best he may have gained a certain amount of disjoined information on one or two special aspects of contemporary history It is questionable whether any educational purpose is served by isolated general or unco-ordinated specialised courses on international relations for students who have hardly been given an opportunity to acquire beforehand the requisite intellectual discipline of history or economics, or law or geography It must be admitted that problems of methodology in the scientific study of international relations remain very largely unsolved Nevertheless, progress has already been carried sufficiently far to justify the continuance of the experiments in undergraduate teaching

The absence of a special department or section does not imply that no attention is paid to international studies in a particular institution. On the contrary, in the social sciences there is a growing tendency in almost all countries to lay greater emphasis upon the international aspect of the subjects considered in each of the specialised faculties or sections of faculties A student of economics could hardly fail to complete his undergraduate career without having gained some idea *from the economic point of view* of the interdependence of the world. A student of law may, and in some universities must, devote some attention to international public law. Similarly, geographical and general historical studies inevitably shed some light, each from their special angle, upon the development and character of contemporary international relations. This indirect and casual attention becomes more direct and systematic when within a given faculty special studies are made of a particular international problem. In the Faculty of Political Economy of the *Ecole Polytechnique* of Budapest, for example, the Development of the International Protection of Workers was for some years the object of a special course of lectures. At the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium a course is given within the *Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales et des Sciences politiques et diplomatiques* upon

the Commercial Policy and Financial and Customs Legislation of the Principal States, while at the *Ecole de Pédagogie* of the Free University of Brussels, special attention is devoted to Comparative Educational Legislation. But it should once more be emphasised that these adventures into the international field constitute not the scientific study of international relations, but the rounding off of the particular studies in connection with which they take place This does not render them in any way a less desirable development

The undergraduate study of international relations is only in its infancy In many countries university authorities either continue to regard it with the same suspicion with which sociology has for long been regarded in Italian universities, or consider it as undesirable for intellectually immature students Where experiments are taking place, it is still too early to pronounce a final judgment. Nevertheless, students and important sections of the teaching profession in different countries continue to advocate the extension of such studies at the undergraduate stage It will depend very largely upon the degree of success obtained by those who are now responsible for conducting such teaching in establishing unquestionably scientific standards and systematic methods of work as to how far a programme of extension can be carried into practice

V The Study of International Relations in Secondary Education

The difficulties of discussing, in general terms, policy and practice with regard to the secondary education of children between the ages of 11 and 18 or 19 in different countries are almost insuperable Not only is the school system of each country stamped with the national educational traditions and formed in the mould of the intellectual and moral ideas dominant in that country, but often each school displays, even in countries where practice is required to be fitted into the standardised framework provided by the central government, characteristics of its own It is only possible, therefore, to draw attention to one or two general tendencies revealed in the practice of different countries

Variations in Objectives

It has already been seen above that a powerful movement has developed in the course of the post-war years in favour of the introduction of teaching on international affairs in the schools The objectives and scope of the teaching envisaged, and to some extent carried out, have varied considerably In some countries even the advocacy of such teaching has encountered great difficulties. In Hungary, for example, it has had to contend with the double obstacle represented by the historical concentration of Hungarian effort and interest upon the domestic issue of relations with her Austrian partner in the pre-war years and the association in the minds of many Hungarians of international relations with an

" unjust " peace settlement In others, as, for example, the Netherlands and Denmark, where an international outlook has been essential to national welfare, the growth of a movement similar to that found in Great Britain, France, pre-Hitler Germany and the United States of America was largely unnecessary Nevertheless, representatives of the secondary teaching profession of a great number of countries have participated at meetings of the International Bureau of National Associations of Secondary Teachers and of the World Federation of Educational Associations where resolutions in favour of the teaching of international affairs in various forms have been adopted

There has been a marked evolution of opinion In the early post-war years the first enthusiasm engendered by the foundation of the League of Nations found its educational counterpart in a demand for teaching on the aims and organisation of the League of Nations It has already been seen above that this tendency was greatly stimulated in several countries by the activities of voluntary associations for the promotion of support for the League of Nations, and subsequently by the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the aims and achievements of the League of Nations. The second step of the evolution was marked by the extension of the scope of the proposed teaching to include international co-operation generally This is now giving way to a third stage in which teaching upon international relations generally is advocated

The pace of the transformation is necessarily varied in different countries It is reflected, however, in the attitude of professional associations of teachers and in the discussions of the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching It should be said, however, that this apparent transformation consists rather in a change in the direction of the attention paid to its work The Sub-Committee of Experts from the beginning kept in mind the necessity for instruction upon the relations between the peoples of different countries. But it happened that its first practical achievements were concerned with the production of the now famous pamphlet on the Aims and Organisation of the League Almost inevitably the general public concluded that the Sub-Committee was in practice concerned exclusively with teaching on the League and the principle of co-operation on which it rests.

International Studies in Secondary Education

The form of teaching to be advocated depends upon the purpose for which it is intended. It is generally agreed, in most European countries where freedom of political thought continues to exist, that the purpose of secondary education is twofold : first, to provide the pupil with the knowledge of the essentials for earning his living, and, secondly, to train the mind and develop the personality. Nevertheless, there is a growing disposition in many countries to recognise that the great majority of pupils on the day they leave the

secondary school, *gymnasium* or *lycée* will have terminated their formal education There is a tendency, therefore, to add as an objective subordinate to the first two instruction in matters concerning the relation of the individual to the society in which he is to pass his life

On the basis of these aims, opinion is gradually crystallising around certain general conclusions with regard to the teaching of international relations [1] First, it is agreed that assaults on the pupil's mind and emotions in favour of a cause, whether it be Peace in general or the League of Nations in particular, should not find a place within the formal teaching of the school This does not, of course, prevent instruction under certain conditions upon the growth of international co-operation or the League of Nations

Secondly, there is almost universal agreement amongst the staff of secondary schools that any instruction provided for should be given within the framework of existing subjects and not as a separate subject. This opinion to some extent runs counter to the practice of the Governments of certain countries which continue to issue instructions providing for teaching on the League of Nations on certain specified days of the year, or for the holding of special days in honour of the League of Nations The educational value of such isolated instruction is coming to be recognised as negligible as compared with the presentation in historical perspective of the emergence of international organisation The re-modelling of the teaching of geography and history to allow for greater emphasis to be laid on the international aspects of contemporary social life has been carried a considerable way in a number of British boys' and girls' secondary schools Teachers of geography in particular have made great use of the notion of human geography There has also been a certain tendency to replace diplomatic and political history by the broader survey of the history of civilisation

A set of regulations, recently issued by the Danish Ministry of Education, on the teaching of subjects in the *Gymnasium* (secondary school), states that the objective of the teaching of geography, for example, is " to give the pupils a general knowledge of the earth as a globe and as a place of habitation for men, as well as the knowledge which will enable them to understand elementary topography and political and economic conditions " The aim of history teaching is set forth as the introduction of the pupil in an objective way to the main features of Man's economic, social, political and cultural development from the earliest times to the present.

The development of the practice of international co-operation would undoubtedly form a part of the extended teaching of history, geography and other subjects in the course of the presentation of

[1] Reasons of space prevent any discussion within the limits of this paper of the relation of either extra-curricular activities or visits to foreign countries with the formal study of international relations in schools The connection can no longer be ignored, for it has created problems for which no solution has yet been found.

the essential factors of the contemporary world But it would be fitted into a proportioned picture To pursue the path indicated by many well-meaning advocates of education for peace not only debases scholastic standards—for, if education for peace is permitted, why not education for conquest by violence or for racial discrimination ?—but it also courts the risk of creating so violent a feeling of disillusionment in the minds of the pupils themselves as to produce a violent reaction. The alert schoolboy of 16 to 18 years, if he is intelligent enough to follow such instruction, is also unlikely to overlook the obvious evidence of the working of principles, interests and policies, which run counter to those of international co-operation and peace The risk would be similar to that run by the quack doctor who promises his clients a specific for all their complaints

With certain important exceptions, notably in the smaller countries, the teaching of modern languages is rarely developed with a view to familiarising the pupil with the general conditions, thought and habits of the foreign countries whose languages are studied The teaching of economics is only slowly making its way into secondary education Where it exists, however, the pupil inevitably gains an impression of the international character of one aspect of society

The Form of Instruction

It is convenient at this stage to enquire what form the study of international relations should take in schools Experience tends to show that the form chosen should keep three possible objectives in view · the first is the awakening of interest in the pupil ; the second the imparting of the necessary minimum of information ; the third is the development of the capacity for thought It is clear that the relative importance of each of these aims changes as the age of the pupil rises There is a considerable measure of agreement that only from the age of 16 + is it possible to use the subject-matter of international relations as a medium for training the faculty of independent and critical thought In the lower age-groups any time available is most profitably devoted to awakening interest, which presents minor difficulties, and to imparting the essential information

The choice of the method whereby the pupil is made aware of the characteristic features of the contemporary world will, of course, largely depend upon local preferences and extraneous factors, such as the formation of existing programmes of work, supply of the necessary materials and the capacity and training of the personnel One method frequently employed in British and American secondary schools is the Current Events Class, in which the pupils are often required to make reports based on a reading of recommended newspapers and the teacher comments upon the events reported.

It is possible that as a device for awakening interest among pupils previously unconscious of the external world, these activities have a

certain value. But scepticism is growing as to the educational value of the unco-ordinated discussion of an arbitrarily selected series of divergent events and situations Furthermore, there is the technical difficulty that very few teachers are equipped for commenting objectively and significantly upon political, commercial, financial, ethnographical and other facts The method unaccompanied by any other form of instruction on the subject contains a threefold danger It may disorder still further the mind of the pupil ; it may convey a quite unreal impression that contemporary affairs can be explained in simple terms ; and further, it may encourage the tendency which each rising generation since the eighteenth century has shown, of regarding its world as separated from the experience of its predecessors by an unscalable wall of rock Some would add the further criticism that self-commenting by school children on current events runs the risk of inducing a precocious gravity of outlook which may be the outward sign of a serious emotional frustration

A second possible method of imparting information, which is rarely employed in practice, is by means of special lessons on the nature and growth of contemporary international society as shown in the practice and institutions of the modern world This method of presentation at its best has the undoubted advantage of presenting an ordered picture in which each factor is given its appropriate place But apart altogether from the practical consideration that an exceptional range of knowledge and teaching capacity is required if the proportions are to remain true, it has the grave disadvantage of creating a mental file, the contents of which are wrapped away from what has been learned in other classrooms The disadvantage is grave, for one reason that the pupil cannot be presumed, as in the case of the maturer student of the university, to have already acquired that ordered view of history which trains the faculty of distinguishing the depths from the surface Yet nothing forms a more indispensable part of the process of secondary education than the encouragement of an early preference for diving rather than swimming

Relating Study to Curriculum in General

The third method of presenting the essential information about the contemporary world through the media of the existing subjects, especially of history and geography, is now coming to command general agreement The facts about the growth of the international economic apparatus of the modern world, for example, are presented to the pupil in perspective ; the reasons for the development emerge from the historical, geographical and scientific lessons. The spreading range of neighbourliness in its different aspects is thus shown in historical perspective. There are those who argue that the nature of society is now subject to such rapid and fundamental changes that a knowledge of the past is no aid to the comprehension of the present This view savours of Nelsonianism

carried to excess. If the pupil has no vision of historical development, he is unlikely to acquire the capacity for measuring with any accuracy the relative importance of contemporary changes Without that capacity, he is in danger subsequently, not only of becoming the prey of every plausible social quack, but also of sacrificing the more enduring attributes of civilised life for the temporary possession of a superficial advantage

This third method, therefore, involves the process of mounting on each of the appropriate disciplines a searchlight by means of which the present is illuminated in such a way that neither violence is done to the element of continuity in human experience, nor undue prominence is given to what is merely detail

This method, contrary to views sometimes expressed by those who for one reason or another fear a further extension of the teaching of social subjects, is applicable to literary, scientific, vocational or technical subjects as well as to geography and history It is a profound error to regard the study of international relations as confined to the study of political and economic housekeeping On the contrary , a resourceful teacher of modern languages, physics, agricultural method or industrial design, to mention only a few subjects, should have no difficulty in awakening the interest of his pupils and imparting to them through the comparative method an awareness in the given special sphere of the elements of affinity and divergence in the contemporary world.

Training a Capacity for Independent Judgment

It remains to consider the methods for the fulfilment of the third aim—the training of the capacity for judgment and independent reflection The possibilities of using the study of international relations for this purpose in secondary schools are inevitably limited In practice they would seem to be confined to the pupils who have chosen to specialise in classical and modern literary, historical and economic subjects The purpose is at this relatively advanced stage to use the materials involved in the study of contemporary affairs for sharpening the critical faculty of the pupil in the same way as tradition has counselled the use of textual criticism in the teaching of the classics Subject to the safeguards mentioned above with regard to the method of presentation of the facts, the view is gaining ground, particularly in Great Britain, that consideration of the phenomena of the contemporary world can be used with great effect for this purpose.

The method advocated is the controversial one of opposing rival theses or of examining critically a given thesis advanced as an explanation of a current development Its successful application in practice makes great demands upon the general erudition and teaching skill of the individual teacher ; for it is as necessary to ensure that conflicting viewpoints are fairly presented as to avoid a purely negative attitude. The first is essential for conveying the truth that judgment implies the weighing of alternatives, the second for

combating the tendency of men and women in whom the faculty of criticism has been developed to seek escape from the disturbing process of forming positive judgments in an all-embracing and purely intellectual scepticism One of the greatest vices of modern secondary education is the degree to which it encourages its own intelligent products to suspend *moral judgment* indefinitely Yet it is precisely the democratic form of government which makes the greatest demands upon the individual in this respect

It should be noted that this is not at all the same thing as a plea for education for citizenship, if by that term is meant the inculcation of certain ideas which will influence the pupil, in his subsequent rôle as a citizen, to support given courses of action On the contrary, an application of the method suggested above tends to show that the material of international relations can be used effectively in secondary schools for the purpose of training the capacity for *independent judgment*, irrespective of the direction which that judgment may take It is the ideal of Aristides and not of Candide which a growing number of educational experts in different countries are setting up as a guide to policy and practice in secondary education There is no evidence, however, that, apart from a few special schools in Great Britain, the teaching of international relations takes place with this third purpose in view.

Obstacles to Acceptance of Subject for Study

The serious obstacles in the way of the acceptance of the subject-matter of international relations as a normal part of a secondary school programme require no emphasis Some modification of examination syllabuses would be needed in almost every country to allow for the inclusion of questions on contemporary affairs In France a few changes have been made in this direction. A teaching personnel would be required with a more comprehensive training in international relations than is at present the case in most countries This involves in turn a modification of the syllabuses, in particular of history and geography courses, in teachers' training colleges or seminaria, or alternatively the acceptance by university faculties in which these subjects are taught of a broader view of their content It may also be suggested that considerably more attention than hitherto would need to be given to the technical problems connected with the processes of learning. There is a grave danger that too ambitious a programme of study will outstrip the perceptive capacity of the children for whom it is intended and fail to make any impression on the child's mind. The question calls for urgent scientific investigation by trained psychologists with a practical experience of school teaching.

VI. Conclusion

Experiments with the study of international relations have become progressively more intense during the last fifteen years.

Inevitably, in a revolutionary period, and in the absence of any clearly defined educational guidance, many of these experiments have been designed to further "practical" ends and to produce quick results. Their sponsors have none the less rendered a signal service in directing attention for the first time to the possibilities of a new branch of study, and in providing materials for the formation of judgments and the definition of future policy in higher and secondary education.

It must be admitted, however, that this manifold activity, with a few important exceptions, has failed to affect the greater part of educational thought and practice in most countries This result is both reassuring and disturbing In so far as it can be attributed to a reasonable reluctance to extend the imprimatur of official approval to an ill-defined innovation advocated primarily on "utilitarian" grounds, it is comforting evidence of a sturdy resistance to educational tendencies prevalent in other countries where education is no longer concerned with the fate of the individual It is for those who are responsible for the promotion or pursuit of international studies to draw the necessary conclusion and put their own house in order But in so far as this unreceptive attitude springs from prejudice or a conservative refusal to examine what is already being attempted in a constructive spirit, it is a bad augury for the adjustment of educational practice to the changed conditions of the contemporary world

The time is approaching, if it has not already come, when the intervention of those educational experts and authorities in Europe who continue to keep a jealous watch over the traditional standards of science and learning will be eminently desirable to determine the place of international studies in modern education In the meantime the most valuable contribution which those who are endeavouring to establish the study of international relations in higher and secondary education can make is an inflexible insistence upon the maintenance of the highest academic and educational standards. If this condition is fulfilled, the day may not be far ahead when the study of international relations, no less than the classics or modern languages, is generally recognised as a medium for developing the capacity of the individual to live a full and socially profitable life

S. H. BAILEY.

PART II

Current Events in Education

SECTION I

Education in the United Kingdom

CHAPTER ONE

England and Wales

IT would appear unnecessary, in view of the wide field which has already been covered in previous volumes of the YEAR BOOK, to deal with events or policies prior to the publication of the present volume We may turn, instead, to the educational manifesto of the National Government which was issued prior to the General Election of November 1935 This important document marks a turning-point in the history of the educational system of this country.

The National Government's Educational Plan

After stressing the need for a well-educated democracy—internationally, nationally and individually—the memorandum states that " the pursuit of this policy involves the recasting of the old ideas as to the purpose of education."

The principle is enunciated that the true function of education involves much more than the mere imparting of knowledge The aim should be to ensure that every child should receive the best training of mind, of hand and eye, and of body, from which he is capable of profiting, and that efforts should not be relaxed when the period of full-time schooling comes to an end. In other words, every help and encouragement should be given to young people to add to their store of knowledge, to practise arts and crafts, and to keep physically fit. Thus is emphasised the principle that the interest of the State in the educational welfare of the Youth of the Nation is not merely restricted to the statutory period of compulsory full-time education, but extends to the equally important period of the years immediately following school days.

Raising the School Age

By local by-law, local authorities are empowered to raise the school-leaving age to 15, but so far, the age has only been raised in Cornwall, Carnarvonshire, East Suffolk, Plymouth and Bath. It

is now proposed to raise the school-leaving age to 15, with exemptions (*a*) for beneficial employment and (*b*) in exceptional cases for home duties. Thus the permissive character of the present Act covering the school-leaving age is to give place to compulsion. The demand for the raising of the school-leaving age is usually accompanied by the plea for maintenance allowances to compensate for possible loss of wages This raises the problem of a choice between maintenance allowances for all, or a means test to ascertain the economic circumstances of parents The manifesto is discreetly silent on the subject of a maintenance allowance, and it would appear, therefore, that such a measure is not a part of the Government's plan. Dr Schairer has dealt with some of the problems associated with the raising of the school age in his chapter on Juvenile Unemployment in the present volume, and in view of the varying economic conditions which obtain throughout the country, it is difficult to see how the problem of maintenance allowances can be effectively avoided It may also be argued—and Dr Schairer makes this point, too—that a large number of children are unlikely to benefit by the continuation of their education for a year in the present type of school. As an alternative, the keeping of the present leaving age and requiring part-time attendance at day-continuation schools has much to commend it

While the Government intends to place the decision for granting exemptions with the local authorities who will have the assistance of local juvenile employment committees, it is suggested that when granting exemptions, conditions as to hours of work, wages and opportunities for further education should be laid down by the education committees

Building Grants for Voluntary Schools

The problem of the raising of the school age depends, however, upon the completion of reorganisation on Hadow lines and the co-operation of the voluntary schools In many areas, schemes of reorganisation have not only been held up on economic grounds, but also because of the impossibility of effecting a working arrangement with the managers of the voluntary schools. Successive Governments have been careful to avoid any action which would disturb the agreement reached in 1902 whereby the dual system was firmly established, but it is now felt that an opportune time has arrived when a compromise can be arranged without in any way affecting the principles involved in the present system · It is clearly recognised that the voluntary schools cannot meet the additional financial burdens involved in reorganisation without some temporary recourse to financial assistance in the form of building grants. The Bill for raising the age will accordingly include power to the local authorities, during a limited period, to make building grants to managers of voluntary schools for the purpose of raising the leaving age and for reorganisation, and, in special cases, grants in

aid of new senior schools. These grants will be not less than half and not more than three-fourths of the cost, in so far as it relates to provision for senior schools. The voluntary schools, in return for this aid from public funds, must submit to a certain extension of control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers, but the rights of the managers to ensure that teachers appointed are qualified to give religious instruction will remain unimpaired.

The Government intends to press forward with the policy of eliminating defective buildings and reducing the size of classes. In order to meet the additional cost which must inevitably fall upon local authorities, the rate of the Board of Education's grant for expenditure on school buildings will be raised for a limited period. Similarly, to assist rural areas, the grant for the conveyance of children arising out of reorganisation will be increased.

Increase of Free Secondary Education

In order to facilitate the extension of free secondary education, the Government proposes to remove altogether the existing restrictions on the discretion of the local authorities in regard to the proportions of children who may be admitted to secondary schools, either free or at reduced fees. In addition, there is to be an increase in the number of State scholarships tenable at universities, at the same time throwing them open to pupils from all secondary schools, and also to increase the amount of assistance given in the case of these and other State awards.

With regard to general policy in relation to secondary schools, the Government, doubtless awaiting the report of the Consultative Committee, is silent These schools still remain an instance of a traditional form of education in which not enough has yet been done to fit them into the general scheme of reorganisation. Until the report is published, however, it is impossible to anticipate its recommendation, but it is hoped to publish a critical survey of this report in the next volume of the YEAR BOOK.

Technical Education

During the past few years there has been a considerable shifting of population, and as a consequence, in many areas the present facilities for technical education have proved inadequate to meet the new demands upon them. The Government intend, with the co-operation of local education authorities and of industry, to start an intensive campaign to bring existing buildings up to date, and, in new areas where there are as yet no facilities for technical education, to build new schools.

Adult Education

As a result of the economic crisis, facilities for adult education were drastically cut. The Government, realising the importance of this branch of education and the increasing demand for it, intend

to remove restrictions and to give every assistance to the national development of this movement.

The Health Services and Physical Training

During the economic depression, the Health Services suffered considerably by the curtailment of expenditure. The Government now intend to encourage local authorities to make good such deficiencies as may exist, and particular attention is to be paid to the provision of nursery schools in areas where parents are unable to give their children the care and attention at home which they need. It is realised, too, that more remedial and preventive treatment is required in the form of orthopædic centres and open-air schools.

The publication of the Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1933, was an earnest of the desire to provide the best available knowledge for the cultivation of sound bodies in the schools. But there is another aspect of the problem of physical culture which the Government, with the co-operation of local authorities and all other interests concerned, intend to promote So far, little has been done officially to encourage those who have left school to take part in activities conducive to physical well-being, it being left to private endeavour to make such provisions as exist. To meet this urgent need every effort will now be made to develop and supplement the provision already made by clubs and other voluntary organisations.

Conclusion

Such in broad outline are the Government's plans for a forward step in education. They involve the principle that with the passing of the more severe phase of the economic crisis which affected education so adversely, steps must now be taken not only to repair the ravages of the past, but to embark upon new schemes which will be in keeping with the needs of citizens living under a democratic form of Government. The basic principle upon which the educational system of this country has been built—co-operation between the central and local authorities—is maintained, but the Government is now prepared to take a bigger share of the financial burden involved, without which, progress, especially in the depressed areas, would be impossible.

HARLEY V. USILL.

CHAPTER TWO

Education in Scotland since the War

THE question of the future provision for education had received the consideration of Parliament before the actual end of the war An Act to make further provision with respect to education in Scotland and for purposes connected therewith was placed on the Statute Book on November 21st, 1918. The Act embodied some of the hopes as well as the immediate intentions of Parliament and is not even yet fully in force ; but its passage was an outstanding event in Scottish education and in certain important directions it was immediately effective This was notably true in the case of the local administration of education

Administration

The Act provided for the election of a local authority for the purposes of education for each of the five principal burghs, and for every county, including every burgh situated therein, not being one of the five burghs for which a separate education authority was to be elected ; and the whole powers and duties of each school board and secondary education committee, within and with respect to the education area of the education authority, were transferred to and vested in that authority The whole of the local administration of matters relating to education was therefore transferred from the school boards elected for separate parishes and burghs and the secondary education committees which operated within the education areas, and unified in the hands of a single authority for each area to which was committed the responsibility for the organisation and provision of all forms of primary and secondary education throughout the area. In order to make this unification complete it was necessary to provide for the transfer of the management of the schools formerly conducted by voluntary managers which had been in receipt of parliamentary grants to the management of the education authority. Provisions to effect this transfer, and to secure that in future the schools referred to were conducted under the management of the education authority as public schools (with certain variations as to religious instruction, etc.), were included in the Act, and it was provided that after two years from the passing of the Act no grant should be made from the Education (Scotland) Fund in respect of any " voluntary " school which had not been transferred to the education authority.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929

The principle of unification of the local administration of the educational services in an education area had important results

during the period in which the specially elected education authorities remained in control. It was, however, developed later into a very considerable unification of the administration of the local services, generally by the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929. Under this Act the town councils of the four counties of cities (Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow) become the education authorities for the education areas of these cities ; and the county councils, as reconstituted by the Act, became the education authorities for the counties, including any burgh other than a county of a city situated therein. The whole functions of the education authorities were transferred to and vested in such town and county councils. The councils were required by the Act to constitute an education committee, in accordance with a scheme approved by the Scottish Education Department, including a majority of members of the council, persons experienced in education and persons acquainted with the needs of the various kinds of schools in the area (including persons interested in religious instruction) and providing for the inclusion of women as well as men among the members of the committee. The council were required to refer all their functions relating to education to this committee, with certain specified exceptions, and to receive and consider the report of the committee thereupon unless in their opinion the matter is urgent

The effect of this enactment was to relate the educational services of an area to the other services for which a council is responsible, and to permit of the co-ordination of such services within the area with a view to the more effective and economical discharge of the functions of the council as a whole This co-ordination has been notably important in the case of the health services, and the Act included provisions under which the medical and nursing staff of a town council in the area of a county council and the clinics and hospitals under the control of such a town council should be utilised for the purpose of the medical inspection, supervision and treatment of school children. It was further provided that any assistance relating to the feeding, clothing and treatment of school children which might be provided by way of poor relief or by virtue of any enactment other than the Poor Law Acts might, if the Council so decide, be provided exclusively by virtue of the enactments other than the Poor Law Acts and not by way of poor relief. An attempt was also made to facilitate the closer association of the public library service in counties with the educational service to which it is clearly desirable that it should be allied. It was made lawful by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, for an education authority of a county, as an ancillary means of promoting education, to make such provision of books, by purchase or otherwise, as they consider desirable, and to make the same available, not only to the children or young persons attending schools or continuation classes in the county, but also to the adult population resident therein. For this purpose an education authority may enter into arrangements with public libraries, and the expenses incurred may be charged to the

county education fund. Under these provisions there has been a very extensive development of county libraries ; and it is now open to the county council under the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929, to provide that the administration of the Public Libraries Acts, in any part of their landward area in which they are in operation, may be placed under the general supervision of the education committee, and the functions of the library committees under the said Acts exercised by the education committee or a special committee constituted by them.

Educational Endowments

The numerous and important educational endowments available in Scotland have also been brought under review They were variously administered under schemes made in accordance with the declared intentions of the founder, by the consent of the governing body, in pursuance of schemes approved under the Endowments Act of 1882 and other Acts, by Provisional Order or merely by custom In 1928, Commissioners were appointed who were empowered to draft schemes for the future government and management of educational endowments in Scotland The schemes so drafted might provide for altering the purposes to which such endowments were applied, and the conditions of such application to educational purposes mental or physical, moral or social as the Commissioners might think fit, having regard to the public interest and to existing conditions, social and educational They might also provide for grouping, amalgamating, combining or dividing any such endowments, for altering the constitution of any governing body, for uniting two or more such bodies, for establishing new governing bodies with such powers as seem necessary, or for incorporating any governing body old or new.

It will be seen that the Commissioners were invested with adequate powers to bring the Scottish educational endowments into effective relationship with the existing conditions social and educational both as regards their administration and their application As a result of their preliminary consideration of the matter the Commissioners decided that the best manner of executing their task was to deal at one time with all the educational endowments of an education area. In view of the enlargement of this area from the parish or burgh to the county, they have felt it desirable to enlarge in a similar manner the area to be covered by endowments under the administration of one governing body, and have accordingly, in suitable cases, exercised the power conferred on them to amalgamate many of the endowments in an area They found also that many of the existing governing bodies performed only the functions of collecting the income of the endowment and handing it over to the education authority. In these circumstances the Commissioners have considered that economy and advantage will follow from the dissolution of the former governing body, and the handing over of the capital of the endowment to the body who are eventually

responsible for its administration. The task of the Commissioners has not yet been completed, but great progress has been made in bringing the administration and application of the educational endowments into effective relationship with "existing conditions, social and educational." The schemes normally cover the education area, the education authority is often the governing body or is strongly represented thereon, and in the application of the funds of the endowment it is now possible to take into fuller account the existing educational organisation of the area and the special needs of the locality.

The Teaching Profession

The importance of the work of the individual teacher, even in the smallest village school, has always been recognised in Scotland; and Scottish literature and Scottish records generally are full of the statements of the indebtedness of the grateful pupils who have benefited from the ministration of the Scottish schoolmaster But if the teacher had early earned for himself an enviable status in public opinion, the recognition of that status in relation to his financial reward was very long delayed The claims of the teacher could not be overlooked when the whole question of the administration of education in Scotland was under consideration as a preliminary to the introduction of the Act of 1918, and the Act as passed included a provision making it the duty of every education authority to submit to the Scottish Education Department a scheme of scales of salaries for the teachers employed by them satisfying such conditions as to minimum national scales of salaries as may be laid down by the Department after consultation with representatives of the education authorities and the teaching profession; and the due observance of this scale was made a condition of the payment of grant under the Department's regulations The prescription of a minimum scale was quite in accordance with Scottish traditions. Under the Act of 1696 the heritors were bound to provide a schoolhouse and to pay the schoolmaster a salary not above 400 merks nor under 100 merks. By the Act of 1803 the scale was raised to not less than 300 nor more than 400 merks. Under the Act of 1861 the minimum was £35 and the maximum £80 The minimum national scale fixed by the Department (after consultation with representatives of the teaching profession) was considerably more generous; and it is, of course, open to the education authorities to improve upon this scale in the scales which apply, after approval by the Department, in their own areas.

Training of Teachers

The status of the Scottish teacher has been considerably affected by the changes that have taken place in the system for the training of teachers over a considerable period. In 1906 the decision was taken that all Scottish teachers should thenceforth be trained. In 1908 the pupil teacher was superseded by the junior student.

The provisions of the machinery for training and the full complement of buildings necessary were interrupted by the war. The Edinburgh centre had been completed and opened in 1913; but the centres at Aberdeen and Dundee were not ready till 1919, and that at Glasgow only became available in 1921. The Act of 1918 required the education authorities to contribute to the cost of the training of teachers and in consequence gave them a right to control it. A National Committee was accordingly established, representative of education authorities and acting through a central executive committee on which the teaching profession was also represented In 1920, the Denominational Colleges, and in 1921, the Dunfermline College of Hygiene transferred themselves voluntarily to the National Committee and the unification of the training system in Scotland was complete

The regulations under which the training of teachers is conducted underwent some important changes in 1924. The junior student, who had replaced the pupil teacher, disappeared and the Leaving Certificate became the normal qualification for entry upon training for women In the case of men the degree of a university or the diploma of a central institution became an essential qualification As a result of all these changes it may be claimed that the standard of general education in the teaching profession has been notably raised in Scotland since the war.

Organisation of Day Schools

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, made it the duty of every education authority to prepare and submit for the approval of the Scottish Education Department a scheme for the adequate provision, throughout their education area, of all forms of primary, intermediate and secondary education in day schools, without payment of fees On December 13th, 1921, the Department issued an important circular (No. 44) dealing with the future organisation of day schools, the differentiation of courses, the incidence and character of examinations and the issue of certificates The substitution of a simple *per capita* basis of grant for one which involved different rates of payment for different stages of advancement had removed the need for departmental intervention, so far as the promotion of pupils is concerned; and it was held that the responsibility for deciding whether individual pupils are ripe for advancement should lie in future with the teachers immediately concerned, subject, of course, to any safeguards that may be considered reasonable and desirable by the education authorities. The examination of individual pupils by His Majesty's Inspectors as a test of fitness for promotion to a post-primary course was therefore discontinued; and education authorities were required to see that it was replaced by some arrangement under which those who have taught, and those who are to teach, particular individuals could combine in an endeavour to estimate the potentialities of the material to be handled. It was indicated that while any tests to be applied should be such as

the average pupil of 12 can be fairly called upon to meet, there should be no restriction as to the age at which promotion takes place. If a pupil is ready to move forward at an earlier age without risk of over-pressure, no hindrance should be placed in his way. Nor should those pupils below the average in ordinary school subjects necessarily be required to remain in a class till they had reached the normal standard for advancement Wherever possible they should be duly provided for. It was hoped that the greater freedom resulting from the removal of financial restriction would, as a result of these measures, lead to a closer observation of natural capacity and to a better adaptation of training to natural gifts.

Equality of Opportunity for All

The education authorities were invited, in considering the best form of post-primary organisation within their area, to concentrate their attention upon two main groups of pupils those who are likely to complete a full course of secondary education, and those who, for one reason or another, will leave the day school at 14 or 15 It was suggested that little difficulty was likely to be encountered so far as the former group is concerned, the present organisation of secondary education in Scotland being regarded as fairly satisfactory, despite defects and imperfections which experience is gradually remedying. The force of public opinion is strong enough to ensure the maintenance of the immemorial Scottish tradition that, subject to the overriding conditions of intellectual fitness, no child, whatever his home circumstances, shall be debarred access to the secondary school and the university by lack of opportunity There was abundant evidence that, so far as the particular obligation is concerned, the liability of education authorities has brought Scotland nearer to the ideal than she had been at any previous period of her educational history, the only point as to which doubt was felt being whether due attention was always paid to the overriding conditions.

The Non-secondary School Pupils

In the Department's opinion the second and larger group of pupils were in less happy case. A frank recognition of the truth that in every country only a percentage of the population will profit fully by secondary school or university study was held to be essential if a proper organisation is to be established. The figures of wastage in the first and second years of the secondary course were cited as evidence of much fruitless effort on the part of the teachers, and much disappointment and loss of time on the part of the pupils ; and it was held that the extension of the school age would only aggravate those evils unless the situation had been adequately prepared for. The Department asked explicitly for evidence in the schemes submitted by education authorities of a determination to secure for the " non-secondary " pupil the full share of attention to which he is entitled.

Revision of Codes of Regulations

The principles so laid down were interpreted in a revision of the Regulations of the Department later. In 1923 new editions of the Code of Regulations for Day Schools and the Secondary Schools Regulations were approved by Parliament and were followed by the issue of a series of explanatory circulars from the Department. The principal changes introduced in the Code and the Regulations, and explained in the circulars, were concerned with the organisation of the schools as regards the provision to be made for pupils beyond the primary stage. The course leading to presentation for the Leaving Certificate issued by the Department was made wider and more elastic in the hope that it would in consequence be suitable for a larger number of those pupils who remain at school till they attain the age of 17 or 18. For pupils who were expected to leave at about the age of 15, Advanced Division courses might be instituted in any school in which the education authority desired to conduct them, provided that the curriculum, staffing, accommodation, etc, were approved by the Department It was expected that as regards staff, accommodation and equipment, the Advanced Divisions should not be inferior to the secondary schools. The courses to be provided therein were to aim primarily at general culture, but to be capable of adaptation to varying circumstances, and, especially in these later years, might have a vocational bias The inclusion of a foreign language was to be optional, but it was open to an education authority to make proposals for so arranging the curriculum that transference from an Advanced Division course to a course leading to the Leaving Certificate should be easy—a provision of general importance because of the serious difficulty of foretelling at the age of 12 how a child will develop, and of particular value in remote districts where transference to a secondary school at an early age is impossible or undesirable. The effect of the alteration was to allow much freer play to local initiative, and to make it easier for education authorities and teachers to adapt their policy at every stage to meet the wide variations of individual abilities, local conditions and post-school requirements. These principles were further applied in the modification of the conditions for the award of the Leaving Certificate and the Day School Certificate (Higher) notified by the Department in Circulars 62 and 86 issued in 1932.

Development of Post-primary Instruction

The subsequent development of post-primary instruction may be illustrated by the statistics which follow. The average number of pupils enrolled in classes above the senior division in schools conducted under the Day School Code was 93,027 in the year 1933–4; and the average roll in the post-primary departments in schools conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations was 93,536 for the same year. Of the 2,909 schools conducted under the Code,

about 45 per cent. have courses approved for the purposes of the Day School Certificate, and of these 238 have courses of three years' duration approved for the purposes of the Higher Certificate. Pupils were also presented for this certificate from 226 schools conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations.

There was never a rigid distinction between " primary " and " secondary " schools in Scotland ; and a " day school " is defined in the Acts as a school or department of a school conducted in accordance with the Code, or providing a curriculum approved by the Department in accordance with their regulations as to secondary schools. There is no definition of " elementary " or " primary " school, and the definitions of " intermediate " and " secondary " schools make the duration of the post-primary course the distinguishing feature The definitions are, in fact, sufficiently wide and the regulations of the Department sufficiently comprehensive to permit of the provision of any type of post-primary education in any school in which such provision may be desirable A characteristic result of this freedom of organisation has been the development of what has come to be called in Scotland an " omnibus school "—a secondary school conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations which includes, in addition to the full secondary courses leading to presentation for the Leaving Certificate, three-year post-primary courses such as are ordinarily provided in a school conducted under the Code of Regulations for Day Schools At the present time about one-third of the secondary schools in Scotland are of this type.

Reduction in Size of Classes

The attempt to effect a reduction in the size of school classes has extended over a considerable number of years Until 1899 the maximum number was seventy ; but the Code of that year required that in no case should more than sixty children be habitually under the charge of one teacher Eleven years later notice was given, in a note to the Code, that a further restriction of the number was under consideration ; but the circumstances of the [illegible] years made it impossible to effect the changes proposed Even in 1923, when the revised Code was issued, the Department was constrained to retain sixty as the prescribed maximum on account of the general circumstances of the time But it was made clear that the restriction was only provisional, and it was provided that in new schools, or in additions to, or reconstructions of, existing schools, no classrooms would be recognised for more than fifty pupils. In the following year it became clear that the decrease in the school population, resulting from the lower birth-rate of the war period, would afford an opportunity for effecting the desired reduction, and the Department gave definite notice that in 1928 the maximum would be lowered to fifty. Effect was given to this decision by a formal Minute which became operative on September 1st, 1928. This restriction relates to the number of children habitually under the

charge of one teacher and both in regard to primary and post-primary classes the limit laid down was generally taken to mean the numbers in average attendance On May 24th, 1935, however, the Department intimated that it was their intention in due course to lay papers before Parliament providing that from August 1st, 1936, the number of pupils in any class or group of classes taught by one teacher shall not exceed fifty on the roll, and that as regards post-primary classes the limit shall be forty on the roll in the first three years of the course and thirty on the roll in the fourth and subsequent years A Minute giving effect to this decision was laid before Parliament in October 1935

School-leaving Age

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, included a provision extending the duty of the parent to provide efficient education for his children in respect of each child until that child has attained the age of 15 years, and it is clear that the Department have had the probability of this extension in mind in all the modifications of their regulations referred to above The provision has not yet, however, been brought into force In June 1929, the Government announced their intention of raising the school age from 14 to 15 as from April 1st, 1931 A circular (No 81) was issued by the Department referring to the questions of curriculum, organisation, staffing and accommodation that would need the consideration of education authorities in November 1929; and the authorities were asked to supply the Department with information as to the additional number of children to be provided for, the new accommodation required, the number of additional teachers and the estimated cost of the additional provision A Bill to raise the school age in England and Wales was passed in the following year by the House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords The Government announced their intention of reintroducing it in the next session, but this was prevented by circumstances, and the matter, therefore, remains to be dealt with It has become clear, however, that there is a powerful and increasing body of opinion in favour of the extension, and the matter was referred by the Government to the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department for their special consideration. As a result of this consideration the Government have announced their intention of proceeding with the matter in due course.[1] In the meantime the position of boys and girls over 14 years of age has been affected by the passing of the Unemployment Act of 1934. By this Act the minimum age for entry into unemployment insurance has been lowered from 16 to the statutory age for leaving school, and provision is made for crediting with contributions young persons who continue to receive full-time education after they have attained that age. The Act also lays upon education authorities the duty of submitting to the Minister

[1] See Chapter One of this Section.

of Labour proposals for the provision of such courses of instruction as may be necessary for unemployed persons under the age of 18, and confers upon the Minister the power of taking steps to secure that the provision made is sufficient. The Minister is also empowered to require the attendance of any unemployed person under 18 (whether an insured contributor or not) at any authorised course at which he can reasonably be expected to attend

Extension of Aids to Learning

A notable feature in the work of the Scottish schools since the war has been the development of the use of the gramophone, the cinema and broadcasting as part of the apparatus of instruction Gramophones are to be found in a considerable number of primary schools and in many of the secondary schools The importance of the gramophone in the development of musical appreciation is recognised, especially in schools in which a course in music has been approved for the Leaving Certificate It appears also to have established its value as an aid to language teaching, for which purpose it is extensively used in the modern language departments of secondary schools, and also in the teaching of English, particularly in the Highlands , and it is variously employed to provide an accompaniment for physical exercises and country dancing, to secure rhythm and speed control in the teaching of typewriting, and for singing-games and story-telling in infant departments There is an increasing realisation of the possibilities of the cinema, if judiciously used, as an aid to instruction, and a means of stimulating the imagination Arrangements have been made, and others are in contemplation, for producing, with the co-operation of the British Film Institute, a series of films designed specifically for classroom teaching A Scottish Film Council has been set up as an integral part of the British Film Institute, and the Scottish Education Department are represented on the Education Panel of this Council. Advantage is being taken of the Post Office Film Library, and notable work of an experimental nature in connection with the educational use of the cinema has been done in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Lanarkshire and other parts of Scotland. The number of schools taking broadcast courses at the date of the latest returns was 342. The subject which has attracted the greatest number of listeners is music, but courses have also been taken in history, nature study, geography, English, biology, French and German. The ages of the pupils in the listening classes vary generally from 11 to 15 or 16, but a considerable number of broadcast lessons are heard by pupils above and below these ages. Senior courses in French and German are taken by pupils up to the age of 18.

(*Contributed.*)

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE THE WAR

Introduction

THE establishment of the Government of Northern Ireland in 1921 as a result of the events that led up to the Irish Treaty marked a definite era in educational administration. This momentous event had a profound influence on the education of the Province, which was now freed from the shackles imposed upon it by its dependence upon the Governmental Boards of Commissioners which previously exercised control in Dublin These Boards distributed the grants voted by the Imperial Parliament, and although nominally subordinate to their paymasters at Dublin Castle, they were really in close touch with Irish opinion and considerably influenced by it Irish Chief Secretaries for many years past had found it undesirable to interfere actively in educational administration Mr Augustine Birrell had passed a University Act in 1908 which closed down the secular controversies on that question, and until Mr Ian MacPherson attempted in 1920 to introduce a comprehensive measure of educational reform, there was little disposition to take questions of policy out of the hands of the Boards.

Previous Obstacles to Reform

The nominated bodies of Commissioners which controlled elementary and secondary education respectively had necessarily to come to a working arrangement with the Roman Catholic Church in order that the school system might function with some approach to smoothness and regularity As these Boards held the scales evenly between Catholic and Protestant schools, the same regulations being applicable to both in every respect, a policy which met the views of one denomination was often found to be unsuitable to satisfy fully the needs of the other Such measures as " popular control " of the schools and its corollary, an education rate, were repugnant to Roman Catholic opinion, and in consequence were not regarded by the Government as practical politics, so that the voluntary system held undisputed sway all over the country with Roman Catholics and Protestants alike Attempts at reform, such as Mr. MacPherson's Bill in 1920, were effectually set aside by Roman Catholic opposition, and the imminence at that time of the transfer of authority to local parliaments naturally deprived such efforts of vitality and driving-force.

A New Education Bill

But with the emergence of Northern Ireland as an area endowed with full powers of educational administration a new day dawned

for progress. The " six counties," with a population of a million and a quarter, two-thirds of whom were Protestants, were now in a position to mould their system nearer to the heart's desire, and to this work Government and people set themselves with promptness and energy. The Government was established in July 1921 : within three months a Committee of leading citizens, representatives of the Churches (the Roman Catholic Church declined to take part), teachers and education officials, was appointed to survey the whole educational position. Meanwhile the newly formed Ministry of Education, under Lord Londonderry, began to study the heads of a Bill, and the new measure was submitted to the Parliament of Northern Ireland in March 1923, after consideration of the Interim report of the Committee which was issued some months previously The new Education Bill passed through all its stages without opposition and received the Royal Assent before the end of the Session. The way was now clear for reform so far as legislation could secure it.

Outlines of Reform

The main deficiencies in the Irish educational systems before 1922 and the steps taken to meet them in the Ulster Education Act of 1923 have been fully set forth in the first volume of the YEAR BOOK, and it is unnecessary to repeat these details here It will suffice to recall that the outlines of the reforms adopted included the co-ordination of all education below university level under one authority, the transformation (so far as practicable) of a voluntary school system into one of publicly administered schools, the general improvement of material conditions and of regularity of attendance, provision for medical inspection and treatment, the care of afflicted children, and the setting-up of the " educational ladder " through scholarships, free places and other facilities Under all these heads an immense deal had to be done, although the revenues of the Province gave little margin for increased expenditure, and the absence of rate-aid further hampered the means necessary for expansion The new local education authorities could not be expected to start their work by imposing a heavy education rate, and had perforce to commence at the bottom of the scale ; to encourage them in taking up these new burdens the Government was obliged to give liberal subsidies But notwithstanding these difficulties, the reforms necessary were enthusiastically set in hand, and the progress made since the local authorities began to function in 1924 is of a most striking character. Some details of the changes effected since the passing of the Education Act will now be given.

(1) Elementary Education

(*a*) *Buildings, etc.*

The most striking development in elementary education is the marked improvement in the material conditions in which the pupils are now taught owing to the provision of new schools and the

attention bestowed on the pupils' health and comfort. Accommodation for over 35,000 pupils at a total cost of nearly £1,100,000 has been supplied, of which the local education authorities are responsible for 109 schools with over 28,000 places; the remaining new schools, 46 in number, were built by voluntary school managers, with the help of grants from the Ministry, at a cost of about £240,000 A further 325 schools were enlarged or substantially improved by the education authorities. The effect of these measures is that about two-fifths of the whole elementary school accommodation in the Province has been either newly provided in the last ten years or renovated so as to be brought up to modern requirements The new school buildings are all of most modern design, and the large new schools built recently in Belfast and other urban centres compare favourably with any recently erected in Great Britain.

(*b*) *Amalgamations of Schools*

Simultaneously with new building construction the number of separate elementary schools in operation has decreased from 2,066 in 1922 to 1,790 last year. There has been a concentration of adjoining schools wherever practicable into single units, which has secured economy as well as greater efficiency through a more convenient organisation of classes and better division of labour amongst the teachers. The average size of the schools has in consequence increased considerably, and in thickly populated centres large schools for over 800 pupils have been erected. It is estimated that more than 300 school buildings in use in 1922 have now been superseded by new accommodation.

The Ministry makes grants of 50 per cent of the total cost of new buildings to managers of voluntary schools, but the fact that these schools do not receive all the cost from State funds is looked upon as a grievance by the Roman Catholic community. Voluntary schools receive only half the cost of maintenance from the education authorities and nothing for repairs There are obvious difficulties in the way of meeting the demand for full grants, not the least of which is the consideration that if voluntary schools were provided in full out of public funds, it would be impossible to prevent every religious denomination claiming to maintain schools for its members at the public expense, and the multiplication of such schools, which many educationists consider to have been one of the greatest defects of the old system, would be perpetuated.

While a great deal has been done to bring the school accommodation up-to-date, there are still large arrears to be worked off, especially in the rural districts.

(*c*) *Transfers of Schools*

About 46 per cent. of the pupils in Northern Ireland, i e. 93,283 out of 203,550 are now educated in schools under the control of the new education authorities, in 109 " provided " and 508 " trans-

ferred " schools. These figures show the extent to which the process of transfer of schools from private to public control has advanced. There are still 1,173 " voluntary " schools with an enrolment of 110,267, of which about 700 are under Roman Catholic management with approximately 76,000 pupils. The remaining schools are under the management of the Protestant Churches, particularly in the western part of the Province ; some are in process of transfer, and it may be anticipated that with a few exceptions all will be transferred in a few years' time or replaced by schools erected by the local education authorities In the latter type of school the management committees set up by the Education Act of 1930, on which the transferors or former school managers and parents of pupils have a statutory right of representation, control the appointments of teachers by means of a " short list " submitted to the education authority.

(*d*) *Attendance of Pupils*

While the population of Northern Ireland has not perceptibly increased since 1922, the enrolment of pupils has risen by about 5,000 ; the number in average daily attendance has, on the other hand, increased by over 21,000, i e from 152,517 to 174,128 This remarkable increase is due in the first instance to stricter administration of the law of compulsory attendance, but perhaps in no less degree to the improved state of the schools and a greater appreciation of education amongst all classes of the community Regularity of attendance, as measured by the percentage of pupils present daily in school, has risen from 76·1 in 1922 to 85·5 in 1934. The establishment of secondary school scholarships and the great extension of secondary education are responsible for a decrease in the number of pupils over 14, the present limit of compulsory school attendance. The extension of the leaving age to 15 has not yet been seriously considered in Northern Ireland ; it is to be noted that pupils up to 16 are freely admitted to the elementary schools, and it is doubtful whether public opinion is yet ripe to have such attendance made compulsory by law. Of the yearly output of the elementary schools—about 25,000 in number—it appears that not more than 20 per cent continue in full-time education, but there is reason to believe that another 20 per cent continue to attend evening classes at technical schools. The Ministry is believed to favour a system of compulsory part-time education up to 16 or possibly 18, but financial considerations, as well as other difficulties, seem to block the way.

(*e*) *Attention to Health, Meals, etc.*

Medical inspection and treatment of pupils, and the care of afflicted children, which were to a great extent unknown before 1923, have been important parts of the reforms instituted by the Education Act. Statistics of children's diseases in Ulster are

similar to those experienced in Great Britain, except in one important respect, viz. : the incidence and frequency of the ailments found in the schools are definitely less than in the sister country. All the authorities now provide more or less effectively for medical inspection and treatment Afflicted children, particularly the deaf and dumb and the blind, are treated in suitable institutions No schools for mentally deficient children exist in the Province, but one is to be opened in Belfast at an early date by the Ministry, which will take day pupils from the city and boarders from the rural districts. Special classes for subnormal and " backward " pupils have been established in a few large urban schools Statistics of medical officers throughout the Province signalise a comparatively small number of mentally defective children—about 3 per thousand of the school enrolment

No State recognition is yet available for nursery schools, but one has been carried on with much efficiency in Belfast by voluntary effort since 1926, and two or three others are in course of formation.

A regular system of school meals for necessitous children is carried on by the Belfast and County Down education authorities Something is also done in one or two other areas, but this matter has so far not received adequate attention In rural districts some schools have organised a light meal for the pupils during the playhour, and an arrangement of this kind is now being urged by the Ministry There has, for some reason, always been much apathy on this subject amongst Irish parents and school authorities, but it is hoped that public opinion is now becoming alive to its importance.

(*f*) *School Work*

Greatly improved scales of salaries since 1920 and better-trained teachers have led to a great increase of efficiency. The average pre-war rate of salary now stands at a figure 150 per cent higher, even after the effects of two " cuts," one in 1926 and the other in 1930, amounting to 15 per cent diminution on the scales settled by the Civil Service Arbitration Board in 1920 No move has yet been made by the Government to restore the last " cut " ; apparently the financial position in Northern Ireland has not yet improved to such an extent as to render this step practicable in the opinion of the Cabinet.

The training of teachers in Northern Ireland has shared to no small extent in the programme of reform instituted in 1923. A new State training college has been built at a cost of £200,000, accommodating about 230 students of both sexes. The normal course is still the two years that has been the rule for many decades, but facilities for university work are provided, the college being affiliated to Queen's University and certain of its courses recognised as of university standard. The numbers of students who continue for a university degree is, however, inconsiderable, eight or ten qualifying each year. Admission, which is by competition, is on the stan-

dard of the Secondary School Leaving Certificate, so that all entrants must now have received a secondary education. A higher standard on admission means better-qualified candidates, and the tendency is to look for improved academic qualifications in students whose work will definitely be on more advanced lines than previously. Selected graduates are admitted to a one-year course. The training curriculum has been widened in recent years and more attention is given to " practical subjects." On leaving the college and entering the schools, students are on probation, and no teacher is finally admitted to the profession without satisfying tests of efficiency in school-keeping

Roman Catholic women students are very efficiently trained at St Mary's Training College, Falls Road, Belfast, and the men students of that denomination attend the Training College at Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, by a special arrangement between the Ministry and the Board of Education.

The curriculum of the elementary schools has for many years included a wide range of subjects, and the tendency to develop on the " practical " side is increasing Time has been taken from the subjects formally recognised as the main work of a school, and if activities in school have broadened, there is perhaps a fear that less depth is attained. A strict system of inspection insists on thoroughness, and school in Northern Ireland is still probably more a place of discipline and desk-work than is the case in other countries. The present programme is the joint work of a committee of inspectors and teachers.

An important development in school organisation is the growth of the senior school, i e a school confined to pupils of about 10 years of age and upwards There are twenty-one such schools in Belfast and other centres with junior schools grouped round them as satellite schools. In this form the influence of the famous Hadow report has shown itself in Northern Ireland. Teachers are still divided in opinion as to its merits, though the advantages, both educational and financial, of concentrating the older pupils of a district in a single school are evident in more specialised teaching and greater economy in building and equipment One of the chief drawbacks is the need for a larger teaching staff than present regulations allow, and although some slight additions to the hitherto recognised staffs have been made, the contrast in staffing with secondary schools of similar size is glaring and emphasises the handicap under which these schools are at present conducted.

(*g*) *The Educational Ladder*

A system of State scholarships for elementary school pupils to attend secondary schools was one of the most eagerly acclaimed reforms of the Education Act, and all the local authorities now provide them in varying degrees, both for secondary and technical schools, and the university. All are subject to a means test at the discretion of the education authorities. The number of such

scholarships, judged by standards elsewhere, is distinctly low: in 1934 there were 719 held in secondary schools, 438 in technical schools and 87 in the university, besides 36 to enable students to go to training colleges The number does not appear to be increasing, and it is feared in some quarters that the stringency of the means test is impairing the usefulness of the system. Most education authorities confine scholarships to persons of very small means; the results are unfortunate in two respects—a large number of clever pupils are debarred from higher education, because although their parents' means are found to be above the maximum laid down by the education authorities, their incomes do not permit of their sending their children to secondary schools, and the competition for scholarships being thus restricted to the poorer members of the community, the standard of ability of those to whom scholarships are granted does not enable them in many cases to do justice to the expenditure of public money Especially is this the case with university scholars, many of whom show little brilliance in their studies in return for the privilege granted to them. The position in respect of scholars entering secondary and technical schools is, however, more satisfactory.

(2) Higher Education

(*a*) *Secondary Education*

If the reforms effected in elementary education have been considerable, those effected in secondary education are even more striking Here the metamorphosis of a large number of schools run for private profit into public institutions controlled by responsible governing bodies has led to more radical changes. Apart from some well-known and old-established schools, a great deal of the secondary education of the Province was confined to small private schools As a condition of aid the Education Act required that all grant-earning secondary schools should in future be managed by governing bodies operating under approved schemes and that no school should be farmed out or conducted for private profit, so that any surplus of income over expenditure should be devoted to the improvement of the school. The more enlightened use of school income which has ensued has resulted in a more contented body of teachers, better school buildings and a greatly enhanced standing in public estimation. The majority of the schools still remain under the control of boards of governors, but the education authorities, besides making occasional grants of money for capital expenditure to the schools, are themselves beginning to provide their own institutions, and there are now eight flourishing secondary schools managed by them.

Salary Scales

A new scale of salary for secondary school teachers, a pensions scheme, a definite standard of qualifications in the staff—all these

matters were dealt with in the Education Act, and it may be said that these essentials of a properly organised school system were introduced for the first time in 1923 Very great progress has since been made in developing the system : the Ministry's grants have expanded from £51,500 in 1921 to £168,000 in 1935–6, and enrolment has increased from 8,677 to 12,974—50 per cent The schools have become more popular and more accessible to all classes of the community, and the institution of scholarships and to a less extent of free places has opened them to a stratum of society which formerly seldom looked beyond the elementary school for advanced full-time education

Provision of Schools

The number of recognised secondary schools has not altered materially since 1922 ; some small schools have been closed and their place taken by new ones The provision of schools, except perhaps in Belfast, appears to be adequate to meet the present demand, but during the last dozen years substantial improvements in the buildings have been effected.

Finance

The financial condition of the schools under the former system was mainly responsible for the low qualifications of many teachers, not a few of whom did not possess even a university degree Under existing regulations every recognised teacher must possess approved qualifications and must be paid a minimum salary by the governing bodies. Those on the " authorised " staff receive their increments from the Ministry, an arrangement which has obvious advantages both for the teacher and the school, as it removes from the governing body any temptation to replace experienced teachers in the higher reaches of the salary scale by a cheaper article The scale has therefore given the profession an unusual security of tenure, with results observable in the higher efficiency of the contented worker, and the introduction of a pensions scheme, which is in reciprocal relations with English and Scottish Service, has crowned the edifice. With the increase in school attendance the staffs have increased in proportion, and in 1934 there were 740 full-time and 279 part-time teachers.

Curriculum

Considerable changes have been made in the programme of subjects taught since 1923, and in addition to the usual mathematical, literary, scientific and practical subjects definite provision must now be made for choral singing, physical training and organised games. The teaching of English has advanced greatly, owing to the influx of highly qualified specialists with good Honours degrees. In modern languages oral tests form part of the Ministry's Examinations and the standard of pronunciation has benefited markedly from this stimulus. French is universally taught;

German and Spanish in an appreciable number of schools and Irish in most of the Roman Catholic schools The teaching of classics is stationary in numbers, but there is greater finish than before in the execution, and more use made of illustration in interpreting the Latin and Greek authors. History, which was before grouped with geography, now has its separate place in the curriculum, and is taught on broader lines; geography also has taken on a more modern shape. Similar developments are apparent in the teaching of mathematics and science. Whether the greater range of subjects now habitual has made for thoroughness and depth may well be questioned, but new interest has certainly been evolved in the class-teaching, even if scholarship lags behind

Art teaching has been revolutionised in the last few years in recognised schools of all grades in Northern Ireland The old set copying from the flat and from objects has given place to an emphasis on design and original illustration Exhibitions of work in Belfast have shown a marked degree of progress in this direction

Supply of Teachers

The supply of highly qualified teachers still presents a certain problem in the Province While academic qualifications show remarkable improvement, the training in professional skill cannot be said to have correspondingly advanced Although many teachers take diploma courses at the university, there are still signs in secondary education that the really successful teacher *nascitur, non fit.*

(*b*) *Technical Instruction*

The framework of Irish technical education was well and truly laid by the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act of 1899, and the lines of development were planned with skill and insight by such gifted servants of the old Irish Department of Technical Instruction as the late Sir Robert Blair, the late Mr George Fletcher and other eminent men who have since taken a leading place in English local educational administration Technical instruction committees began to function in all urban centres in the early years of the century, the measure of their success being conditioned largely by the financial means at their disposal, restricted, as they unfortunately were, by the terms of the Act. Inadequate accommodation, low rates of salary and unduly limited programmes of study were only too frequent, but in spite of such drawbacks technical instruction, especially in the north of Ireland, met with much success and firmly established itself in popularity with young workers of both sexes and in general public estimation. The reformers of 1923 had no radical changes to propose—their efforts were directed to co-ordinating the technical system with the older systems of elementary and secondary education and in securing larger funds for expansion and for the payment of salaries. The first object necessitated the placing of technical instruction under the new education authorities,

and the transition was in all cases carried out with smoothness and despatch. It was left to the urban centres to preserve their autonomy in technical education if they wished to do so. All but four preferred to transfer, and the four have now been reduced to three, the Armagh technical committee being now fused with the county education authority.

It was feared at first that the new system of control might impair the local interest which had been so efficacious in securing the success of the technical schools in the past, but experience has now shown that any loss of personal interest in a locality has been more than fully compensated by the stimulus given through the increased funds available from public sources and the accession of interest in all forms of education that accompanied the passing and working of the new Act Development and expansion with increased efficiency have been the keynote of the changes consequent on the new legislation.

Influences affecting Attendance

Attendance at technical schools and classes being free from the element of compulsion, whether governmental or parental, a record of increased facilities and higher numbers tells its own tale Since 1922 technical schools have grown in number from forty to sixty-two (exclusive of several new branches linked to the Belfast Municipal College of Technology). Enrolments of individual students have risen in the same period from 17,000 to 24,000 Completely new premises have been built for ten schools, and at many other centres there have been alterations and additions, more or less extensive. Improvements in equipment have kept pace with the progress recorded in buildings, and the Ministry now considers the accommodation for all requisite forms of technical teaching of reasonable adequacy and suitability, though there is a note of regret in the official report that experiments with the newer aids to teaching (lantern, cinema, wireless, etc) have been little practised. The inherent conservatism of Northern Ireland character seems here to stand in the way. But generally speaking, the last ten years have shown a greater advance in the supply of facilities for technical education than in any previous period of similar duration, and the younger generation has shown its appreciation of the progress made by its greater frequentation of the schools It is at the same time evident that the enormous development of road transport in the past ten years has been a powerful factor in satisfying and intensifying the desire for education, while it should not be forgotten that the influence of the cinema—and to a less extent in a sparsely populated region like Northern Ireland, that of the wireless—has opened the minds of the young to the possibilities of more extended horizons.

Types of Courses

While the main function of the technical school is the teaching of the technique of trades and industries through evening and other

special classes, the majority of Northern Ireland technical schools have now established full-time schools for juveniles from 13 to 16 years of age, in which the courses given are partly cultural and partly vocational. These full-time schools are grouped under two heads: (1) junior technical, and (2) junior commercial. From twenty-one schools of these two types in 1922 the number has grown to thirty-six, with nearly 3,000 pupils. These schools form an outlet for further education for elementary school pupils who do not aim at a grammar school type of education. The pupils on leaving are quickly absorbed in trade and industry and tend to form the nucleus of a band of students who continue to follow part-time courses at evening classes in the occupations which they have chosen The habit of passing into industry through these junior technical and commercial schools with a "follow-on" at evening classes is tending to become a definite highway to success for the most gifted and progressive amongst the young industrialists of Ulster. As a rule, the technical schools have unique facilities, both as regards staff and equipment, for this form of full-time vocational training

The essential work of a technical school, apart from the special arrangement for university studies at the Belfast College of Technology, is, however, conducted through part-time work at evening classes, and in this department training in all kinds of industry practised in the Province (apart from Agriculture, which is dealt with in special agricultural classes and colleges) forms the staple occupation of the technical school As Belfast occupies a predominant position in Northern Ireland somewhat akin to that of Melbourne in the State of Victoria, its Technical College is on a scale so far superior to any other place of technical instruction in the Province that it stands in a class apart. It shares in the work of Queen's University through its lectures and classes for university students in the faculties of engineering, chemistry and commercial science, while it possesses a separate College of Art as one of its departments In linen-weaving, and its allied industrial processes, in shipbuilding, engineering, printing, and other trades, it supplies full courses, the programmes being controlled and adjusted through examinations held by the Ministry of Education. In the other technical schools the work is less varied and extensive, and the greater prestige and scope of the Belfast College tend to draw students from all parts of the Province.

Development of a Corporate Life

Outside the formal courses of instruction the technical schools are now beginning to develop a corporate life and *esprit de corps*, expressed through organised games, social gatherings, musical competitions, etc, all tending to identify the schools more fully with the things that interest the people and so make them institutions of very definite significance in the social life of the com-

munity. In many towns and villages the life of the younger people on its educative side centres round the technical school, and athletic clubs, dramatic societies, musical reunions, etc., often owe their origin to associations formed in its classrooms. The pooling of educational interests derived from the institution of local authorities has had the effect of focusing after-school activities in these schools, and Northern Ireland has been lucky in finding for the classes teachers who readily encourage all efforts towards continued education Indeed, it may be said that while the secondary schools are becoming more popular and accessible to the plain people and less academic in tone and outlook, the technical school is developing from a trades school into a popular institution with a general cultural objective It is through some such agency as this that the provincialism and strict conservatism of the rural dweller in Ulster will ultimately be made more plastic and susceptible to twentieth-century movements and ideals—a consummation which, especially if accompanied by a more liberal purse to draw upon, would remove the chief retarding force on the wheel of educational progress.

(*Contributed*)

SECTION II

A Review of Education in the Dominions

CHAPTER ONE

CANADIAN EDUCATION VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF SOCIAL NEEDS

(*See* YEAR BOOK 1932, *pages* 662–84, 1933, 118–19, 440–61, 500–18, 519–26, 527–31, *lxiii–v*, 1934, 281–93 *and* 547–606; *and* 1935, 46–59 *and* 252–9)

A PENETRATING observer of education on this continent a few years ago said there was something about the functioning of schools in Canadian society to make him think of the post office—a standard public service for everybody, the chief difference as it affected individuals being that some used it more than others The comparison becomes disconcerting when we reflect on the mechanical relationship of the post office to its constituency, in contrast to the organic relationship that the schools should properly occupy Variation in postal service, as between different places, is largely a matter of limitation of physical equipment, and, apart from this, its purpose is the singularly uniform one of safe and speedy delivery of the mail Has there been in the schools a similar absence of qualitative difference in the services offered, or the functions fulfilled? Have they been dominated by the equally simple and mechanical procedure of delivering a uniform equipment or diploma to the endless variety of children entrusted to their care? Or have their functions changed in harmony with the pulse of the Canadian community?

These are difficult questions, with which one can hardly do more than sketch some of the directions from which light may be thrown on the answers

The Basic Political Need, a Literate Population

If there has been delay in adjusting schools to the more intricate needs of society, the reason probably lies partly in the prolongation of more elemental needs. A bare knowledge of reading and writing for everybody in the population, though a rather mechanical equipment, may be fairly said to represent a necessary objective for the schools in a democratic community, and this has not been achieved without special difficulties under Canadian conditions Until very recent years there have been huge areas, almost whole provinces, in the pioneer stage of settlement when public educational effort came near exhaustion in ensuring that all children had an opportunity of

acquiring the bare tools of an academic education Even Quebec and Ontario have enormous stretches, the opening up of which has been the work of the twentieth century, and in the four large provinces to the west, settlement had made little more than a bare beginning in 1900 Had the population growth of the following years all taken its origin in the older provinces, or the British Isles, where the necessity for public general education was taken for granted, the physical difficulties in the way of providing school facilities would have been enough to keep the work at a rather elemental level, but there was an additional obstacle arising out of the fact that great numbers of the settlers originated in some of the Continental countries where the tradition of free public schools was much less generally established.

In 1911, when the struggle to provide schools for a rapidly expanding settlement in Saskatchewan and Alberta was near its height, their children were receiving about five years of schooling on the average, and this under conditions in which it was hardly possible for many of the schools to do much more than equip their pupils with the simple tools of learning There were considerable areas even in the older provinces of which the same might be said, and although in pre-war days the average [illegible] in some of them was as long as seven years, there was still a considerable element of struggle required to see that every child got at least the essential minimum.

By the arrival of the nineteen-twenties, however, pioneering conditions were becoming rather exceptional (though there are still such areas), and the decennial census of 1931 has shown that the number of illiterates at school-leaving age is such as can include few more than those mentally incapable of learning to read and write. Thus while the crusade for mass literacy may be regarded as achieved, its prolongation, due to geographical and demographic factors, needs to be kept in mind if it appears that the adaptation of the schools to other ends has been delayed. So long as they were primarily absorbed in equipping children with a knowledge of written and spoken language, especially in the case of the scores of thousands of children for whom neither the English nor French of instruction was mother tongue, it was difficult for the schools to give much attention to more varied and complex social requirements.

Occupational Needs and Technical Schools

But from the beginning of the century there has been put at the disposal of the schools a steadily increasing proportion of the lives of Canadian youth, and this under conditions favourable to diversification or broadening of school effort. The scope of the one-room rural school is necessarily limited as compared with that of city and town schools, and the latter have accounted for a constantly increasing proportion of the school population. The census of 1901 classifies 37·5 per cent. of the population as urban ; the census of

1931, 53·7 per cent From the last census we learn, too, that Canadian children on the average attend school for ten years of their lives And as these conditions have developed it has become more and more obvious that the schools must do something more than provide the academic groundwork to which their efforts were so largely confined in the earlier generation

Specific Vocational Preparation

The teaching of manual, as supplementary to academic, work had begun to gain acceptance at the turn of the century At this date, for instance, woodwork for boys and domestic science for girls had been newly introduced in some Ontario cities The Departmental Report for 1899 sets out a list of the special educational advantages to be derived from instruction of this kind, such as might well be reprinted to-day But the schools still offered little in the way of specific vocational preparation, except in their commercial course (book-keeping, business forms and usage, and stenography); and, of course, for the vocations that required an academic secondary education Technical education in the sense of specialised preparation at school for specific trades or industries, including agriculture, is almost entirely a development of the last twenty-five years, preparatory to which two investigations (one sponsored by the Ontario Government, the other by the Dominion Government) were conducted into the provision made for industrial training in the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Germany, Switzerland and the United States. The lines that the development in Canada have followed, both in the matter of day technical schools at the secondary level and evening schools for adults, were outlined in pages 527–31 of the 1933 edition of this YEAR BOOK Training for agriculture came in for first attention, and for ten years from 1913 was subsidised by the Dominion Government Since 1919 Dominion money has been used to assist technical education of other kinds, though in curtailed sums since the arrival of depression years.

Influence of Large-scale Industry

That this development of school training for industry has been demanded by changed conditions could be demonstrated in different ways. On the occupational side, the growth of large-scale industry in some lines has almost crowded out of existence the independent tradesmen with his apprenticed worker, and since in these industries standardised mass production rather than individual craftsmanship is the objective, they have been favourable to letting the publicly supported schools do the basic training of new employees instead of doing it from the outset themselves. This is a familiar story in all countries, but the one-sided character of occupation development, since technical education was undertaken in the schools, should be fully realised. In the twenty years between the censuses of 1911 and 1931, there was an increase of about 45 per cent. in the number of

persons gainfully occupied, i.e in money-making occupations, in Canada, and practically the entire increase was in persons working for salary or wage This meant that the wage-earning group in the population had almost doubled in number, while the independent workers, including farmers, shopkeepers, and the like, and employers in any industry, had done little better than remain constant In other words, the number of new independent workers in the period was scarcely more than sufficient to replace those who retired from such occupations, and this number would not be sufficient to make jobs for more than one in every four or five of the youths who came of age in Canada or immigrated here from Europe.

The Need for Non-academic Instruction

From the side of the pupil and school some post-elementary opportunities other than purely academic obviously became essential before the present position was reached wherein more than half of all children remain in school beyond the eight (in some cases, seven) elementary years For it has not been a case of offering the new type of instruction in order to attract more children into post-elementary studies, so much as a matter of discovering that they have remained in school, and of feeling an obligation to provide a means of occupying their time profitably This relationship is somewhat the reverse of what might be expected in an organically developing school system, but it is the logical outcome of the dominating North American faith that schooling as such, and of the traditional kind, is the master key to respectability and " success," there being no recognised barriers of class by birth other than those built of dollars, such as plenty of schooling is believed to help anyone build for himself And this order of pupils first, courses later, has had great weight in keeping technical education in Canada from developing as pure or undiluted as in European countries. Among pupils starting or planning to follow the customary secondary course, and their parents, there has been suspicion that the new substitute might lead them off the established highway to " success " To allay such misgivings it was necessary to keep the technical courses parallel to, and as close as possible to, those of the academic high schools, with the result that both alike may lead to the university There are exceptional schools or classes in some of the larger cities which offer purely trade courses, but they include only a small minority of the students shown in educational reports as following technical courses This number, in turn, is reported as between 20 per cent and 25 per cent. of all post-elementary students in the Dominion as a whole, and about one-third of them are following commercial courses, i e. training for office work.

Broadening the Curriculum

It will be seen, then, that the last twenty years have brought about a beginning in the direction of shaping the secondary school

course to fit occupational needs, and that this adaptation has taken the form of a broader common highway from primary school to university rather than a forking of the road But so long as fewer than a quarter of secondary students are in the technical courses, when more than half of all children are going into the secondary schools, it is difficult to believe that the present position represents more than a beginning, for only about 10 per cent of children are thus in their regular school career being trained specifically for either the offices or shops of industry And this under conditions in which, as the census of 1931 showed, young people are not attaining economic independence before the age of 18, on the average. They were, of course, by no means all staying in school to the age of 18, but if trends of the last twenty years are continued, not more than one in four was preparing for a position in life in which he would not be on somebody's pay-list In the interests of the three-fourths there is room for a much closer linking up of the schools and industry Among the beginnings of this kind, there are a few cities where winter courses in the day technical schools are given to boys apprenticed in the building trades, an arrangement that suits the convenience of the boys as well as the industry, the courses taking place in the slack season and at the same time serving to shorten the boys' period of apprenticeship A few school boards, in some cases individual schools, have begun to give a definite place to " vocational guidance " on the post-elementary time-table, and to keep in touch systematically with the employers of their city. With comparatively few exceptions, however, co-ordination of school and industry in the individual community is only in its beginnings, and a movement in this direction can hardly be said to have attained provincial scope anywhere, though recent reports of the Ontario Department of Education, and its summer courses, have given space to vocational guidance, and an Ontario Vocational Guidance Association was formed in January 1935.

Training for Agriculture

Even for the one youth in four who will work for himself, occupational preparation in the schools cannot be considered to have come near its limits, when we remember that this fourth includes the rising generation of farmers. The farm boys' technical education will probably always come mainly from his father, or other elders on the farm, but in the improvement of agricultural practice, and rural community life generally, special schools for farm children have an important rôle to play, if we are to judge by what they have accomplished among some of the world's most successful farming populations, such, for instance, as Denmark's. Most of the Canadian provinces have no agricultural school, except at the college level. The latter, in co-operation with provincial Departments of Agriculture, reach their extra-mural constituency by means of broadcasts, pamphlets and projects of various kinds ; and the ordinary

schools, at elementary as well as secondary level, give space to agriculture as a subject on the curriculum, but only three of the nine provinces have purely agricultural schools, and the combined number hardly reaches half a dozen.

Evening Technical Classes

The picture of the present status of technical education must, however, include the evening classes conducted in the secondary schools of cities and many larger towns. Historically, they were generally started some years before the day technical classes, and until two or three years ago had a larger attendance in most of the provinces. They were patronised mainly by young people during the first years of their employment, and with the shortage of new places in industry during the last few years, a great many of those who would normally have been working and taking evening classes are instead remaining in school full time Some towns, feverishly seeking a means of cutting down customary expenditures, in order to save some of the money necessary for unemployment relief, have abolished all evening classes Reduced from both of these causes steadily since 1931, the attendance last winter was only about half of what it had been (a third or less in some provinces), and seems likely to shrink still further.

The evening classes had every appearance of meeting a need genuinely felt by the young people, especially since it was the practice to organise a class in any subject for which there was a sufficient number of applicants and a teacher available Apart from being regrettable, their curtailment is of interest as illustrating Canadian psychology in regard to schools With very rare exceptions, the full-time secondary course has been maintained to pre-depression lengths, with enormously increased enrolment and without the introduction of fees, at the same time that evening classes have been abolished or greatly reduced in number. The broad main highway has been kept open and widened, at the cost of closing or neglecting the by-way, though many of the newcomers on the broader road are strolling there just to pass the time, and most of the would-be travellers on the side-road have definite destinations in view.

The Needs of Unoccupied Time

The reduction or abolition of evening classes will be the more surprising to English readers when it is realised that there is no public provision in Canada for anything comparable to the junior instruction centres and classes of English cities, nor, with very few exceptions, special educational facilities of any kind publicly supported for unemployed persons, whether youngsters or adults. If the jobless person is young enough, he may continue in, or come back to, the place in the ordinary schools where he left off; otherwise, there is not much free educational service at his disposal except the

public library, and the evening technical classes where they are still held. (Incidentally, it may be mentioned that only in two provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, is there public library service in anything like all urban centres.) There has been valuable work done in some cities, as the result of individual or club enterprise, in the way of helping the unemployed to recreational and educational facilities, but it is difficult to trace in it any public financial support. Probably the largest, and certainly one of the most successful of such experiments, the Montreal Day Shelter, closed down last year after operating three winters. City authorities withdrew support from it on the ground that its facilities were attracting an undue number of unemployed persons from outside points for the city to support. The obvious lesson to be learned from this condition is the urgent need for the problem to be dealt with on a broader than municipal scale, but neither provincial nor Dominion authorities have taken the initiative or shown signs of so doing Unemployment relief is the joint responsibility of all three governing bodies in an area, and among them the needs of the recipients, beyond physical necessities, are largely overlooked The same is true in a measure, of course, in the Dominion Government's relief camps for single men with their maximum of forty thousand occupants in some two hundred camps across the country But here there is the stamina-conserving value of work, even if not the most interesting kind, and at a merely nominal remuneration of a few cents per day. In many of these camps the Frontier College has placed its labourer-teachers to give stimulus and direction to educational and recreational activities, but its resources have not permitted it to reach nearly all of the camps Further, a series of pamphlets with hints for the organisation of spare-time activities has been prepared and distributed among the camps under the direction of the Leisure Time Activities Division of the Canadian Council of Child and Family Welfare, so it may be said that the campers have received some attention on a national scale, in contradistinction to the many times more numerous unemployed, and their dependents, congregated in cities.

A fair indication of the potential field of work among unemployed persons may be given by saying that for the last six consecutive winters their numbers have exceeded half a million, and have included from about one-fifth to one-third of all wage earners. And this takes no account of the young people who have come of age during the period without finding employment, or the unoccupied from other than wage-earning or salaried occupations.

The absence of public educational or recreational measures for this large section of the population is probably to be attributed to a lingering hope that they are only the victims of a passing condition. The public is only beginning to realise that there was an unemployment problem before 1929, that in the decade preceding, about 10 per cent. of workers were unemployed all the time on the average, and substantially more in the winter months. The problem had to

become acute before it was recognised as an unavoidable concomitant of the modern industrial organisation that had developed. It was only at the 1935 session of the Dominion Parliament that a State-aided scheme of compulsory unemployment insurance was introduced, such as older and more highly industrialised countries have had for many years. And primary measures of this kind must be expected, in the attention of the State, to receive priority over measures for the constructive use of the unoccupied time of those affected Indeed, such measures as unemployment insurance must be regarded as having a very definite value from the educational standpoint, for when the worker's lay-off involves only a partial stoppage of income, he is much more likely to retain the means and the will to use constructively the time free from his shop or office than is the individual in whom the receipt of public charity for months on end has induced the customary feeling of helplessness and loss of interest.

The Needs of Leisure Time

Unemployment insurance, and measures, such as shortening of working hours, that have the effect of dividing up among the whole population the work there is to do, make the problem of unoccupied time for the minority rather one of leisure time for all—a condition which in the eyes of the people is as much to be desired as is the other to be dreaded. In the two conditions there is something of the contrast of tragedy and opportunity The problem of helping the continuously unemployed rapidly becomes one of social salvage, whereas the problem of directing a certain amount of daily leisure is one with possibilities of social enrichment, unless or until through inactivity or misuse it sinks to the lower level

There is reason to believe that the more hopeful problem has up to the present caught more of the interest of Canadian educators A significant relationship perhaps exists between the stages of development in the two, as instanced by the two Dominion conferences of 1934 and 1935. A meeting of persons interested in adult education was held in Toronto in May 1934, and after one year spent in studying the field on a national scale it was decided to set up a permanent Dominion-wide organisation for the encouragement and co-ordination of activities in the field of adult education. Little was heard at this meeting of the special problems represented by unemployed persons or the families of such, but a Dominion conference called for September 27th, 1935, under the auspices of the Canadian Council of Child and Family Welfare, viewed the community need as one of recreation and constructive activity generally, not " education " in the narrower sense of the term, and gave prominence to the special needs of the economically unfortunate.

Effects of the Depression Years

The depression years have brought to the fore this question of spare-time pursuits for the employed, no less than the problem of

the unemployed. There have been general reductions in salary and wages, loss of position and re-employment that amounted to demotion, curtailed income for farmers and other independent workers which involved using up their life's savings while others who had set nothing aside for such emergency lived about as well on public relief, and all these things tended strongly to sap the strength from the individualist economic motive that had probably retained greater strength here than in older countries As the economic urge has lost force, interest has been directed into other channels, sometimes into study of the economic and social order in the hope of understanding and helping to change it, sometimes just into diversion from the daily grind In the last year or two the writer has heard from pioneer farmers of the western provinces, whose lives have been models of industry and thrift, the most convincing confessions of conversion to interest in other things, and repentance for the past exclusiveness of their efforts in advancing their store of goods and money.

Growth of Spare-time Activities

There is testimony of the interest directed into the study of our economic difficulties in a phenomenal growth of organisations, associations and movements generally, all including study groups or clubs as an essential activity To mention but one of these, there is the Social Credit organisation, rooted in the ideas put forward by Major Douglas, which has advanced with sufficient rapidity from the status of academic study to political activity to have elected in the summer of 1935 an overwhelming majority in the provincial legislature of Alberta This is one of the cases where study groups are mainly *ad hoc* In other cases, such as the League of Nations Society, groups interested in the study of its problems are generally formed within existing organisations such as boards of trade, women's institutes and the like

Evidence of interest being diverted from economic matters is to be found in a remarkable growth of drama leagues and music festivals in the last few years, the growth of societies for the preservation or revival of various racial folkways, and handicrafts, of which there is such a rich variety among the diverse elements in the Canadian population Any one of these movements might be described at length, and a story of development told that would have looked quite improbable as a prediction five or six years ago. Activities of this kind, as well as economic and social study, are reflected in the increased circulation of public libraries, which has been quite unusual during the same period in places where library service has been fully sustained The radio has been used in all lines of activity, though it has to be admitted that there has been little organisation or system, at the receiving end. Adult "listening groups," for discussion and response to regular radio programmes, is practically an unknown term in Canada, and the activity that it

designates must be a rarity Even in schools the radio is used very little for anything more than listening occasionally to broadcasts of an unusual character

A promising feature of all these spare-time activities is the spontaneity of their development They have not been something " provided " by a benevolent public authority in the hope that some would come and partake, but they have arisen here, there and everywhere as the result of an interest and need felt by individuals and community groups They have had comparatively little formal connection with the established school system or other public enterprise, but it is to be hoped that this will develop, in such forms as making school buildings available in the evening as community centres, and that public money or leadership will be directed to their encouragement and judicious guidance, after the manner at present followed by the extension departments of a few universities

The Need for Leaders

Guidance implies guides, persons capable of leading, and not only in the direction of leisure-time pursuits, but in every phase of the national life there is need for capable leaders such as there has been before at few times in history In these times of unprecedented rapidity of change in conditions, and far-reaching influence of individual and community conduct, one of the most crucial tests of an educational system is its efficiency in nurturing leaders—persons who can keep abreast of the times and their significance—for perhaps the most that schooling can do for the majority is to equip them with the means of discerning those whom it is safe to follow or to designate as their representatives The attainment of mass literacy had other values for the individuals concerned, but for the political society of which they were a part this was its primary purpose

The Canadian arrangement of the single highway, in secondary as well as in elementary education, lends itself more readily to a regimented marching order among all the travellers thereon, than to an opportunity for the fleet of foot to sprint out into the lead The march is always open to the danger that its speed will be determined by the slower participants, a pace at which the more capable child will not be adequately exercised, especially in recent years, when two-thirds or more of town and city children are continuing into high school And to produce the most capable leaders in post-school life it is of urgent importance that their potentialities should be exercised at the secondary school level, not allowed to languish or lie dormant like an unused muscle of the body

Absence of Differentiation of Pupils

European educators, accustomed to a set of secondary schools the recognised function of which is to train the more scholarly minds, find it difficult to conceive a school system where there is

not such differentiation If they were obliged to receive all children except some of the least intelligent quarter in their academic secondary schools, they would in that event doubtless, if the school were large enough, sort out their classes within the school on the basis of ability But it is probably the exceptional school in Canada where anything very definite is done even along this line Taking one of the largest cities, which seems fairly typical, and studying the matriculation examination records, it is seen that the best 15 per cent of students are scattered in every class, and similarly with the poorest 15 per cent There is no evidence at all of any one or a few classes of particularly bright pupils, though here are a few classes where the record is noticeably worse than in the majority In other words, classes tend to be arranged to suit the average, and special consideration is given to the laggards who cannot keep up with them, but there is no special grouping for the exceptionally bright who are capable of doing much better than the average

This pace-setting by the average begins much earlier than the secondary school, as is indicated by the following summary of a year's work in the elementary schools of three of the largest Canadian cities, each in a different province

	FIRST CITY	SECOND CITY	THIRD CITY
Percentage of all pupils promoted	78 0	92 0	7 › 4
Percentage of promoted pupils in class less than one year	3 1	3 1	1 5
Percentage of promoted pupils in class exactly one year	75 5	90 2	75 6
Percentage of promoted pupils in class more than one year	21 4	6 7	23 9

Distribution and Extent of Matriculation

If the cult of the average does not also persist at the upper end of the secondary schools, i e in the universities and colleges, it is not because any very considerable effort is made to ensure the attendance of the brightest students There are matriculation examinations, of course, which act as a check in preventing the dullest from reaching the university, but there is little doubt that a majority of children are capable of passing these, given time What is lacking, largely, is adequate assurance that the best students from this majority will go on to the university If children have done well in high school, their parents may be more likely to make an effort to send them on to college, but there are many cases where it is beyond their means Some of the younger universities have practically no matriculation scholarships to offer, even the older institutions have comparatively few, and nowhere is public money Dominion, provincial, or municipal) devoted to a matriculation

scholarship or bursary scheme, except small amounts through some of the provincially supported universities.

The table hereunder has been compiled from university and college calendars to show the approximate distribution and extent of matriculation scholarships in Canada The data do not include French-Canadian institutions where the equivalent of matriculation in other systems comes in the middle of the classical course Regarding the *collèges classiques*, it may be said that while they do not advertise a specific number of awards, many of them accept some students at reduced fees

ENGLISH LANGUAGE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN	NUMBER OF MATRICULATION SCHOLARSHIPS ANNUALLY AVAILABLE	AGGREGATE ANNUAL VALUE OF MATRICULATION SCHOLARSHIPS	PROBABLE NUMBER IN ANNUAL ATTENDANCE WHO HOLD OR HAVE HELD A MATRICULATION SCHOLARSHIP	FULL-TIME ENROLMENT OF UNIVERSITY GRADE, 1933
		$		
Prince Edward Island	8	640	16	154
Nova Scotia	40	7,500	160	2,250
New Brunswick	25	2,000	100	778
Quebec	61	11,000	244	3,155
Ontario	288	76,000	1,152	11,824
Manitoba	34	4,000	136	2,959
Saskatchewan	42	2,350	168	1,746
Alberta [1]	12	2,350	48	1,635
British Columbia	14	1,950	56	2,014
Canada	524	108,140	2,080	26,515

[1] *The University of Alberta also allows a credit of* $50 *on the first year's tuition to all students who have averaged* 85 *per cent at the matriculation examination*

It would seem from the table, that in Canada as a whole, about 8 per cent of university students benefit from matriculation scholarships and that the average value of an award is about $200, or less than the equivalent of two years' tuition fees Considered from the side of the schools, the scholarships seem still more scarce Since nearly 50,000 students matriculate annually, and there are only about 500 awards, only one in a hundred can hope to win assistance Moreover, the average value of the awards is so low, except perhaps in Ontario, that they cannot be very effective

If the subject of scholarships is followed to the post-graduate level it becomes less, rather than more, satisfactory. The Government of the Province of Quebec and the Dominion Government have recognised this in recent years by providing a limited number of awards, though those of the latter have all been in the field of the physical sciences, and none in the social sciences or humanities

There is some evidence of public interest being awakened to the urgency of the scholarship problem, but when, as in recent years,

problems of immediate salvage have been forced so exclusively on government attention, it, as a long-term constructive measure, has to lie in abeyance At the last session of the Dominion Parliament, a motion for the introduction of a system of State scholarships was introduced by a former Cabinet minister, but time was not found for a full discussion

The Special Needs of Subnormals

There is another special group at the opposite end of the intelligence scale from that at which leadership is to be sought and encouraged And, usually considered as a related problem, there are those who suffer from various physical handicaps which prevent them from developing in the ordinary classes as rapidly or as fully as they are capable of doing under special conditions The story of the adjustment of schools to their needs is one of more progress than the story of changes to suit the gifted child All workers in the field are emphatic that there is still much to be done, but larger cities, in all except two or three of the provinces, now have special classes, and a few have special schools, devoted to children who are handicapped in the one way or the other Ontario did much of the pioneering work in this direction, and the organisation is more complete there than in other provinces, having been extended into rural communities in the last three or four years

It is significant of the interest in this field that Canadian educators have been actively associated with those of the United States for years in the International Council for Exceptional Children The 1934 meeting of the Council was held in Toronto, a Toronto principal became president, and three Canadians were appointed to an editorial board of seven members to assist in the Council's expanding publication programme The Council is interested in the gifted child as well as the handicapped, but its membership appears to be drawn largely from persons working mainly or exclusively with the latter group

Somewhat related to the problem of the mentally and physically defective child is the problem of what might be termed the socially defective—the delinquents and criminally inclined This is the group that is coming in for most attention currently, partly as the result of several recent riots in penal institutions and study of conditions therein The Dominion Government announced its intention last winter of introducing new methods for dealing with youthful criminals, along the lines of the Borstal system The provinces have for years conducted special institutions, under various names, for younger and less serious offenders—industrial schools, training schools, reform schools, etc —and some educational services have been maintained in the Dominion penitentiaries

The provinces, not the municipalities, also conduct the schools necessary for other types of problem children requiring boarding schools, i e. the deaf, blind and feeble-minded When a province

has not a sufficient number of deaf or blind to conduct a school of its own, it pays the expense involved in maintaining such of its children in the schools of a neighbouring province Institutions for the feeble-minded, or lowest mental group, are perhaps hospitals as much as schools Five provinces conduct a special institution of this kind for juveniles, and all have such places for adults Year by year increasing proportions of mental cases are placed in institutions, as accommodation is increased, and it is probable this tendency will continue for some time yet

Richer Lives, the Ultimate Need

From such special groups as the mentally and physically handicapped, the intellectual *élite* and the unemployed, we might go on indefinitely with other groupings and attempt to suggest what Canadian education to-day is doing to meet their peculiar needs But, sooner or later, we must return to a consideration of the population as a whole, and raise the question as to what is being done, not only in the way of occupational preparation, but as preparation of every individual for a worth-while life, as an individual and as a member of the Canadian and world community Through the medium of the schools we might succeed in equipping everyone with a knowledge of reading and writing, and familiarise them with the knowledge and skills required in at least one occupation, yet we might be doing little more than putting tools in their hand with no hint as to how they should be used or what benefits they could be made to yield And when this possibility confronts us, we are driven to a realisation of the fact that the most we can expect of the school is that it shall function as one member of the fraternity of educational institutions Without the best aid that can be given by the home, the occupation, the press, the club, the church and other agencies, the work of the school is certain to be largely futile, much as its claim on the lives of all has increased Under current conditions of schooling in Canada, a person may spend an hour and a half weekly, from the time that he starts to school to the end of a normal lifetime, in pursuit of another activity and yet spend less time at it than in school From such a conception we may fairly expect the influence of the school to be high, or comparable (though by no means necessarily so) in relation to such other educational agencies as the church, the theatre, the athletic stadium, the club, the daily press, the radio, the library or hobby, but it can hardly be expected to compare with the home and family, or one's occupation, as a factor in moulding the innate characteristics out of which the individual life is formed

An appraisal of any one of these other factors would take as much space as a discussion of the schools, and they can accordingly but be mentioned to be passed over Yet, in passing, it is only fair to the schools to say that there seems less danger of them than of some of the other agencies avoiding or neglecting their share in the

common task As one observer has suggested to the writer in a letter, written perhaps in pessimistic mood, but pointing in some cases, at least, to growing dangers " We try to meet the diverse needs of modern education by crowding them all upon the school, instead of confining school to its proper job and cultivating the other agencies each for its proper job So the family tends to die of neglect, religion to be left to the wowsers and spellbinders , the great force of the press, movies and athletics is left for commerce to exploit , nothing more is made of the radio than another distraction passively received , and the school is reduced almost to futility by the weight and incoherence of the demands thrust upon it " One cannot, however, watch the yearly changes in the schools without feeling that they are making progress This much should be evident in the changes noted in the chapters on Canada in the four previous editions of the YEAR BOOK, and in a longer period of observation the cumulative changes become impressive The schools are far from being fossilised or even dormant, but the world in which they operate is changing so rapidly that tremendous effort is needed to keep pace with requirements, and second thought is necessary to avoid false steps that would be difficult to retrace In conventions, in the investigations of legislatures and voluntary organisations, in the post-graduate work of universities, there is everywhere enquiry into the workings of the schools to an extent that has perhaps never before been equalled, and these ensure that the process of adjustment will continue

The School as a Preparation for Life

The rapid disappearance of annual departmental examinations from the entrance to the end of high school could be noted as one of the changes in the last few years that indicate a growing appreciation of the organic relationship that should exist between school and life outside Schooling has a chance to appear as one element in the preparation for life, not just a preparation for an annual test which in the mind of the child was too apt to be quite irrelevant to what he felt to be his real life A further change that may be necessary to strengthen the same attitude is allowance of more freedom of action to the individual teacher, less of the rigid and uniform prescription of study courses throughout all sections of a province. This has been slow in coming, but the time may now be near, if the qualifications of the teaching force are to be a guide as to when it should come In their training and length of tenure there have been tremendous advances in the last ten years, which it should be possible to hold if some order and improvement can be brought back into the salary situation, after its disorder of the last few years, amounting to chaos in some rural areas Still, whatever drawbacks remain in their rigidity, to-day's curricula offer much more scope to the teacher than those of a decade or two ago Several of the provinces have thoroughly revised their entire curriculum quite

recently, and others are in the act of doing so. Hygiene and health, citizenship and related social studies commonly receive much more space, while the texts and teachers' aids have been greatly improved In many schools the curriculum on health receives valuable reinforcement from the organisation of classroom branches of the Junior Red Cross, which now claim about 300,000 members. The League of the Empire, as well as the Red Cross, promotes interprovincial and international correspondence between school children, and much of the work of the League of Nations Society is done through the schools The League of the Empire and the Overseas Education League facilitate exchange of teachers between provinces and nations of the Commonwealth, and the latter organisation, as well as others, conducts summer tours of teachers and students to European countries

The schools of to-day and auxiliary organisations are, then, unquestionably doing more to acquaint the child with knowledge that helps to keep his physical equipment in order, and information that will help him to know more of the broader social and economic sphere his actions will affect The new curricula alone guarantee this ; but the curricula can give only very incomplete assurance that he will come out of school with a sense of values that will serve to guide the conduct of his healthier mechanism in its widened sphere It is nothing short of the inspiration and example of the individual teacher that can make for certainty in this that matters most of all, and even then her task is next to hopeless if it is not supported by the home and other influences close to the life of the child The Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and kindred organisations sponsored by the churches are here of incalculable value, and it is encouraging to note a steady and substantial rise in their popularity A Canadian visit from the Chief Scout and Chief Guide within the last year has given added stimulus to the movement There are signs, too, of a growing number of homes and parents taking a systematic interest in the teachers' work Local " Home and School " or " Parent-Teacher " associations are increasing in number in every province There has been a National Federation of these associations since 1927, sponsoring a Dominion-wide biennial convention In four provinces the groups are organised on a provincial basis, sponsoring more frequent regional conferences and issuing bulletins with suggested lines of activity and other items of interest. Other organisations, perhaps notably the Women's Institutes and I O D E., take an increasingly active interest in improving the equipment and general atmosphere of the schools, an Institute or Chapter " adopting " a school and helping it towards the exercise of a cultural influence on the children continuous with, or supplementary to, that of the community homes

By efforts of this kind the schools of to-day are coming less and less to be the drab places of confinement from nine o'clock to four that they used to be Along with the factual truth that was so relentlessly aimed at, beauty finds greater place as a worth-while

accompaniment, even as an end in itself. Discipline takes its root less and less in the despotic sway of the pedagogue, more in mutual understanding and goodwill—surely a better basis of right conduct to be learned by children who grow up to be responsible members of a community functioning as a democracy The morality that accompanies the change, though only in part the product of the school, differs in some of its outward manifestations from that of the preceding generation, it is true Yet this is by no means entirely to be regretted, as when it means only more frankness, less false modesty and sham Even if the young people of to-day allow themselves more privileges in some directions, neither should this give cause for alarm except when it is the outcome of thoughtlessness and abandon Herein lies the real danger When the old sanctions of conduct, in the guise that they have appeared to the western world for nearly two thousand years, are losing their force as rapidly as in the twentieth century, there is danger of failing to see that when the garb is removed, the frame that it covered remains, as imperishable as human society Aid in assuring this view behind or beyond the veil is the most essential service the schools of to-day can perform Physical science, no less than literature, history and social studies, can contribute to its clarity, if allowed into the schools through texts and teachers that are abreast of latest developments There is progress in this direction in spite of discouraging obstacles, and in proportion to it there is hope for a community of free individual lives dedicated to ideals of such permanence that in comparison the wealth and shallow pleasures, sectionalism and denominationalism, pursued as ends to-day, are but exotic plants that perish overnight

J E ROBBINS

Author's note —Prof F Clarke's chapters in the 1934 edition of this YEAR BOOK, on secondary education in Canada, should be read in supplement of this review His treatment of secondary education was essentially a discussion of it "in the light of social needs" The tendency toward, and the need for, a readjustment of the traditional points of junction between elementary and secondary schools, secondary and higher institutions, was shown at some length Omission of the subject here is due, not to its lack of importance, but entirely to its thorough treatment in the earlier volume —J E R

CHAPTER TWO

A Critical Account of Australian Education

(*See* Year Book, 1932, *pages*, 570-99, 1933, *pages* 462-75 *and* 532-54, 1934, *pages* 294-325, 1935, *pages* 60-75 *and* 260-77)

Introduction

THE central theme for this section of the Year Book can best be stated in the words of the editor-in-chief "To what extent have the nations of the world—and particularly the nations of the British Empire—equipped themselves in the fifteen years since the war in the educational field to deal with the apparently permanent changes in the living conditions of the world which now confront us?" It is certainly important to "summarise the extent to which and the direction in which educational services have been expanding in the last few years, and to estimate how far this extension represents a mere piling up of the educational structure on traditional lines and how far it represents an adaptation of that structure to meet new conditions" The attempt to answer this question for a given country must be approached in a spirit of humility Who can say, for example, what the conditions of the world will be in fifty or even in twenty years' time? Who can select with any degree of assurance the permanent elements in the present conditions of flux? Who can be certain of the ultimate social effectiveness of any given modification of school life and conditions?[1]

The hesitation of the writer in attempting to deal with such questions as applied to Australian education is only partly modified by the reflection that he has had special opportunities for placing educational developments in Australia against the background of educational thought and change elsewhere, especially in other English-speaking countries The Australian Council for Educational Research is the only educational body in the Commonwealth which embraces all educational interests and all six states One phase of its work is the study of new educational developments within Australia and overseas In pursuit of these aims the writer has been privileged to visit the United States, Canada, the British Isles and South Africa during the last four years[2]

[1] In his challenging article in the 1935 Year Book, Dr Schairer expresses the view that a period of thirty years is needed for the full demonstration of the effects of any new educational policy (page 646)

[2] It will, of course, be understood that the organisation which the writer serves is in no sense responsible for any opinions contained in this article

Two Types of Educational Change

It may prove useful at the outset to distinguish between two forms of growth or adaptation in any educational system In the first place, there are those developments which are primarily professional in character Such developments characteristically aim at increased efficiency in instructing or examining pupils The use of the cinema for teaching purposes or of intelligence tests for judging the scholastic promise of individual pupils are two examples of " growing points " of educational practice on its professional side

The other chief type of change is administrative rather than professional Administrative modifications usually arise from alterations or extensions of educational policy and aim The raising of the age for compulsory attendance, the establishment of new types of post-primary school, the imposition or the removal of fees for secondary school attendance, can be taken as illustrations of such changes The granting of increased professional freedom to teachers—or the curtailment of such freedom—in such matters as choice of textbooks and determination of curricula appears to fall midway between our two types Such cases serve to remind us that the line of demarcation cannot always be drawn with certainty It is worthy of further remark that changes on the professional side tend to be of potentially universal application, but that developments on the administrative side must not be judged in isolation from the particular circumstances—economic, social, political, industrial—of the country in which they occur

Bearing such distinctions in mind, we may proceed to ask what important developments, if any, have taken place in Australian education in post-war years Have the professional standards of teachers and of teaching risen in keeping with the best practice in other parts of the world ? Have administrative changes been planned in a purposeful way to meet the rapidly changing conditions of life to-day ? Are they, on the other hand, nothing but short-policy concessions to the requirements of the moment ? Is there any serious effort to provide suitable facilities in education in proportion to the numbers who will enter the various occupational groups ? What amount of thought has been given to the proper boundaries of the vocational and the general aspects of education ? Has due attention been given to the fundamental question of individual needs and differences, or does " mass " education still hold sway ? Does the school conceive its task in the broad light of preparing children for future citizenship or in the narrow light of preparing them for examinations ? Is Australian youth being adequately prepared for meeting the problems of its world twenty or thirty years from to-day ? Has the standard of public interest in education risen to the point where the schools can rely upon the intelligent support of the average citizen and the reasonable financial backing of the community as a whole ? Do the schools themselves know clearly what they are striving after ? Does the educational

system take full account of the needs of all, or does it work primarily to the advantage of an intellectual, social or financial *élite*?

Some Preliminary Consolations

If, as the writer thinks, honesty compels a predominantly unfavourable reply to such questions there are several consolations In the first place, the absence of any very precise objectives for the school is better than the deliberate use of the school by the State for the production of a particular brand of citizen One feels that there should always be sufficient vagueness and sufficient toleration of the points of view of minorities to render spontaneous evolution possible

If one turns to Europe for apparent violations of the foregoing principle, one turns to certain American writers for a type of school planning which lies at the other extreme, but which, like all extreme views, must also be rejected It is the view that the school itself should deliberately set up social objectives and seek to produce in the community those reforms necessary to achieve them But these planners rarely, if ever, get down to details If they were to do so, many difficulties would reveal themselves [1]

One also has the general consolation that few if any countries could provide really satisfactory answers to questions such as those propounded The following critical account of some of the weaknesses in Australian education does not, therefore, imply that parallel though different defects cannot be found in most other countries The reader must also realise that the strong points of Australian education are not adequately dealt with here, since they have been emphasised in previous issues of the YEAR BOOK

A hurried reminder of Australia's achievements in education may also be attempted Special mention must be made of her efforts to carry efficient elementary school instruction to all children in outlying areas Her one-teacher rural schools and her correspondence schemes, especially for primary school pupils, are matters of legitimate pride [2]

Having established a system of high schools during the first twenty years of the century, all states have paid some attention to the provision of post-primary schools of non-academic type Some of these schools have a rural bias, others a technical or commercial bias, others, again, give instruction in household subjects In the elementary school there is a definite movement towards a less academic type of curriculum and greater freedom for the teacher This is associated with a marked increase in school clubs, particularly Young Farmers' Clubs, and with increased encouragement of handicrafts and hobbies. The last few years have seen in all states the introduction of educational broadcasting and of vocational guid-

[1] The writer has developed his views on this question in "Educational Observations and Reflections," pages 26–9 (*Educational Research Series*, No 24, Melbourne University Press)

[2] YEAR BOOK, 1935, page 60

ance schemes, although some areas have naturally proceeded much further than others in these matters The spontaneous growth of parents' associations is a sign of increasing interest in the schools by the general public Most states have provided at least a few special classes or schools for backward children, and two states, New South Wales and Tasmania, have recently set up experimental classes for gifted children The two states just named have also taken a step which a few years ago was completely unthought of, that of setting aside special officers to conduct enquiries and researches Special mention must be made of the steps taken in Victoria to substitute internal for external examinations [1] Finally, it is a healthy sign that some of the independent schools which can experiment with such comparative ease are abandoning their customary adherence to traditional patterns, and, in several cases, are introducing extremely significant changes [2]

The Reverse Side of the Picture

The foregoing list is creditable and promising, but only a very complacent view would be satisfied with it Some of the features named are obvious extensions of existing facilities, in some cases they represent the adoption, at times a belated adoption, of professional practices elsewhere In some instances, the developments cited are still so embryonic, that they touch but a fringe of the school population or of the problem concerned We must attempt to show in detail what appear to be the chief weaknesses

Lack of Planning

No national educational policy for Australia is possible under the present system (except in so far as it might take place by agreement or imitation), because the six states are the sovereign authorities in educational affairs However, the states resemble one another closely This applies, not only to the general structure of the system, but also to the fact that no state has made any fundamental change in policy since the war No state has produced a considered and comprehensive plan of educational development in any way comparable in range and importance with the Hadow Report in England It is true that Australia anticipated some of the recommendations of the Hadow Report Various types of post-primary school were established in certain Australian states before they

[1] See YEAR BOOK, 1932, page 586, 1934, page 317

[2] There is room for much satisfaction in connection with certain aspects of the teaching service The stability of the service is much higher than in some other countries Teachers have security of tenure, and teaching is rarely regarded as a stepping-stone to some other occupation An investigation carried out several years ago, showed that the average length of teaching service for fully trained permanent teachers is over twenty-two years for men, and almost twelve years for women Men teachers are commonly found in elementary schools The total proportion of men to women teachers is about forty to sixty

existed in England But, apart from the establishment in New South Wales and Queensland of some post-primary schools with a rural bias, the post-war period in Australia has seen practically no new types of school, nor has there been anything corresponding to the reorganisation which is taking place in England

In the absence of local studies of a similar authoritative character, the Hadow Report has probably been the chief guide to Australian educators since its appearance In all such cases there is a danger of insufficient consideration as to whether local circumstances might not demand somewhat different conclusions and remedies

In the Australian states there have been several commissions or committees of enquiry into education in recent years Most of these, however, were set up primarily for the purpose of effecting economies Two hopeful exceptions may be noted One was a committee constituted by the Minister of Education in New South Wales in 1933 to report on secondary education and examinations This has resulted in the recent establishment of a Council of Public Education, an advisory body covering practically the whole field of education One fears that its lack of genuine responsibility may cause it to be ineffectual from the point of view we now have in mind Similar bodies in one or two of the other states have existed for a number of years without exercising any very noticeable effect on educational policy The presence on the New South Wales Council of representatives of non-educational organisations, though serving a useful purpose in some directions, may tend to reduce its influence as an expert body However, the setting up of this Council is one of a number of signs that the state authorities are commencing to think seriously and critically about the present educational situation

The other hopeful development which we shall mention is the recent appointment by the Australian Council for Educational Research of a committee to investigate thoroughly all phases of secondary education Following the book recently published by the Council on this subject, the work of this committee may serve to bring to a focus the growing dissatisfaction with existing conditions found in the minds of thoughtful educators The first stage of the battle will be won if opinion, both professional and public, is aroused from the somewhat lethargic condition of the last ten or fifteen years

We shall presently discuss some of the reasons for the lack of serious attention to educational replanning in Australia, but must here note a fundamental cause The onset of the depression caught Australia in a difficult and dangerous financial position After some slight wavering, the plan which won the day represented the employment of the tried and time-honoured economic remedies [1] By implication, the people rejected any fundamental alteration in the social system. This decision has probably served to distract attention from the great social changes which have come about both at

[1] YEAR BOOK, 1934, pages 294–7.

home and abroad The schools have been tempted to assume that they, too, only needed to " carry on " according to accepted methods

Some Pressing Problems

It is significant that most of the developments in Australian education have taken place at the elementary level. Reforms and developments are most easily carried out here But the pressing need of to-day is a thorough overhaul of post-primary education The failure of industry to absorb youths leaving school, the continued subordination of secondary education to the interests of the small proportion which will pass on to tertiary education, the pressing need for an intelligent interest in current affairs by the ordinary citizen (of whom the vast majority cease formal education at about 14 years) —all of these constitute a challenge to educational policy-makers which has not been squarely faced There has been but spasmodic talk in Australia of the question of raising the school-leaving age, even though in more than one state there is a gap of one year between the upper age for compulsory attendance and the lowest age at which certain occupations can be taken up

Here and there something has been done for the unfortunate generation of youths who completed their formal schooling during the height of the depression The situation of this group in Australia is doubly unfortunate because of the well-meant laws which make it compulsory to pay the basic wage to all workers on attaining the age of 21 years But the problems of this handicapped generation have not been dealt with according to any national plan, nor has the problem been fully grasped in its educational aspects Because the state makes education up to 14 compulsory, it is easy to act on the assumption that it has no further educational obligations In some states the lifting of the depression is revealing a shortage of skilled artisans It is therefore proposed to increase the facilities for technical education, but this again is likely to be dealt with in an *ad hoc* manner

Lack of Full Co-ordination between Branches

The absence of comprehensive planning for the educational system as a whole is probably contributed to by the custom of setting up separate branches within the education departments for dealing with each of the main divisions of school work In his account of the education in England[1] Dr Cyril Norwood says: " The organisation of the Board of Education itself into Elementary, Secondary and Technical Departments is an indication of the wrongness of the lines on which we have been thinking The basis of that division is not educational or psychological: it is merely historical in origin and largely based on social distinctions." Influenced by this English tradition, the Australian education departments have usually set up separate schools in the two post-primary

[1] Norwood *The English Educational System*, page 44 (Benn.)

branches and placed each of these and the elementary schools under a chief inspector The director of education is officially in charge of all branches, but a strong chief inspector can go a long way in giving the stamp of his own particular ideas and policies to the schools under his supervision These ideas and policies may not be in full harmony with those which govern the rest of the system

It appears obvious that some division of responsibility is needed, but it is imperative that this should not work in such a way as to prevent the education of the youth of the country from being conceived and planned as a whole In this direction there is much to be learned from the United States, which appears to have succeeded better than most countries in avoiding artificial sectionings of the educational problem We may note, too, the steps taken by the London education authority to provide for mutual knowledge and understanding by a system of co-operative inspection between all branches [1] Some of the Australian states have partially adopted such methods, but much more could be done The main criticism is not so much actual lack of harmony—though that does occur—as the strong tendency to take a sectionalised view, to think of elementary education as one thing, of " secondary " education as another, and of technical education as a third

Criticisms of Professional Standards and Methods

In spite of some important recent concessions to a more liberal point of view, Australian schools as a whole still have a tendency to make a fetish of academic attainment in the formal school subjects [2] The preparation of children for examinations often lies like a dead hand on the system In one state, all children who have spent a year in the sixth grade must be presented for the state-wide examination conducted at that stage Further than that, any teacher who obtains less than 60 per cent. of passes at this examination is asked to explain the situation In the secondary schools of the same state a return is called for every year showing in detail the number of passes, failures and honours obtained at the two public examinations by the pupils of each teacher ! In another state, the following extract from a recent issue of the teachers' journal is strongly indicative of dissatisfaction : " Special condemnation would be made of the iniquitous and antiquated scholarship system Immature minds are driven to read, learn and inwardly digest facts that are in many cases mere mental lumber The pupils are herded together in a mass from which there is no escape to allow them to follow their own natural inclinations " [3] In still another state a recent investigation showed that the problem of retardation

[1] YEAR BOOK for 1932, page 31

[2] It must not be thought that in this particular respect Australian schools are worse than those of some other countries

[3] In this particular state the " scholarship " examination is at the same time a primary school-leaving examination, a test for entrance to secondary schools, and an examination on which awards of scholarships are made

is more serious than is generally realised When we consider 12-year-old children in primary, central and higher elementary schools, we find that 29 6 per cent are retarded by one year, 11 per cent. by two years and 3 per cent by three years or more Altogether, nearly 44 per cent have fallen behind the " normal " rate of progress, while only about 17 per cent are ahead of it

The writer of a series of articles in recent issues of the *Victorian Teachers' Journal* professes to show that there has been a steady rise in the standards demanded in mathematics of children of given ages He estimates, that in the last fifty years, the standard in mathematics for the Intermediate Certificate has risen to such an extent, that the child of to-day is supposed to master work which his predecessor did not undertake until he was two years older The ages at which children in Australia are first introduced to various topics in arithmetic were recently compared with the findings of an important investigation into this matter in U S A [1] The comparison strongly supports the view that local school practice tends to make the wasteful mistake of teaching such topics one, two or even three years before the pupils are mentally ready for them

The trouble is that the performance of a minority of bright pupils becomes the standard which all are expected to attain The hard grind required to push as many children as possible up to these standards leaves little time for exploring pleasant avenues of learning, for building up those permanent interests which count for so much more than mere knowledge, for the more gradual mental consolidation required by the slow learner, for the study by the teacher of the abilities and needs of individual children

The Problem of High Standards

In his discussion of Canadian education,[2] Prof Clarke raises important issues related to this question of standards One can thoroughly agree with his view that the democratic extension of education should not be allowed to lead to the watering down of requirements so that all or even the majority may jump the various hurdles But this position appears to call for two further considerations. One is that we do not forget that the formal aspects of school work are not the only ones in which high standards are possible In other words, we cannot exclude from consideration problems of relative educational value in a crowded curriculum. The other point is that standards should not be allowed to operate in such a way that failures are multiplied. The tragic waste represented in the repetition of grades and in hopeless attempts to pass examinations is surely a serious indictment of our present professional methods. Children at all stages of their education should be

[1] See Cunningham and Price "The Standardisation of an Australian Arithmetic Test" (Ch VII, *Educational Research Series*, No 21, Melbourne University Press)

[2] See YEAR BOOK, 1934.

presented with hurdles which extend them fully, but to require all pupils to attempt the same hurdles is worse than foolish, especially with the added artificiality of expecting them all to be ready for the leap at fixed times separated by gaps of one year One feels that the way out lies in the adoption of individual methods in the " tool " branches of learning, and in the development of " test-guidance " as outlined in the pamphlet *The Examination Tangle—and the Way Out*, recently published by the New Education Fellowship in England

Neglect of Subjects Involving Appreciation

It is difficult for any country with a close system of inspection like Australia to avoid the giving of false values to the " examinable " subjects with the consequent neglect of subjects involving æsthetic appreciation and creative expression The evidence produced by a recent study suggests that the work of our schools is singularly barren in producing reasonable standards of literary appreciation [1] Competent observers inform us that in some places overseas the standards of school music rise to heights which leave the average Australian school far behind Australian elementary schools do not, as a rule, employ specialist teachers for subjects such as art and music The training colleges do not provide courses such as those commonly found in America, where, after doing the full ordinary course of training, a teacher devotes from one to three years in obtaining special qualifications for teaching such subjects

Fortunately, there are signs of a change of attitude Hobbies and craftwork are achieving a status of educational respectability One may instance an exhibition of such work recently arranged in the Bendigo district under the auspices of the local Rotary Club working in association with the local inspector of schools Eighty-six schools contributed to a display which totalled almost 4,000 exhibits Of special interest in this connection is the acquisition by Geelong College, a well-known boarding school, of a special building in which the boys are encouraged, under a type of guild organisation, to devote much of their free time to the pursuit of hobbies

Lack of Local Reference in School Studies

In his Annual Report for 1935 to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nicholas Murray Butler refers to Australia as the country " where there exists a veritable cross-current of international policies resulting from Australia's membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, her intimate economic relations with all the countries of the Orient, particularly Japan, China and India, and her growing economic ties with both Canada and the United States "

[1] See Biaggini "English in Australia" (*Educational Research Series*, No 19, Melbourne University Press) It is, however, only fair to point out that this study does not provide any direct evidence as to how Australian schools compare in this matter with schools in other parts of the world

Few Australians leave school or university with any conception of the fact that the future of their country is intimately bound up with the future of countries bordering on the Pacific [1] Their studies for the most part cause them to look back almost exclusively to their origins half-way across the world Yet one might be bold enough to suggest that if choice had to be made, it is more important for the Australian citizen to know something of present-day conditions and tendencies in Japan than to know about conditions in Tudor England For the majority of pupils practically all the history learnt is European history—predominantly the history of England with stress on foreign conquests and internal political changes—along with a dash of the history of Australian exploration A hopelessly formal attitude towards history has been revealed at times by provision for taking different periods in alternate years for certain examinations In such cases nothing more than chronological accident determines whether this or that period will be studied intensively by a given pupil Although a few teachers do excellent work in the study of current events, it is probably no exaggeration to say that many pupils leave school under the impression that history stopped about the time of the Boer War

Similar criticisms could be made in the subject of geography. The obvious pedagogical principle of commencing with a study of the local environment is now everywhere followed But having passed from this to the study of other countries—a study which is still too often a dehumanised form of geography—it is rare for the cycle to be completed and for a return to be made to a more advanced study of local geographical problems The result is that few Australians leave school (or university) with an adequate basis for forming intelligent opinions on immigration, on land settlement, on export of produce, or any of the manifold problems of economic geography which underlie issues of vital importance to the future development of the country

In all such questions there are encouraging signs of a new and broader outlook But it is still true that much of the teaching appears to indicate that the traditional aim of scholastic attainment as such has not yet been replaced by the wider aim of the production of intelligent citizenship It is too often forgotten that a knowledge of the past acquires value in proportion to the extent to which it serves to enlighten the present In spite of all that has been written on the subject, it is quite common in Australia—and, indeed, elsewhere—to find an entirely unjustified belief in the view that general benefits in the form of mental training follow automatically from the study of certain subjects—particularly the " difficult " ones

Education's Vicious Circle

Educational history reveals over and over again the extreme difficulty of achieving reality in school work. Perhaps this is chiefly due

[1] It is symptomatic that Australia still follows European terminology and refers to China, Japan and adjacent countries as " the East "

to the fact, that each generation of teachers acquires special knowledge, and demonstrates the fact by passing examinations [1] These teachers in turn set up the same types and standards of knowledge for their own pupils because that is where their own chief efficiency lies In a subject such as mathematics, with a relatively fixed subject-matter, there is no great harm done ; in a subject like history, with a constantly growing subject-matter, the harm is incalculable If it is objected that teachers are not capable of doing anything more than pass on the subject-matter they mastered ten, fifteen or twenty years ago, the inevitable reply is that the standards of selection or of training of teachers are too low, and that insufficient facilities and incentives are provided for teachers to keep their knowledge fresh and growing

Standards of Professional Training

One indication of the professional status of a school system is to be sought in the thoroughness of the training received by the teachers in that system If figures were available, it would probably be found that Australian schools employ a higher percentage of incompletely trained teachers than most other countries with which comparison may fairly be made A study of the figures for five of the Australian states indicates, that for the years 1928–30, approximately eight teachers out of every twenty employed by the state education departments were not fully trained or certificated And yet during the depression, out of nine teachers' colleges in the Commonwealth three were closed ! The state which closed its only teachers' college for several years actually had more untrained than trained teachers during the period 1928–30 It is true that the depression brought a decrease in the number of retirements and, consequently, a decreased demand for new teachers But surely this situation provided an excellent opportunity for improving the qualifications of those who entered the service before current standards of training were available, or for drastically reducing the numbers of juniors who are given teaching responsibilities Victoria did indeed do something to remove a very serious accumulation of junior teachers (now called " student teachers ") by admitting a large number of them to the teachers' college, but the part played by these probationers in the work of the schools is sufficiently indicated by the fact that they are included in the official staffing scheme For example, the normal staffing of a school with an average attendance of 915 pupils is twenty-two assistant teachers, of whom five are student teachers

The professional status of teaching throughout the world is increasing almost, if not exactly, in proportion to the extent to which the training of the teacher brings him into contact with the university. This applies, not only to the teacher's general studies, but

[1] Dr. F. P Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, recently remarked that examinations are a device whereby the older generation sits on the heads of the younger

also to the admission of courses and degrees in education to the university itself We can, perhaps, anticipate a time when the training of the teacher will be on the same basis and have the same status as that of the lawyer or the doctor In Australia the last twenty-five years or so has seen a vast improvement Before that time it almost appeared that teachers were positively discouraged from attempting to study at the university But even to-day the position is far from satisfactory In one of the Australian states the teachers' college has no association whatever with the university In most of the states the students training for positions in elementary schools do not attend any university courses during their training The essential danger of courses of training given in state teachers' colleges is that the cult of mere pedagogical efficiency will be over-emphasised The ever-present risk in the Australian education systems of too close an adherence to stereotyped pattern is also more easily avoided, if teachers during their training are given a chance of doing at least some of their work in the broadening atmosphere of the university

The "In-Service" Training of Teachers

One of the most serious weaknesses in the teaching service in Australia is the absence of any systematic provision for refresher courses Australia has little corresponding to the great summer-school movement of America, through which in any one year about one-third of the teachers in the country attend universities and colleges for several weeks of intensive study The result is that many Australian teachers have but hazy notions of new developments in education and almost no acquaintance with important additions to educational literature It is to be feared that even the average inspector of schools, upon whom progress depends more than upon anyone else, finds it difficult to keep abreast of educational thought It is significant that Australia does not yet support a single journal devoted exclusively to the technical discussion of professional problems

A very hopeful sign, however, is the growing eagerness of teachers to seize any opportunities which offer A striking illustration happens to be available at the moment The Professor of Education at Melbourne University decided early this year to institute a class on modern educational problems for teachers and university students Meetings were arranged for Fridays from 5 to 6 p m., no examination, no compulsion and no certificate being attached to the course. Whereas it was thought that about forty might attend—little was done to advertise the course—the attendance has on no occasion dropped below 200 for the eleven meetings so far held.

Use of Scientific Tests

One result of conditions such as those indicated is that Australia is behind England or America in applying the results of the modern

science of educational measurements In England, a considerable number of the educational authorities make regular use of intelligence tests along with ordinary tests of school subjects in selecting children for secondary education. No Australian authority has yet made use of such tests except in experimental and tentative fashion American teachers usually have at their disposal batteries of standardised tests of intelligence or of scholastic attainment, and use them regularly in classifying and promoting the children in their schools Their professional training often gives them a considerable amount of knowledge of how to diagnose and remedy educational weaknesses of individual children In many school systems the aid of specialists is made freely available Few Australian teachers have any idea of the technical aspects of such work, nor are there any specialists in remedial work in the ordinary school subjects Australia has no " visiting " teachers These are specially trained and capable workers whose duty it is to investigate cases of truancy or maladjustment

Australian teachers will compare favourably with any teachers in the world in devotion to duty and in ordinary teaching efficiency In certain phases of professional knowledge and technique such as those indicated, the work of the schools is from ten to fifteen years behind that of the best standards overseas

Material Aids

In material equipment Australian schools are usually rather poor This is particularly true of libraries One would search in vain for a library such as is found in almost any up-to-date school in the United States There is probably not one school in the whole of Australia which employs a fully trained teacher-librarian, all of whose time is utilised in giving regular tuition to all pupils in the use of the library, and in providing assistance to the children who come to the library to use reference books in working out projects set in class The Australian school " library " too often consists of a shelf or two of more or less dilapidated books of children's fiction The seriousness of the situation arises from the fact that almost any reforms in education, especially at the post-primary level, depend upon having adequate library facilities There is reason to believe, that the really important advances recently made in Victoria in the elementary school curriculum are in some danger of being rendered at least partially ineffective through large classes and through inadequate libraries and equipment

Cultural Background of Australian Education

Before attempting an analysis of some of the root causes of the weaknesses we have noted, let us get a glimpse of the sociological and cultural background of Australian education. Here we have a population consisting primarily of the first, second and third genera-

tion descendants of settlers from the British Isles. The transplantation to an entirely different environment, involving the introduction of new problems as well as the removal of old ones, and the absence of tangible reminders of its own past, have of necessity brought about modifications in the original culture It is still too soon to say what the ultimate result of the transplantation will be In many respects the Australian is typically British in outlook and temperament, but in certain matters of behaviour and opinion he differs considerably [1]

Unlike most other parts of the British Empire, Australia has been almost completely free from problems arising from the clash of races and languages There has been none of that jealousy and watchfulness which arises when one culture threatens to subordinate another This has been almost entirely to the good, but has perhaps tended to cause the Australian to take his cultural inheritance rather too much for granted Further than this, the preoccupation with pioneering problems, and the scattering of half of the total population of about seven millions over an area of continental size, has not facilitated the devotion of time and attention to things of the mind For example, a recent survey appears to indicate that Australia has fallen seriously behind in the provision of general library facilities This applies more to small towns and country districts than to large cities, but a deplorable state of affairs was revealed even in the case of one or two of the capital cities Art galleries and museums are often below the standards which are to be found in cities of comparable age and size in the United States The opportunities in the way of music and drama which are available to the average Australian are poor compared with those of the citizen of Europe or America

But the situation has its redeeming features Interest in the cultural aspects of life shows signs of increasing The growth of cities of over one million people is providing sufficiently large population groups to attract good artists and companies from abroad, and to provide a " market " for local talent The positive contributions to culture by Australians, particularly to art and music, are far from negligible

Too frequently, in the past, culture has been a kind of social efflorescence which has had its roots in the leisure and wealth acquired by the few at the expense of the many Australia has reason to be proud of the efforts she has made to avoid the extreme social inequalities of the old world High wages, good housing and living conditions and reasonable leisure do not in themselves guarantee culture, but they at least provide conditions in which it is

[1] Of course the phrase " typically British " may be more misleading than useful The differences between the English, the Scotch, the Irish and the Welsh may outweigh the resemblances It would be an interesting task to attempt to work out the relative contribution to the Australian character of each of its chief sources One might also try to estimate, not only the reaction of these original stocks on one another in the common environment, but the changes brought about in each through the almost complete fusion which has taken place

possible to divert attention from the mere business of keeping body and soul together

We thus have the interesting spectacle of an established civilisation taking root in an entirely new environment. The new circumstances naturally bring many a challenge to the old traditions and customs Some Australians, particularly members of the older generation, cling a little too tenaciously to the solutions and methods of the homeland; others, particularly members of the rising generation, are perhaps rather unappreciative of the worth of the past and too ready to cut adrift from it

All of the foregoing considerations have their educational bearings. In the early days, English methods, ideas and textbooks were simply transported without change But well before the end of the last century thoughtful educators had begun to pay attention to the need for local adaptations There was a particularly active period during the early part of this century So much was this the case, that certain English educationists who attended the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Australia in 1914, rather annoyed local authorities by speaking in somewhat paternal fashion of certain reforms which they thought Australia ought to adopt They did so in blissful ignorance of the fact that examples of these reforms could have been demonstrated to them a few miles away, though not in England itself The traditional English viewpoint is most clearly and most deliberately represented by certain independent schools, the chief of which, like their English counterparts, are still given the title " public schools " Australia stands somewhere between England and the United States in the importance of the part played by private fee-charging schools Although Australia reproduces something of the unfortunate difference in the amount of social esteem granted to the two types of school, the gap is not nearly so marked as it is in England, nor has it the same vocational associations In Australia, too, the part to be played by independent schools is potentially more valuable because of the highly centralised nature of the state systems

Although the main roots of its cultural life and educational methods are to be sought in England, Australia has not hesitated to borrow from the United States Possibly half of the textbooks read by students of education at Australian universities are American in origin. There are certain respects, too, in which the average Australian feels himself quickly and thoroughly at home in America, and a little strange in the country which he frequently and affectionately calls " home."

The Growth of the State Systems of Education

From a variety of causes the control of education in each state was concentrated in a Government department with its headquarters in the capital city. Thus there has grown up a marked divergence from the English system with its local authorities In a recent letter to the writer, the Minister of Education for New South Wales, Mr.

D H Drummond, develops the interesting theory that the strong tendency to centralisation in Australia, and the consequent weakening of the powers of local government, had its origin in the predominantly military character of the early penal settlements As he points out, military control " depends principally upon a highly centralised form of administration which delegates authority from the centre outward and does not derive its authority from powers delegated or derived from its component parts When it is recalled that for over fifty years the transportation of convicts continued, and when it is considered that the only effective way of administering the Colony, into which there was a steady flow of convicts, was by a rigorous application of military rules and centralised authority, I think it must be agreed that the system deeply ingrained into the thought of the community, and into its subsequent off-shoots, the idea of governmental authority derived from the centre, rather than the growth of that spirit of self-reliance which finds its expression in true local government, and which would appear, in the final analysis, to be the real basis of all free institutions " The writer is not competent to express an opinion on this interesting theory Probably some would argue that it is rendered doubtful because, although all states have centralised administration, some of them were established without penal or military settlement Victoria, for example, whose history was predominantly one of free settlement, was the first state to gather the complete control of education into the hands of a Government department Mr Drummond thinks that such arguments can be met, but space prevents a full discussion of the issue In any full investigation of the question it would be very interesting to explain why the United States, which was originally settled from much the same stock as Australia, provides the extreme example of decentralisation and local control

The Advantages of Centralised Control

Whatever be the origins of state centralisation in Australia, it has some very great advantages, especially in carrying facilities into remote or handicapped districts It must be realised that Australia has never had a peasantry comparable with that of most European countries Those who have isolated themselves from their fellows by taking up lonely holdings have often been city-bred They have not been slow to demand for their children at the earliest possible moment some of the educational advantages enjoyed by the city child. The remarkable demand for correspondence instruction illustrates the point The state, by deriving educational funds from consolidated revenue rather than from special or local taxes, has been able to supply a standard of education in country districts which would not otherwise have been possible The advantages over a localised system in times of economic stress and certain advantages of a professional character have been dealt with in previous issues of the YEAR BOOK [1]

[1] See, for example, pages 263–4 and also pages 265–6 in YEAR BOOK, 1935

It would be foolish to surrender central control *in toto*, especially since it is probably easier to move towards decentralisation than to persuade local authorities to yield up their power But the growing conviction of post-war years that changes are needed, and the evidence already mentioned of a certain staleness, or policy of drift, make it important to attempt the task of detecting the chief points of weakness in the present system

The Lack of Public Opinion on Education

Although the spontaneous growth of parents' associations and the increased newspaper publicity given to educational affairs are hopeful and significant signs, it is probably still fair to say that the average Australian citizen does not worry his head about education, unless it be to complain from time to time as a tax-payer about the cost of it [1]

While it is true that educational policy should in the main be moulded by expert professional opinion, it is still more true that it must have its roots in the general life and thought of the community The inherent unsoundness of a purely imposed educational policy is revealed in the fact that its only conceivable justification could be its use as a temporary expedient to produce a degree of enlightenment which would entitle the community to determine its own policy (In practice such an argument is almost always a subterfuge) Any other point of view involves an unacceptable philosophy of life

Put in another way, we may say that, in the long run, the community cannot absolve itself from its educational responsibilities by any process of delegation This involves the corollary that it is the duty of the community to keep itself informed both of what its schools are doing and of what they ought to be doing As already indicated, the Australian public is unfortunately situated in this matter Practically the only persons who have any responsibilities in the way of deciding school policies or procedures are the professional educators themselves—a very small fraction of the total population Indeed, the system tends to concentrate responsibility in the hands of the few officials at the top

The organised bodies of teachers at times make attempts to educate public opinion But since some of their efforts are necessarily concerned with their remuneration and with the conditions under which they work, there is a tendency on the part of the public to assume that none of their views are disinterested

The administrative officers of the education departments are also prevented in various ways from effectively educating public opinion on school affairs In any hierarchical system criticism from lower officers is apt to be construed as an attack on the men higher up, or as an unseemly attempt to gain prominence In the case of the

[1] Prof Clarke's comments on Canada apply equally well to Australia He notes an absence of that "free" but well-informed opinion which in England secures an intelligent public discussion of educational affairs.

highest officers there is not only the mental difficulty that expressions of dissatisfaction may have the appearance of self-criticism, but also the fact that professional views are apt to be subordinated to the decisions or views of the Government of the day Only under the extremest provocation would a director be likely to make a public protest against ministerial policy During the recent depression, when curtailments in the funds made available to schools were so severe that, in some cases, actual efficiency and proper school maintenance were involved, the chief professional officers had a worrying and difficult time, but so far as the writer is aware, the necessity for being loyal to ministerial decisions prevented any high official from feeling free to stir up public opinion in defence of the schools and the teachers

The present situation may indeed place administrators in the false position of appearing to defend what they know is professionally undesirable Take, for example, the question of size of classes The teachers, let us suppose, make a vigorous protest which is well justified Knowing, however, that a full rectification of the position would be financially embarrassing to the Government, the administrative officers do not feel free to support, or even to admit, the teachers' complaint Thus public opinion, which ultimately is the deciding factor, is denied the enlightenment it should receive

The annual reports issued by the departments could be made a vehicle for informing the community in an interesting way of the progress of its chief undertaking, of the defects which should be remedied and of the problems which lie ahead The formal and official nature of these reports shows plainly that they are not thought of in this light at all It is doubtful whether they are ever read by anyone who does not have to read them

Some Disadvantages of Large Educational Units

As already noted, a hierarchical system tends to concentrate in the hands of a few persons decisions regarding professional policies and procedures Thus, for the many, the main task is apt to be that of carrying out faithfully the work allotted to them In such a system, too, so much is apt to depend on the good opinion of the man " higher up " that it is extremely easy to concentrate on giving him what he wants Thus original ideas and independent efforts may receive little encouragement In the democratic atmosphere of Australian life these tendencies do not operate nearly as harshly as might otherwise be the case For all that, they are not completely absent Realising the danger, some administrators are making special efforts to encourage initiative, but, in spite of recent progress, the writer is of opinion that the Australian teacher is still years behind the teacher in England in the matter of professional freedom.

In a large system, new decisions are apt to be so far-reaching, that it is not possible to risk making mistakes and it is difficult to stage demonstrations No part can move ahead of the whole Thus, for

example, under the present system the question of raising the school-leaving age will have to wait until a given state is prepared to face the expense of applying it to all children in the whole area

On the other hand, when the advisability of some new development has been recognised, the Australian departments seem to find it easy to make a partial move and then apparently forget all about the matter Examples could readily be given from the provisions for mentally deficient children, from the movement towards providing primary schools of different types, or from school medical inspection Although the necessity for school medical services has been recognised for many years, there are still states where the chances are against a given child receiving one examination in the whole of his school days The chief administrative officers are often aware of a definite need for expanding existing but partial services, but they have not the money to do so Since the money is provided ultimately by the community the matter comes back to the problem to which we have already referred—that of educating public opinion One could wish, too, for more of that desire for impartial criticism by independent experts which underlies the school surveys of which the Americans are so fond Perhaps all of these things would be easier if there were some degree of decentralisation in administrative affairs Presumably a state department is too large and too dignified to invite revelations of its weaknesses

Large educational systems necessarily devise elaborate machinery and rules for safeguarding the interests of the department, and, in many cases, of the teachers themselves There may thus develop a tyranny of rules Australia does not lack examples Thus one inspector of schools who accepted a grant to enable him to carry out educational observations abroad, found that he was actually penalised so far as his seniority status in the department was concerned The rule under which he was granted leave—although he was increasing his value to the department—did not allow the period in question to be counted as " service " Apparently nothing could be done about it In another instance, a man suffering from severe physical handicaps caused by the war was suitably engaged at a correspondence school Because of a rule in this particular state that promotion can be obtained only by appointment to a definite post carrying higher status, his only way of securing the advancement for which he has become due is to take up an ordinary teaching post, though it is doubtful whether he will be able to stand the strain of class teaching. This particular rule is a serious handicap to the development of specialised services

The Danger of Stressing Seniority

The most serious danger of all in the Australian systems is the tendency to place undue stress on seniority, especially in the matter of making appointments to higher positions. Seniority and competent service should ensure a steady rise to a decent salary for all

teachers, but mere length of service should have little to do with appointments to key positions. It must not be thought that promotion is merely on length of service, the attention given to efficiency of teaching and to academic qualifications usually enables the best men to get ahead of the ruck But so many teachers, nowadays, get high efficiency marks, that length of service tends to carry more weight than it ought to have It is disturbing to find instances where the permanent head has nominated someone for a key position, of which the occupant is practically an understudy to himself, and then to find that under the terms of the public service Act allowing appeals, someone else with greater length of service has been appointed instead

The Problem of Inspection

A system of school inspection, under which the attempt is made to assess a teacher's worth in terms of some numerical or alphabetical grading, is one concerning which much debate can take place It is interesting to note the apparently unanimous view of educators trained in England that the Australian system attempts to measure that which cannot be measured, and, on the other hand, the warmth with which the Australian administrator will defend the system. Some years ago, for example, a professor of education had the temerity to read a paper at the educational section of a science congress in which he subjected the whole question of school inspection to critical examination Perhaps several of the criticisms were insufficiently qualified, but the comments of the director of education who happened to be in the chair illustrated an apparent unwillingness to discuss the merits and demerits of the system in a dispassionate way We cannot here enter into the matter fully The vital point is the possibility of combining effectively in the one person the two functions of stimulation and of assessment If the teacher knows that the inspector has the duty of giving him a mark for efficiency, is he likely to draw attention to his weaknesses by asking for help where he needs it most? Is it not, on the other hand, likely to be a game of "hide and seek"? Does not the system tend to make the inspector one who thinks in terms of "efficiency of instruction"—which can be measured—rather than in terms of "value of education," which probably cannot be measured? On the other hand, the great argument in favour of the Australian system is the effort it makes to give all teachers throughout the service an equal chance of promotion on merit. The effects of "influence" or of "being known" are reduced to vanishing-point The teacher appointed to a tiny school in a remote country district has just the same chance of promotion as the teacher of equal status in a large city school; he may indeed have a better one For all that, the more important of the two inspectorial functions, that of stimulation, encouragement and leadership, is, it is to be feared, subordinated to the lesser function of examination and assessment. It is possible to quote instructions to inspec-

tors which appear to throw doubt upon this statement ; it must be recognised, too, that certain inspectors succeed admirably in encouraging their teachers ; but an impartial investigation into the attitude of the average teacher towards the average inspector would almost certainly show, that to the teacher's mind, the function of assessment is paramount So much depends on the inspector's opinion of the teacher—on what he finds when he tests the children —that it would be strange if it were otherwise

The Problem of Parliamentary Control

The history of the past ten years or so justifies doubt as to whether control by the Government of the day through a minister is the best system that could be devised In the first place, there is the danger of instability In one state there have been four ministers of education in the past five years Each minister has had time to gain a somewhat vague knowledge of the working of his department, but little more This would not matter so much if each minister was prepared to be guided by the permanent professional officers But this has not been the case One minister, for example, stoutly refused to give any encouragement at all to the proposals of his director to introduce a vocational guidance scheme into the schools In fact, he placed every difficulty in the way because, according to his view, vocational guidance is not the work of the school

Since the ministry of the day determines the amount which is to be voted for educational purposes, it is natural that, especially in times of financial difficulty, it should go one step further and claim the right to say how this money shall be spent Theoretically, this places the power where it ought to be, since a community through its representatives surely has the right to control its educational policy Actually it does not work so well It does not protect the schools sufficiently against the possibility of ignorance or bias on the part of the Government of the day There is no attempt made to ascertain public opinion on educational matters Practically the only topic bearing on school work which is ever discussed at election time is the salary of teachers Even this is dealt with as a question of public service salaries in general In point of fact, then, ministerial policy in education is practically determined by the private views on education which happen to be held by members of the Cabinet, and chiefly by the member of the Government who is given the portfolio of education Owing to the high standard of public service in Australia no politician has yet tried to use the schools for political ends or to introduce patronage in making educational appointments If, however, standards of political life were seriously lowered, a condition which many people thought was rapidly being produced in one state a short time ago, the educational system would lend itself in a most dangerous way to the machinations of an unscrupulous or partisan Government. It is significant

hat the recent departure of Germany from democratic government ıas been accompanied by a distinct tightening up of the educaıonal system ın the form of ıncreased centralisation [1]

The present system links education far too closely with political :vents and uncertainties Obviously desirable developments may ıave to wait for years until there happens to be a minister who ınows enough about education to appreciate their importance or a Parliament which has enough leisure to amend existing legislation Since education has little to do with votes, and since, as we have ıeen, there is little in the way of public opinion on education, all ıorts of lesser problems take precedence In times of financial lifficulty school revenues may be curtailed far more seriously than he community would desire if it thoroughly understood the situaıon There is room for severe criticism of the way in which the ıroblem of teachers' salaries has been handled during the depresıon, particularly in some states In Victoria, for example, the eachers appear to be able to claim that the Government has not even ıved up to its obligations as represented in existing Acts of Parliaıent

The Need for Boards of Education

For various reasons, therefore, it appears desirable to decrease he directness of the control which the respective state parliaments xercise over educational affairs Of course, the people through Parliament must maintain ultimate control, but if much of the uthority now vested in Parliament were delegated to a permanent ommission or board, many advantages would follow The majority f the members of such a board should be experts with a knowledge f educational tendencies throughout the world Such a board ould give the time and attention necessary to the development of ıng-range policies It could do much more than is done at present o educate public opinion on educational affairs It would have he constant advice of the director who, presumably, would be its hief executive officer

Safeguards of the type mentioned would be fortified still further f some measure of decentralisation were introduced A careful tudy of the English and the American forms of decentralisation vould indicate the directions in which some relaxation of central ontrol could most safely and most usefully be made. One can oresee a time when local authorities will attend to many of the letails controlled to-day by the central state department This would eave the central department freer to think about broad educational ıolicies and problems Further, if Australia is a single nation, it is nly logical to extend the procedure in the other direction, too, and o consider the possibility of some permanent nexus between all ducational authorities in the Commonwealth. Perhaps the Federal Government might stimulate educational growth, and secure

[1] See Kandel "The Making of Nazis" (*Year Book of the International nstitute*, 1935)

uniformity in matters where it is needed, by subsidies to the states or to lesser educational authorities on the condition that local efforts first reached a certain standard At the moment Federal aid to, or interest in, education is barely a topic of discussion, but it may not be so remote as it appears

The major needs of Australian education, however they are achieved, are more autonomy, greater flexibility, more exploration and experiment, the building up of a strong and well-informed public opinion on education, continuous study of the educational problem as a whole, especially in its relation to social and industrial changes, the devising of machinery for enabling long-range policies thus arrived at to be put into operation and pursued irrespective of the minor vagaries of political change, greater rapidity and thoroughness in putting new developments into operation, better material conditions and aids, higher professional standards and better status for the teacher, less formalism in school work, and more attention to the task of cultivating intelligent citizenship

An Experiment in Secondary Education

Recent educational history appears to show that the introduction of changes in an educational system becomes increasingly difficult as we proceed up the educational ladder Secondary and tertiary education dovetail at so many points into the life of the community, that proposed changes have to overcome not merely the inertia arising from educational tradition, but also that arising from popular habituation Yet the need for a critical re-examination of school policies at the secondary school level is undoubtedly even greater than it is at the elementary level Decisions at the later stage are attended by an element of finality which is relatively absent at the earlier stage There can be little doubt that there is an alarming amount of waste in most post-primary and secondary schools of to-day—waste of unrealised talent, waste of time and effort in expecting children to do courses which are beyond them, waste of interest through failure to utilise the enthusiasm of youth, waste of opportunities for cultivating æsthetic interests and intelligent judgment on current problems

It is therefore of interest to report an Australian effort to break away from the traditional rigidity of secondary school work This is a scheme put into operation at the beginning of 1935 at the Geelong Church of England Grammar School, Victoria, under the headmastership of Mr J R Darling Since about 40 per cent of the boys attending this school go on to the land, 40 per cent to business and the remaining 20 per cent to the university, the attempt is to be made to provide each boy with the type of training which will be of greatest value to him in after-life No longer will the requirements of the 20 per cent who go to the university dominate the whole work of the school.

The most characteristic part of the scheme is the grouping of the

school subjects into three divisions The first two groups are compulsory, while subjects in the third group are optional The actual subjects included in these groups vary to some extent at different stages of the school course The first group of compulsory subjects are frankly included because they are thought to have value as a mental discipline For the four years of the post-primary course they consist of English and Latin to which German is added in the last two years Each of these subjects is dealt with by means of a syllabus divided into monthly units No boy will be allowed to proceed with a new unit until he has thoroughly mastered the one he is working on In this way it is hoped to eliminate at the outset those gaps in knowledge which have such a devastating effect in the school progress of some pupils Provision is also made for substituting more practical subjects in the case of boys who are found to be incapable of mastering the ones under discussion The second group of compulsory subjects are given to all pupils because of their importance to later studies either as " tools " of learning or as providing essential information At the post-primary stage English composition and general science fall within this group The course in general science is designed, not as a preparation for later university study in science, but for the understanding of " a world largely governed by natural phenomena " It will borrow from biology, botany, geology, physics and chemistry The third group of seven or eight optional subjects includes English literature, history, geography, French, art, music and manual work The aim here will be to stimulate interest and to provide a large amount of freedom in project work

After the completion of the course indicated at about 16 years of age, a pupil will have the choice of spending the next year in preparing for the Leaving Certificate—the qualification for university entrance—or if there is no intention of going on to the university, he can go straight into new special classes which are definitely planned as a preparation for citizenship After the leaving-certificate year, the senior school divides itself definitely into the group preparing for further study and those whose formal education will cease in one or two years The subject of English is common for the two groups, but the less academic course is based on economics and geography and will include modern history and international affairs, elementary banking and finance, politics, representative government and social services The new plan is accompanied by an increased provision of workshops and studios of various types All boys are given opportunities for cultivating practical and æsthetic interests either in the form of hobbies or class projects One feature of the scheme is the dropping of all attempts to present children for the Intermediate Certificate examination

The inauguration of the scheme has attracted much interest in educational circles in Australia. It certainly makes a definite effort to break away from the current practice of directing the studies of all pupils towards the requirements for university entrance, it pro-

vides sufficient flexibility to suit the great variations in individual needs and abilities found in any school, it recognises the primary function of the school as that of equipping pupils for intelligent citizenship, it admits the necessity for cultivating interests and aptitudes without taking the extreme view that all studies should be excluded which do not make an immediate appeal to the child's interests. The scheme exhibits at least some retention of faith in the view that steady work in subjects requiring accuracy and progressive mastery of knowledge is valuable in itself The division of subjects into the two main groups, and the subdivision of the fundamental subjects into units which pupils must master before proceeding, are distinctly reminiscent of the methods followed in the well-known Winnetka Plan.

Educational Thought in Australia

In an interesting article [1] entitled " The New Countries in Education," Prof F Clarke points out that there are advantages and disadvantages in the transplantation of an old culture to new lands. This view he applies particularly to ideas and methods in education He is of opinion that in spite of forward-looking confidence, of a commendable desire to offer the means of cultivation to all, and in spite of a spirit of experiment in education produced by the fluidity and plasticity of conditions, the new countries often exhibit that " rigid adherence to safe orthodoxies which impoverishes so many curricula and paralyses so much fine teaching energy " He has " grave doubts whether schools generally in the new countries are as free and adaptable intellectually and spiritually as they are in history-ridden England " Prof Clarke attributes this to some extent to *fear*, " a real intellectual timidity in the world of ideas " A further characteristic of the new countries is, he thinks, a neglect of ideas and the life of speculative thought as such

There is reason to believe that, to some extent at least, Australia furnishes illustrations in support of the foregoing generalisations A clear instance of the fear of ideas is to be found in the present censorship by the Commonwealth Government of certain books which represent ideas on politics disturbing to the existing system In the schools we find the " safe orthodoxy " of high standards in educational attainment as the guiding aim. It almost appears, at times, that there is more fear of the criticism that standards in the formal school subjects are low, than of the criticism that the schools are failing to produce good citizens.

Most of Australia's contributions to education—and they are not negligible—lie in the realm of school practice and not in the realm of educational thought. In a young country mental and physical energy is apt to be absorbed by practical problems. Australia has produced some capable students of philosophy, but no school of philosophy. The same can be said of the allied field of education.

[1] Appearing in *The New Era* for September–October 1934.

Her comparatively small band of writers does not include educational philosophers, she has made a few contributions to the study of learning but none of major importance Australia thus has still to produce her Adams, her Nunn, her Spearman, her Dewey or her Thorndike.

The general theory of education held in Australia can best be described as predominantly English with a colouring of ideas from America When Nunn, in his well-known book on education, brilliantly expressed an interpretation of life and of education which appeared very satisfying to educational thinkers in England, he was found just as satisfying by the majority of Australian students So far as the theory of learning is concerned, the stimulus-response concept, so popular in America, has had relatively few adherents in Australia At the same time, writers such as Dewey, Thorndike, Bagley, Cubberley, Monroe and Snedden have been studied closely and appreciatively

Facilities for the advanced study of education in Australia are not very extensive Several of the universities offer a post-graduate diploma course lasting one year Although these courses require a good deal of reading, the necessity for covering the whole field of education and the time demanded by the practical work prevent a really intensive study of the theory of education The only provision in Australia for the advanced study of education is that leading to the Master of Education degree at Melbourne University This requires two years of study after the diploma course, the final award is made on completion of a substantial thesis Since the degree was established in 1924 it has been awarded only sixteen times

Books on education by Australian writers are not very numerous. Amongst those which have been widely used are the following Dr P R Cole, *The History of Educational Thought* and *The Theory and Technique of Education*, J W Elijah, *The Principles and Technique of Teaching in Elementary Schools*, G Mackaness, *Inspirational Teaching*, and C R McRae, *Psychology and Education*

The establishment of the Australian Council for Educational Research about five years ago has given a marked stimulus to educational discussion and enquiry The Council has now published about forty reports, several of which are of considerable importance. Special mention must be made of *The Primary School Curriculum in Australia* and *The Education of the Adolescent in Australia*, both edited by Dr P R Cole, of *Ability Grouping*, by Dr H S. Wyndham, and of *English in Australia*, by E. G Biaggini The Council was also largely responsible for *Imagination in Early Childhood*, recently published in England by Dr. Ruth Griffiths.

K. S. CUNNINGHAM.

CHAPTER THREE

CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

(*See* YEAR BOOK, 1932, *pages* 627–61 ; 1933, *pages* 601–24 , 1934, *pages* 101–5 *and* 334–49 , 1935, *pages* 92–100 *and* 285–312)

IT is difficult to observe and definitely describe new trends in present-day education while living right in the midst of them, yet it is possible to anticipate that when the future historian of education in South Africa looks back on the last two decades he will probably find occasion to remark on two features

(1) In the first place, he cannot fail to notice the unprecedented *expansion in extent* of the educational system from the time of the Great War onwards

(2) In the second place, he will then more clearly see than we can to-day the shifting of emphasis in general aim from (*a*) the position of regarding the school as the arena for fighting out the nationalistic *struggle* for cultural survival on the part of the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population, to (*b*) the position of regarding the school as a means of *economic adaptation* in general and particularly of solving the poor white problem By this it is not wished to convey the impression that the struggle on the cultural plane has entirely disappeared, though it is true that a satisfactory *modus vivendi* has been worked out Nor is it desired to imply that efforts to adapt the school to the nation's economic needs have not been going on all along, though perhaps only incidentally In the main, however, it is true, as we shall presently try to indicate, that there has been in recent years a shifting in centre of gravity from the plane of cultural adaptation to that of economic and social adaptation In the former only were the two white nationalities engaged In the latter the black and coloured races are also involved

I GROWTH IN EXTENT OF EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

Before going into the problem of the articulation of the system and of the adaptation of its structure to meet modern social and economic conditions, it is necessary to quote a few figures to indicate the growth in the extent of the educational structure After all, before one can talk of using the school as a means of ensuring effective cultural or economic adaptation, one must first have the children in school and then keep them there long enough and provide the teachers and other facilities to enable them to profit by being in school

For example, in 1911–12, when there were about 178,000 white pupils in school, there were over 100,000 white children of school age not in school. To-day all this leeway has been made up and

we have close on 400,000 white pupils and students in State institutions of primary, secondary and higher education.

As regards natives, there were in 1911–12 about 90,000 pupils in school which comprised less than 10 per cent of the native children of school-going age To-day there are 300,000 native pupils in school, and though this is a substantial increase, there are still 75 per cent of the native children of school age (6–16) not in school. In this respect a great deal of leeway has to be made up.

Finance

The contribution to native education from State funds increased from about £100,000 to about £700,000 in the same interval

Though the growth of the system (particularly as regards cost) assumed an accelerated pace during and since the Great War, it is advisable to compare present-day figures with those of 1911, because the different colonies in South Africa were united into a Union in 1910 and 1911, thus representing the first year of the new administrative régime Under the new régime the provinces retained the responsibility of administering education "other-than-higher," but they were from then onwards generously subsidised by the Union treasury and were placed in a position to expand their school systems to a general high level, which, in some cases at least, would never have been possible, had the provinces been confined to their own individual resources as they had been before Union

The total State expenditure on education increased from £1,850,000 in 1911–12 to over £9,000,000 to-day This is an unprecedented increase, not only absolutely but also relatively While in 1911–12 this sum comprised 14 per cent of the total national expenditure on all State services (excluding railways), it comprises to-day about 23 per cent, i e nearly one-quarter of the national expenditure Probably no other country in the world spends from State sources a greater proportion on education The fact that the Union paid the piper whilst the provinces called the tune probably had something to do with this rapid rise in expenditure—especially since the Great War Whilst many authorities regard this as a weakness in the financial system, the provinces can point with justification to commensurate developments in the field of education for which they were responsible

The fact also that the provinces were receiving a constant subsidy of roughly £15 per pupil in average attendance from the Union treasury enabled primary and secondary education in South Africa to weather the depression much more successfully than, for example, most of the American states, which were left entirely to their own limited and dwindling resources for maintaining their schools. Nor were such drastic economies effected here as in Australia, for example, especially in regard to cuts in teachers' salaries

Not only was there this expansion quantitatively, but also qualitatively: the percentage of pupils receiving post-primary (i.e. post-

Standard VI) education increased from 6 per cent in 1911 to about 19 per cent to-day, which by itself would have been sufficient to account for the increased expenditure These figures include university students, whose numbers increased since Union from about 1,100 to about 8,000, of which about 6,000 are full-time South Africa probably has more full-time university students (one in 300), for its population (European only), than any other country in the world For England the ratio is about 1 in 1,100, Germany 1 in 620, Scotland 1 in 450

Demand for Higher Education

While the Union Education Department was initially responsible for administering only university education, national needs since the Great War made it imperative for this department to make incursions into what is strictly the secondary field and to assume responsibility also for all technical and vocational education from about 1925

To this point we shall return later But to show how great the demand for this type of education was, we quote a few figures showing the number of *students in technical, industrial, vocational and agricultural schools* [1] at different periods since Union

1911–12	500 (est)
1920–21	3,000 (est)
1925–26	12,000
1929–30	28,000
1933–34	30,200

Summary

This unprecedented expansion in general educational activity which took place at an accelerated rate since the Great War is mentioned here in connection with the formation of the Union in 1910 for two reasons In the first place, this increased activity was made financially possible by the fact that the provinces were by the Union enabled to participate in the larger and more stable resources of the whole nation And in the second place, the country is slowly but surely beginning to think of its schools in national (i e Union) terms We say *beginning* to think, because, as we shall see later, it is only very recently that there is evidence of some organised endeavour to link up the educational system (even the primary and secondary schools, which are provincial concerns) with the economic and social welfare policy of the nation as a whole

The South African people, being a mixture of peoples (Dutch, English, French, German) with whom education stands in high regard, have a profound belief in it. They have no hesitation in looking to education as the panacea for all society's ills If things go wrong, the school becomes a convenient scapegoat. Owing

[1] These figures include part-time students (13,200), continuation classes (1,843); certified institutions, industrial chiefly, under the Children's Protection Act (5,862). Figures here are for 1933–4.

to this belief the people would gladly see that even more than a quarter of the nation's income be devoted to education Here and there, however, this rather naive and implicit belief has been shocked and critics are arising who ask · Do we get our money's worth ? Why are so many of our boys and girls who leave school unemployed, and those who get work do not seem to give satisfaction ? and so on.

Thinking people, and even the man in the street, are beginning to have misgivings about the traditional system It is with a few of these problems that we propose to deal in the latter part of the following section

II. The Language Problem

The language struggle in South African education is more than a hundred years old It dates from the time when Lord Charles Somerset laid down in legislation in 1822 that only English was to be used in the schools of the Cape Colony This measure proved a genuine hardship on the large majority of the colonists, whose home language was Dutch, because the children were taught through a medium which was foreign to them The result was that for many, especially the rural population, education in the course of time became synonymous with learning English [1] Though they were not averse to learning English as a language, the procedure of using it as a medium of instruction brought about an attitude of mind amongst the people which led them to regard schooling as something exotic, something divorced from their needs, their language and their everyday lives To be sure, education did lend a certain prestige and air of respectability to the recipient. But for education to be of any practical use to them in interpreting their social and economic environment so that they might control it more effectively—why—nothing could have been farther from their thoughts or expectations—except, of course, as a means of gaining access to the learned professions This, however, applied only to the few

The Enforcement of the English Language

With the Great Trek, the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were formed in the north, and naturally their educational systems, which date from the fifties, used Dutch as the medium of instruction. English was taught as a subject fairly generally, especially in the Orange Free State Fifty years afterwards, the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) swept these republican systems away and, under the Milner régime which ensued, an English system was forced upon the people—by which the medium

[1] While engaged in a sociological survey of the rural population some years ago I was struck by the fact that on several occasions when questioning the older Dutch farmers in the Cape Province concerning education in the olden days and as to how far they had studied at school, the reply would come quite naively (in Afrikaans, of course) " Not very far You see, my boy, I never learnt much English ! "

of instruction again became exclusively English—a step which was very distasteful to the majority of the population History has amply proved what a tactless step this was

It was with reference to this situation that the slogan, " the language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is a language of slaves," was often used—a slogan which for a number of years to come " queered the pitch " for English teaching for those who badly needed it as one of the official languages of the country

The First Afrikaans Language Movement

In the meantime, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, a distinctly cultural movement had been started in the Cape Colony amongst the Dutch or, more correctly, the Afrikaans-speaking section of the people To-day it is known as the First Afrikaans Language Movement It began in an organised way in 1875 It strove for greater recognition of the Dutch element in the schools and in the departments of State It was productive of some literature in the Afrikaans language—the spoken language of the Dutch, French and German descendants of the Colony The wars of 1881 and of 1899–1902 against the northern Republics gave a strong nationalistic impulse to this movement in the south After the latter war, this Afrikaans Language Movement started its second and more advanced stage, and culminated in 1914 in the recognition of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction of Afrikaans-speaking pupils in the lower standards of the primary school, and, later on, as the other official language to be used next to English in Parliament and in the law courts.

The Recognition of Afrikaans

Previously, in 1910, the Act of Union had already formally entrenched the equality of English and Dutch as the official languages of the Union This article (No 137) of the Act of Union was one of the cardinal points without which Union would probably not have been achieved. Dutch, however, i e. the language as spoken in Holland, was not really the language of the Dutch people in South Africa They could read and understand it, because their Bible was in that language and they heard it in Church But the language in which they conversed with each other, thought and had their being, was Afrikaans. The Act of Union was subsequently modified so as to include Afrikaans On paper, therefore, Dutch and later Afrikaans had received due recognition In concrete practice, however, there was still a long way to go in obtaining real equality in the schools and other State departments. It was an uphill fight at the beginning, because not only were many of the officials, inspectors and principal teachers unilingually English speaking, but suitable school textbooks, readers, etc., in Afrikaans were often lacking. Where there was the will, however, there was also the way, and it was not long before adequate school literature was

provided. As regards personnel, too, a tremendous change has come about An unilingual person has to-day no chance of being appointed in the school system except in very special circumstances. All children while at school learn both English and Afrikaans and student teachers qualify for bilingual certificates which signify proficiency to teach both in English and Afrikaans as media

To-day, practically all South African children have to receive their primary education through the medium of their home language, whether English or Afrikaans,[1] except in a few isolated cases where there are administrative difficulties or where parents wilfully declare their home language to be different from what it actually is

With the advent of the Afrikaans Bible in 1934 (a scholarly translation occupying many years), Dutch, which has less and less been used in the Dutch Churches, has been completely supplanted by Afrikaans in the institutional life of the people

Educational Advantages of Afrikaans

The introduction of Afrikaans as a medium for the Afrikaans-speaking pupil, not only in place of English, but also in place of Dutch, or Nederlands, or High Dutch, as it was variously called, has proved a tremendous educational gain in speeding up the child's learning process The spelling is phonetic and the grammatical structure relatively simple English children learn it easily at school, if not in the environment An average Afrikaans child can read and spell practically every word in the language by the time he is in Standard I, which is more than can be expected from the average English-speaking child in English Afrikaans as a vehicle of expression at school has proved a great stimulus to creative work in the literary field Though its best prose works are probably not so good as the best South African English prose works, the reverse is the case as regards poetry, where Afrikaans can hold its own with the best in any language, especially in the lyrical field To-day it is (just like English) a medium of instruction right through the high school and the chief medium in several university institutions Moreover, it can more than hold its own as a facile and pliable medium with which to express all shades of meaning, even in the most abstruse subjects

Social Significance of Afrikaans

It is not often realised under what language handicaps the Afrikaans-speaking child laboured to acquire an education in the past He was doubly handicapped At first his medium of instruction was English, a language which he never heard outside of school. When the language rights of his people were first recognised, the medium was High Dutch—also in a sense a foreign language—to

[1] In 1932, 37 per cent of the pupils received their instruction mainly or exclusively through English medium, 53 per cent. mainly or exclusively through Afrikaans medium and 10 per cent more or less equally through English and Afrikaans media.

a lesser degree than English, it is true—but none the less foreign to the child's thoughts and feelings. To the mind of the child it was a strange, stilted language used only in connection with religion, prayers, the Bible and church, and to be learnt laboriously and artificially by means of a grammar book Thus, instead of using Afrikaans—a supple and transparent medium in which he thought his thoughts and carried on his daily conversation—he had to acquire education through two semi-opaque media—English and High Dutch Can there be little wonder that to him such things as school books, learning, etc , seemed unrelated to life ? It was only to the very few who had advanced far enough in linguistic study that the reading of English or of High Dutch books came naturally and joyously To the masses these media were too opaque And it is they who in their rural isolation mostly needed the widening influence of the printed word Is it not probable that many people who had deteriorated economically to poor whiteism, or to the verge of it, might have avoided this if they had read more and had kept abreast with the times, learning about the newer methods of agriculture and the advantages of co-operation, etc ? This was Bishop Grundtvig's great contribution to the Danish agriculturists By means of his Volks-Hoheschule he taught them the love of books and culture—*through their own language* With the advent of Afrikaans in technical (e g farming) as well as in general literature, South Africa's younger generations may, let us hope, be enabled to make up the lost ground and cultivate a new tradition One thing is certain, however, and that is that the mental attitudes which were cultivated under the older tradition greatly decreased the effectiveness of education in the past as a prophylaxis against economic deterioration, particularly amongst our farming population Farm demonstrators assure us that their suggestions to farmers to read articles or books about agriculture, etc , are often regarded with scepticism, because a book means to them something theoretical—they feel that it cannot tell them anything of practical value in their farming

With such attitudes prevailing it is little wonder, too, that adult education has made such little headway in this country, where, it must be repeated, the people really believe in education, but, alas, it is education which operates in a place called a school and can be *completed* by passing an examination !

We have dwelt at some length upon this relationship of education to the language problems in South Africa in order to show what a very real part it has played in bringing about that unfortunate dualism between the school as an institution on the one hand and practical life on the other.

III. Education and Economic Life of the People

But there is also another reason for stressing the cultural struggle, and that is, that the leaders of thought, particularly on the Afrikaans-

speaking side, who represented chiefly the large rural element of our population, were so preoccupied with the realisation of the cultural (language) aspirations of the Afrikaans people, that they hardly noticed the extremely urgent needs of the people in other respects —new needs which demanded a reorientation of the school to keep pace with the almost revolutionary changes which were taking place in the economic life of the people

With the Flemish slogan, "De Taal is gansch het Volk" (the language is the nation, entirely), on their banners these leaders carried on the fight for language rights with effective single-mindedness The school was the strategic point of attack. For was it not the chief agency for transmitting culture from one generation to the other?

The Rise of Nationalism

From the time of the Great War this movement was partially associated with the rise of the Nationalist Party which, under the leadership of General Hertzog, came into power in 1924 This resulted in a more real recognition of the interests of the Afrikaans-speaking citizen also in the departments of State, e g with appointments in the Civil Service, etc

It is significant to what an extent (even before the advent of the Nationalist Party) language considerations predominated in the selection of administrative heads of the State Departments of Education, wherever the Afrikaaans-speaking section had some say in such appointments Not only did they limit their choice to Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, but they made doubly sure that their language and culture should be placed No 1, by selecting men who had been prominent Afrikaans linguists and professors of Nederlands and Afrikaans In the four provinces, six language professors were selected at different times This predilection for linguists is the more remarkable because there were amongst the other university men, e g professors of education, those who were also strong protagonists of the Afrikaans cause.

Prospects for Growth of Common Tradition

This illustration is quoted to show how a national group, when it is fighting for recognition, instinctively seizes upon, and preoccupies itself, with maintaining that aspect of its national life (viz. its language) which it regards as most distinctive and therefore most precious Due tribute must be paid to their efforts, because if they had merely let things drift, and not actively fostered, perhaps not aggressively pushed, Afrikaans, the culture of the older section of our population might easily have been swamped by the much more subtly powerful English culture which had been politically dominant for nearly a century. Whether with two languages, each symbolising two distinct cultures, there will ever be developed one South African culture is a matter for speculation. Such a development is already slowly germinating through the more universal medium

of art, and may yet come in the other universal medium, viz music, if only music education in South Africa could shake itself loose from the shackles of those deadening examinations which are conducted annually. Still, the fact that Afrikaans and English-speaking people are not territorially segregated, as in Canada, that their language differences are not accentuated by further divisive factors, such as religion, that they very frequently inter-marry, and that (the point which really concerns us here) through the instrumentality of the schools practically every South African born child is taught to speak and read both languages—in view of these facts, there is every chance that there will continue to grow up a common tradition which (in spite of the fact that there will always be political party divisions, as there are in every country) will knit together the two sections into one united South African nation, capable of making its distinctive contribution to the big Commonwealth of Nations

The recognition in law and in fact of Afrikaans as an official language on an equal footing with English, the passing of the Statute of Westminster, the granting of our own national flag and lastly the achievement of independent national status as laid down by the Status Bill of 1934 mark in culminating steps the unequivocal and safe guarantee of those national aspirations for which there had been such a hard struggle in the past

The Poor White Problem

Being freed from this nationalistic and cultural preoccupation, if not obsession, educators are now beginning to pay more attention to other forces shaping people's everyday lives—forces of an economic and social nature which require urgent recognition in educational policy and practice

It was about time that the latter received attention, because it came as a shock to most people when the Carnegie Commission, appointed in 1928 to investigate the Poor White Problem, reported, in 1932, that out of a total European population of 1,800,000 in the Union of South Africa, there were over 300,000 poor whites

At a conference called by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1916 on the Poor White Question, it was estimated that there were a little over 100,000 poor whites, and this continued to be the figure quoted until the Carnegie report showed what the real situation was. Poor whites are white people of rural origin who live on charity or in abject poverty as "*bywoners*" on the farms. For this number to have trebled itself during the fourteen years preceding the great depression proved a very disturbing revelation While politicians and educators were fighting for the cultural rights of the Afrikaans-speaking people, a very large proportion of these very people were, unbeknown to them, gradually being reduced by economic forces to a state where bare physical survival was in the balance—where children starved, and formerly independent men and women lost, not only their economic independence, but also their self-respect by becoming objects of charity and relief.

Mainly a Rural Problem

The Poor White problem is essentially a *rural* problem, and because about 90 per cent of the farming population (Boers = farmers) belong to the older section of our people, the large majority of poor whites are Afrikaans-speaking. The country has been passing through a period of rapid economic transition, almost a revolution, which commenced during the latter half of the nineteenth century with the opening of the diamond and gold mines, and is still continuing in the more isolated sections of our vast country It is the transition from the old patriarchal form of rural life to the modern forms of industrialised and commercialised agriculture—from the old form of subsistence economy under which every farmer produced only for his own use, to the modern cash economy by which farmers are at the mercy of markets in distant urban centres and overseas With this transition new adjustments had to be made Those with capital, or education, or intelligence above the average, made the adjustments successfully. Those who did not " get wise " as to what was going on were soon adrift, caught in the economic maelstrom and whirled downwards, not knowing why and how they got into it or how to get out of it In short they became poor whites.

The Peculiar Position of South Africa

The question naturally arises . other countries went through similar transitions, why did they not produce a similar landless class ? The older countries of Europe evolved a peasant class. We never did The situation of South Africa is peculiar in several ways

(i) The principle of inheritance amongst the Dutch farmers by which the farm is divided equally amongst the children proved the undoing of many, particularly in pastoral areas, because after successive generations the pieces of land inherited were so small as to be economically impossible to farm on This resulted in overstocking, with the consequent evils of denuding the topsoil and of what is known here as *man-made droughts*

(ii) South Africa had hardly any industries to absorb the redundant rural population. In most European countries there are large industries, the navy and the army, which effectively absorb many (particularly those on the lower levels of intelligence) who would simply have cluttered up the farms The older section of the white population did not have an artisan or commercial tradition like the later immigrants from Europe. The rural boy had his eyes glued to that small piece of land which he was to inherit, with the result that he never considered going into other occupations of a skilled or commercial nature This fact has an important bearing on the development of technical and vocational education to which we shall return later. The only honourable escape from the farm was

to become a minister, lawyer, doctor or teacher. But these professions of necessity could absorb only a relatively few

(iii) Probably South Africa has had a little more than her due share of those catastrophic events in the shape of wars and the unkindnesses of nature, like droughts and plagues These should not be regarded as primary causes, but they nevertheless put the final touches to the work of a ruthless economic process in ruining the man on the land.

(iv) The presence of an overwhelming black population has the most far-reaching influence upon the economic and spiritual development of our white people They outnumber us three to one They do practically all the menial and the unskilled work In course of time these types of work have been designated as " kaffir work " and are looked upon by the white man as degrading In consequence the poor white has often been called lazy The attitude is psychologically explicable in that the poor white, after losing nearly everything, clings to his only remaining symbol of superiority over the native, viz that he has a white skin, and will not, however poor he may be, drop to the level of the kaffir, by doing that type of work in the employ of another person It is necessary to state at once that this attitude of refusing to do manual work on the part of the poor white is purely an acquired habit, and the last five years of depression have shown convincingly, that when circumstances force him, the poor white takes on unskilled work and does it more efficiently than the native There are hundreds of white road gangs doing pick and shovel work to-day all over the country

Economic Effects of Native Population

Nevertheless, we cannot get away from the fact that the presence of the native has the effect of reducing our economic efficiency as a whole. In the first place, the native is *not* an efficient worker. Even though he is cheap he is uneconomical in the long run In the second place, his methods of inefficiency react on the white man, with the result that directly and indirectly the general tempo of work by white and black is greatly reduced That is why South Africa, even with this supply of so-called cheap labour, finds it so difficult to compete with other countries on world markets Many illustrations can be given to show how ingrained this attitude is at all levels in our national life, particularly in the northern provinces, where native labour is plentiful One will, however, suffice In one of the public examinations in Natal a few years ago, a schoolboy in a science paper was asked in a question on the principles of the lever to show how he would make use of a crowbar to remove a big rock from the roadside. After explaining how he would adjust the fulcrum so as to get an adequate leverage, he added, " and then I would get a native at the other end of the bar to lift the rock ! " This illustration is symptomatic of the energy-sapping process that is going on amongst all classes of our white society, due to the fact

that we consider ourselves a white aristocracy on a big black foundation of natives In many cases the native stands, as it were, between the white man and manual labour

IV The Failure of the Present School System

The question now arises " What has all this to do with education ? " The answer is . " Everything "

Two Criticisms of Education

In the first place, the accusation is made to-day against the school to the effect that during this period of economic transition education was not sufficient of a prophylaxis against the economic deterioration of a large and inherently decent body of citizens, (*a*) because there was not enough of it, and (*b*) because it was not of the right kind

In the second place, people point to this State system of education with its 5,000 schools and 16,000 teachers (we refer to white education only) on which we spend over £9,000,000 per annum—nearly a quarter of the nation's income—and they ask In what ways can this huge piece of State machinery be utilised to solve this poor white problem, which is regarded as the nation's most urgent task ?

Historical Facts supporting Criticism

Before we deal with this demand on the school, let us first mention a few of the historical facts which can be brought in support of the above accusation

It is pointed out, for example, that education during the early pioneer stages was chiefly religious in content. Church membership was the aim—the gateway to marriage and respectability

While this was fairly well suited to the pioneer days, it turned out in later times to be totally inadequate [1] in opening people's eyes to the economic forces that were gradually making poor whites out of decent, God-fearing citizens.

De Mist, that advanced educational thinker, who ruled the Cape before the English occupation, realised this, and, as early as 1804, urged, *inter alia*, the introduction of Geography, History and Commercial Book-keeping into the school For the girls he proposed " besides the elements of the most necessary knowledge, also female handwork and domestic housekeeping ; above all to discontinue the needless and uncivilising custom of being attended by female slaves from their earliest infancy, and on the contrary to accustom

[1] Even the Dutch Reformed Church realised this, for as early as 1893, in a manifesto issued to the people, the leading ministers expressed themselves in the words " The mastery of the mere rudiments of learning necessary to the ' aanneming ' (i e. the Confirmation examination for admission to Church membership) is no longer sufficient . . A radical change is necessary in our educational system, otherwise our people with only half a year's schooling will be destined to become the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the new arrivals coming in from Europe trained to the hilt."

them to help and clothe themselves, to provide for their own necessities, etc."

Then came the Anglicisation Period, which was largely nugatory in its effects, so far as education for life was concerned, for reasons already referred to above

Jumping across nearly a century, we find that the Dutch Reformed Church, which was always much more sensitive to the educational, social and economic needs of the rural people than the Education Department (in fact, they were the first to propose educational and relief measures for combating poor-whiteism as early as 1894), made a start in the nineties with the establishment of industrial schools, and extended them after the Boer War as a means of training these potential poor white boys from the rural areas in industrial occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, smithy work, etc , and for the girls in domestic work. By 1910, there were only 400 pupils all told in these schools—a mere drop in the bucket In 1911, the Prisons Department established two industrial schools, more by way of reformatories for destitute and delinquent children In 1917, the Union Education Department took over the administration of the Children's Protection Act and with that all these industrial schools Later it started vocational, agricultural and housecraft schools of its own, but it had a very unhappy tradition to live down. The fact that vocational education has been associated with the destitute, the defective and the delinquent has sorely handicapped its future development This association, together with the idea that manual work is kaffir work,[1] placed training in work requiring manual skill beyond the pale for the boy and girl from the well-to-do and average homes Luckily this stigma is gradually wearing off, but historically these vocational schools were conceived in charity and with the idea of redemption, and they were born out of poverty, depressions, wars and epidemics Though the staffs of these institutions have improved beyond recognition in recent years, they were in the past more well-intentioned and religious people than competent technicians

Effects of Charity Tradition

This charity tradition was doubly unfortunate (a) *It was bad for education* and prevented it from meeting the new educational

[1] The Inspector of Agricultural Education in the Transvaal wrote in his report of 1925 ·

"At nearly every school where the teacher had made an attempt to lay out a garden with the assistance of his pupils, it happened, and still happens, that parents sent messages more or less of the following nature to the school . ' Tell the teacher that if he wishes to lay out a garden, he should engage a kaffir.' ' My children are not kaffirs to do the digging and carry water in the hot sun.' ' What does the teacher know about gardening ? I will teach my children myself if they require a knowledge of it I send my children to school in order to learn and not to work ' Could anything be more revealing of the divorcement of the school from the lives of the people (to which reference is made above) than the last sentence ? "

needs of adolescents. (b) *It was bad for industry*. How could we expect our trades and industries to be efficient and to flourish if we chose to turn chiefly the weak and the maimed into the vocational field and the strong and the healthy (mentally and morally) into the field where learning is supposed to be pursued for learning's sake? Such a tradition could not but have had a weakening effect upon the nation's trades and industries, and ultimately upon their absorbing power of all grades of work

Different Origin of Technical Education

Technical education luckily had a different origin It was born out of a frank recognition of the increasing industrialisation and commercialisation of South Africa It was started first in connection with the needs of the mining industry, and later included commercial work as well It provides a training that at least carried no stigma with it Unfortunately the technical colleges were situated only in the large urban centres and catered almost exclusively for the town boy and girl, and therefore had but little prophylactic value so far as the rural population was concerned

We showed by figures given above how rapidly vocational and technical education expanded after it had been taken over from the provincial authorities and placed under the Union department as a national function. The nationalisation of this type of education, beneficial as it may have been from the point of view of co-ordinating the vocational and agricultural education programmes with the nation's industrial and agricultural policies, created, however, an administrative dualism, between the Union on the one hand and the Provincial Departments on the other, which is having unfortunate results for South African education as a whole

At the time this division in the system took place (1924–5), Prof Fred Clarke commented on it as follows :

> " Our attempt to divide the indivisible will yet cost us dear What a judgment of Solomon it is ! We first take the baby and cut off its head, calling that ' higher ' education, and hand it to the Union, leaving the trunk to the provinces Then, on the plea that the infant appears to lack nourishment, we next take a vertical cut at the trunk, slice off an arm and a leg down one side, and hand them over to the Union as ' vocational,' leaving the cultural torso to the provinces A very lowly species of worm might survive such treatment , not a delicate organism of spirit like an educational system "

Serious Effects of Dualism

It did not take long for this prophecy to be fulfilled The Provincial Departments administered the primary and secondary schools where the so-called non-vocational, or general, or cultural education was given They naturally tried to hang on to every boy or girl as long as possible, even against his or her best interests (until the compulsory education limits of Standard VI or 16 years of age released them), because . . . wasn't every pupil in their schools

a powerful subsidy-earning unit, and are not high school principals' salaries often dependent upon the number of pupils in the secondary standards? Thus thousands of children were literally debarred from embarking on a vocational education at a stage at which they do in most countries (Figures for this will be given later) The absence of systematic vocational guidance in the primary and secondary schools made transfer to vocational education from these schools a matter more of accident than design Some of the leaders in the teaching profession have confessed that they (not to mention the rank and file) did not even know where these vocational schools were to be found, or how they should set about getting a boy or girl placed in one of them This administrative dualism proved particularly disastrous for the child of the poorer parent who could not afford to keep him in the high school Such a child drops out and enters life unequipped because he does not know of other available means of training Thus he literally falls between two stools The pupil of less than average ability also suffers. The most natural thing for such a child, when it is found that he cannot progress much farther in subjects requiring abstract thinking, would be to draft him into more practical courses where, if he is not exactly trained for a trade or an occupation, he can at any rate taste achievement by doing something with his hands—by producing something of value, and thereby retain his self-respect and his hold upon life, instead of losing it by tasting repeated failure

Lack of Facilities for Differentiated Education

As a consequence of the existing system there is very little chance for differentiation in a vocational direction in the secondary school as administered by the provinces This is a serious defect, but not half so serious as the situation which we find in the *primary* school, where, for reasons mentioned above, too many old children waste their time when they should be working or learning a trade. The final standard in the primary school is Standard VI, the passing of which admits pupils to secondary education The median age of pupils in this class is 14½ years That means that half the children in that class are older than 14½ There is no differentiation whatever in the primary school (except that in the urban schools boys take woodwork when the girls take sewing) What this means for the older children will become clearer if we study the following figures (for 1934) ·

73 per cent	(123,791) of all pupils of 12 *years and over*	are still in the primary classes
65 per cent	(85,598) of all pupils of 13 *years and over*	
53 per cent	(49,561) of all pupils of 14 *years and over*	
38 per cent	(22,240) of all pupils of 15 *years and over*	
22 per cent	(6,923) of all pupils of 16 *years and over*	

This situation, of course, arises because of the insistence on the completion of a *standard* (VI) instead of the completion of a certain *age*, after the style of the " break at 11½" which is generally the point

of transition to secondary education in England and most European countries Taking into account the fact that our children come to school at 7 (i e. later than in overseas countries) and the fact that we are the bearers of European civilisation in a " dark " continent (on which ground alone a longer period of " common denominator " education could be defended), it has been suggested that the break should be put at 13 + Such a step would at any rate liberate 85,598 of those young adolescents of 13 and over from the inevitable boredom of being confined to our primary schools They constitute 65 per cent of all those 13-year-olds and older in school to-day. And if such a measure is accompanied by the further measure of making *only an age limit* (i e the 16th birthday) the upper limit of compulsory education, instead of, as to-day, the completion of Standard VI or the 16th birthday, we would be assured that every child would receive at least three years of differentiated education before he reaches the compulsory limit This measure would have the additional advantage of keeping at school the younger and brighter pupils, who to-day pass Standard VI at 12 or 13 and then leave They, above all, should remain at school because they are generally the ones best able to profit by secondary education, and the brightest ones can even reach the matriculation class by the age of 16

V Educational Reconstruction as a Means of Social Salvage

In bringing up these points we have inevitably drifted on to the problem mentioned above of how to utilise the educational machine with a view to solving the poor white question The question is put this way, not because it is believed that it will be solved by confining our efforts to poor whites—but because this is the way it has repeatedly been put at conferences dealing with this problem, and especially at the National Conference on the Poor White held at Kimberley in 1934, where all organisations concerned were represented, and because we wish to demonstrate the new orientation that has come over people's demands on the school. The findings of the Carnegie Poor White Commission (mentioned above) had stirred the people, and now they wanted action " Here we have a disease eating into our nation like a canker. What are the remedies ? " was heard from nearly every pulpit and platform in the country Naturally, because poor-whiteism was shown to be largely a matter of mental attitudes and habits cultivated under certain environmental circumstances, the remedies were to be sought through those agencies which influence mental attitude and cultivate habits—viz through the home, the school, the Church and other social institutions which impinge upon the spiritual and mental life of the people, young and old. Judging from the proposals which were adopted, it seems as if the school was *the* agency from which most was expected.

Poor-Whiteism as a Symptom of Disease

Before proceeding any farther, it is as well to make one point clear, and that is, that poor-whiteism is not regarded as a disease of the social organism It is, rather, a *symptom* of a disease from which the whole body politic is suffering To direct our efforts on to the symptom would be like using an eraser to rub out the spots in the hope that that would cure the patient of measles (to borrow one of Prof. Fred Clarke's apt similes) Besides, it is not as if the poor whites can be segregated and the educational machine applied to them like one would plug in a vacuum cleaner to clear rubbish out of a room.

In the first place, the poor white is not a class apart in the " caste " sense of class He is blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh We are all, rich and poor, black and white, implicated in this It is circumstances which have in course of time selected traits in him which marked him for deterioration and impoverishment We all have these traits to a lesser or greater degree There are some of the most intelligent and prominent citizens occupying high positions in society and the intellectual world whose immediate relations are poor whites He is, in short, the product of the whole social fabric which produced him in the past, and is still producing him in ever-increasing numbers to-day

In the second place, because they are so intermingled the school operates on poor whites and non-poor whites alike What is good or bad for the one is good or bad for the other too When we speak of educational reconstruction in terms of economic needs, we do not therefore wish to imply that we have to do only with the education of poor whites The problem is a much wider one. The poor white merely served as a symptom to show us in a rather forcible way that there was something very radically wrong in the whole social and economic structure of our society, particularly in rural areas, and that education, or rather the lack of it, has had quite a bit to do with this maladjustment. The following are two concrete illustrations :

(a) Secondary Education for the Few

In 1930 a study was made of the elimination of pupils from school and it was found that out of every 100 who start school, only 56 pass Standard VI (i e. complete the primary school) ; 34 land in the secondary school, of whom 8 pass matriculation (i.e. complete the high school) and 3 go to university. Matriculation as the entrance examination to the university dominates the secondary school, and that to a lesser extent dominates the primary school. Matriculation is the winning post which all strive to attain. Only 8, however, reach it, while 92 drop by the wayside, largely due to hurdles like the Standard VI and the Junior Certificate (taken at the Standard VIII stage)—public examinations which successfully eliminate them

during the course of the race and imbue most of them with a sense of being merely " also rans "

The Stranglehold of Examinations

The school system operated, therefore, more like a sieve than like an irrigation canal (to use Lord Eustace Percy's very helpful simile) It was more eliminative and selective in its function than fructifying the minds of the young people *by making the school worth while to them for as far as they can go* This situation was already regarded as unsatisfactory in the twenties by the Cape Education Department, which attempted to relieve the stranglehold of the matriculation examination, conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board, by instituting the High School Senior Certificate examination This was intended primarily for pupils who did not wish to qualify for university entrance This examination included " practical " subjects, such as music, domestic science, commercial bookkeeping, agriculture and a few others Some of these were generally taken in the place of mathematics and Latin. (The details of this examination have been fully described in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1932)

The Transvaal Education Department tried to meet the situation in a slightly different way by instituting a public examination at the fourth-form stage, i e the year just prior to the final high school year, in the hopes that those who wished to " complete " their education could best do it at that stage This examination was abandoned some years ago, and the Transvaal has also its own Senior Certificate Examination at the end of the final year of high school The Orange Free State is trying to follow suit Meanwhile the Joint Matriculation Board has also instituted a Senior Certificate combination of subjects to be taken by those who do not wish to go to university.

In spite of these efforts, which look very laudable on paper, the secondary school in actual practice has not been able to shake off the stranglehold of the matriculation examination Owing to financial limitations the secondary schools (with only a few exceptions) cannot offer the whole menu of subjects allowed for the school-leaving certificate, and lest they shut the door to the few who may possibly wish to go to university, they generally (especially in the rural schools) offer only that central core of academic subjects required for matriculation Thus it comes about, that the interests of the 3 per cent who go to university dictate the nature of the education of the 97 who do not go, but who at the same time are expected to be prepared to do the world's work. This blind determinism in the educational field is probably the biggest tragedy of our secondary education

It is not the teachers and educators who are solely to blame for this. They merely attempt to satisfy a public demand. Let a principal of a country secondary school but organise his curriculum so as to meet the needs of the vast majority of the children of that

community, and let some prominent citizen find that thereby his illustrious offspring will not be able to take the matriculation combination at that school . . what a fuss there will be in the school board! "Why should our school be inferior to other schools?" will be asked, and the principal will have to go back to the usual narrow path This is not a hypothetical case; it has occurred time and again

Suggested Solution of Problem

The solution seems to be in the direction of the lines already hinted at above.

(1) Compulsory education to 16 irrespective of standard attained
(2) An *age* break, say at 13 + (instead of Standard VI), after which children can be drafted to different types of courses or schools (*a*) *ad hoc* vocational, (*b*) pre-vocational, (*c*) academic
(3) All this to be accompanied by a thoroughgoing system of vocational guidance at all stages

This is more or less the scheme proposed in the 1934 report of a Conference on Rural Education called by the Minister of Education between the heads of the four provincial education departments, the Union Secretaries for Agriculture and Education The educational proposals made at the above-mentioned National Conference on the Poor White Question held at Kimberley later in 1934 were in the same direction These are far-reaching proposals, and what action will be taken will depend largely on the propaganda work which the Inter-Provincial Consultative Committee, instituted at the beginning of 1935, will do This Committee, which consists of the administrative heads of the four provinces, now meets at regular intervals under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education and Interior, with a view to achieving better co-ordination between Union and Provincial agencies in matters of national concern Thus such matters as the co-ordination of teacher-training, vocational and agricultural education, vocational guidance, the education of physically and mentally defective children, etc, are at the present moment being considered by this Committee This effort at co-ordination by means of mutual consultation is avowedly still in the experimental stage, and time will show how far it will be effective in removing that disastrous dualism (to which we referred above) in the administrative machinery of education in the country It is in the sphere of rural adaptation that this dualism has worked most disastrously.

(b) Education and Rural Needs

Education started in the towns, and the school in the first instance was an urban institution. The curricula were drawn up from the point of view of the needs and environment of the urban child. Only afterwards was schooling extended to the rural areas. So far as the majority of the rural inhabitants were concerned, this original

urban system was insufficiently adapted to rural needs and circumstances Instead of enabling the many to *control* their environment more effectively on the land, it proved merely a means of *escape* to the towns for the few In order to find out exactly how this town-made system impinged upon the children of the nation, we made a study of the occupations followed by 72,000 boys after leaving school at different stages of educational advancement. These data were gathered from 2,237 schools of all kinds, and can be trusted to give a true reflection of the situation for the country as a whole. Some of the results of the survey as regards boys only are reproduced in the table on page 664 Thirty-five thousand boys and girls leave our schools annually. Of this number 18,000 are boys For convenience we have reduced the data of the survey to percentages, using the 18,000 boys as a basis because they represent the output of the schools *in one year*

Education of Embryo Farmers

Looking at the last column of this table, it will be seen that 47 1 per cent , i e nearly half of our boys, go in for farming In actual figures the school sends annually about 8,500 out of 18,000 into this occupation, which is by far the largest occupational group in South Africa With what educational equipment do they undertake this work ? Looking at the first horizontal line of the table, we find that 58 3 per cent of them have not even completed the primary school (Standard VI) The remainder, 41 7 per cent , have at least Standard VI This number includes the 10 6 per cent who have at least Standard VII, and the latter again includes the 6 1 per cent and the 1 5 per cent who passed Standards VIII and X respectively The interesting thing to note about this group is that the percentages decrease as one reaches the higher levels of high school education The boy who completed his high school education is practically lost for agriculture, as only 1 5 per cent of the whole group of 8,486 who annually go in for farming possess the high school or matriculation certificate

On examining this group further, we found that only 5 per cent. of them had had any *ad hoc* training in agriculture, i e either in an agricultural school or college, or by taking it as a subject in high school.

And finally we found that in the case of 46 5 per cent. of these boys (who go in for farming) their fathers do not possess any land Of the remainder who have land there are many cases where the farm is so heavily mortgaged that it is a liability rather than an asset. On analysing each group at the different educational levels mentioned above, we discovered that the higher the educational qualification, the higher the percentage of landowners in that group There is a perfect correlation between these two sets of figures. While nearly 100 per cent. of the matriculated boys had their fathers' farms to go to, only 44 per cent. of those boys who went to farm without a Standard VI certificate were sons of fathers with farms. We

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS WITH WHICH BOYS ENTER THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL. (PERCENTAGES CALCULATED ON THE BASIS OF 18,000 WHO LEAVE SCHOOL IN ONE YEAR.)

OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED BY	BOYS WHO LEFT BEFORE COMPLETING PRIMARY EDUCATION (I E WITHOUT STANDARD VI)	BOYS WHO COMPLETED PRIMARY EDUCATION (I E WITH STANDARD VI AT LEAST)	BOYS WITH STANDARD VII AT LEAST	BOYS WITH STANDARD VIII AT LEAST	BOYS WHO PASSED STANDARD X (MATRIC)	TOTAL	
						NO OF BOYS	%
	%	%	%	%	%		
Farming	58 3	41 7	10 6	6 1	1 5	8,486	47 1
Unskilled and semi-skilled labour	50 6	49 4	13 6	6 1	4	2,127	11 8
Skilled trades .	22 6	77 4	23 3	12 1	3 0	735	4 1
Clerical work	9 8	90 2	59 1	47 7	22 1	2,269	12 6
Public Service (Inclusive Police and Defence)	13 4	86 6	51 6	43 4	26 6	1,006	5 6
Professions . .	—	100 0	85 5	77 4	59 4	593	3 3
Other miscellaneous occupations	48 1	51 9	14 8	9 9	3 8	2,784	15 5
TOTAL { Percentage	43 8	56 2	23 0	16 6	7 7	18,000	100
TOTAL { No of boys	7,888	10,112	4,140	2,988	1,386		

mention this fact because in South Africa the landless type of farmer is in a very precarious economic position, except perhaps where he is a fully trained man who can get a job as a farm manager, but even then he cannot provide land for his son.

Lack of Adequate Training

Farming in South Africa is at best a difficult proposition Our soil on the whole is poor—much poorer than that of the Argentine, for example The rainfall is low and undependable in most parts, so that intensive agriculture is possible in only a few places

How to keep such a large proportion of our population decently alive on the land under such circumstances has become a national problem for South Africa

When one realises, on the one hand, that to make a success of agriculture under modern conditions requires, not only a high degree of adaptive intelligence and general education, but also *ad hoc* training, and on the other hand, how ill-equipped our farming population has embarked on this occupation (the majority without a primary education, the majority without land and 95 per cent without any agricultural training—and these are the present-day figures , in the past it was much worse), is it any wonder that our rural areas have become the cradle of poor-whiteism ? The people failed to remain masters of their rather difficult environment, with the result that they have become the victims of it.

When one sees how a country like Denmark has succeeded in wresting an existence out of very poor soil conditions and has become one of the leading agricultural countries of the world, largely as a result of an intensive educational campaign started amongst the farming people by Bishop Grundtvig a century ago, one naturally looks towards education as one of the means of rehabilitating the rural population of South Africa

As has been indicated above, it is only in recent years that South Africa has waked up to the enormous task with which education is faced in this respect.

VI. The Tendency of Educational Thought

We shall briefly indicate the directions in which educational thought is moving with a view to solving this problem, which is just as much educational as it is economic

Lack of space prevents discussion of the educational implications of the figures regarding the other occupations in the table above, but the relatively small percentage (3·3) which is absorbed in the professions—a class, for which, as indicated above, the secondary school so largely catered, should be noted. Clerical work and public service, which are occupations for which the academic type of training directly equips many boys and girls, also comprise relatively low proportions of the school population. And if one studies the rise and fall of these percentages with the advance of educational

standards, it is realised to what extent the school is designed to fit or not to fit in with varying needs of the nation's children.

The School divorced from Realities

In the first place, what can the *primary school* do towards meeting those needs in a better way, especially as regards the rural child ?

The majority of the primary schools are small one- and two-teacher schools on the lonely farms They really cater for the bulk of the rural children, who are kept there until the advanced ages which we noted above.

The need is the greatest here In the Cape Province, for example, there are 1,512 one-teacher rural schools They constitute 71 per cent of all primary schools One- and two-teacher schools together comprise 87 per cent of the total number of primary schools

The efficacy of these schools, and, in fact, of all education, is limited by the attitude which the people themselves bear towards the school For the majority, ordinary schooling was an aimless affair which was followed merely because it was fashionable and not because they attached intrinsic value to it. What is the genesis of this attitude ?

In the olden days of rural South Africa, when life was simple and needs were few and there was a total absence of economic competition as we know it to-day, the mere experience of living in close touch with Nature and wresting from her a means of livelihood was an effective education Religion satisfied the people's spiritual needs Whatever formal instruction they received was to prepare them for church membership The " aanneming " was a definite objective and there was nothing aimless about it Instruction in the three R's in course of time became desirable concomitants of religious instruction Generally, however, with the advent of the State school, the emphasis shifted from religious to more secular instruction State support brought inspection The latter stressed the external and measurable elements of instruction, with the result that the three R's, in course of time, came to be regarded as *ends in themselves* The school as an institution thus gradually began to lose its grip upon the life activities of the people There was no longer the clear-cut aim which the old " meesters " had had and which the people all recognised—confirmation for church membership—to which the three R's were merely instrumentals. The school became an entity by itself with its own circumscribed aims, viz the teaching of subjects. Teachers, with their eyes concentrated on these " subjects," which to them had become the eternal verities, lost the wood for the trees Thus gradually the school became an institution, like the church, with its own high priests, its own dogmas and ritual largely out of contact with the fast-moving and variegated life outside.

Lack of Sympathy with Child's Environment

Life on the farm for a boy is rich in educative experiences. There are the spruit, the dam, the wood, the horses, donkeys, cows,

sheep, goats, the wagons, the farm implements, etc Every day there is something new and intensely interesting to do in connection with the work of the farm or with his self-made toys The Montessori apparatus and other elaborate materials used in kindergartens are but feeble makeshifts in comparison with the rural boy's " clay oxen," etc , for training the senses and the imagination. At about 7 this boy goes to school The novel experiences there at the start absorb his interest, but gradually he finds that these new experiences have nothing to do with his experiences outside school The continuity of his learning process is broken. He finds that the activities which to him had had great intrinsic value are no longer so regarded In fact, thay often conflict with the demands of the school and he gets himself into hot water. A dualism in his attitude towards life arises According to the teacher, the interests of the school are paramount The activities of the farm are of minor importance and they must not interfere with the boy's schoolwork. In course of time they become stamped as inferior Thus the boy gets a distorted sense of values [1] Amongst the parents, if they are fairly well-to-do, one often finds that the idea grows up that it is fashionable to be educated Whatever its intrinsic value, schooling at any rate affixes a certain hallmark of respectability to those who can display a certificate Closely allied and sometimes indistinguishable from this is the motive that it pays to be educated

The people notice that schooling leads to occupations of a clerical nature which are respectable and secure, because a definite salary is attached to them Thus this type of schooling (the common denominator of all our education in South Africa) which is supposed to be cultural and to be a preparation for life in general, became indeed narrowly vocational and deterministic, both as a result of the type of training it afforded and of its operation as a selective agency

Now, it is not proposed that every rural boy should be trained to be a farmer simply because he is born in the country Yet, if we study the facts, it would seem that even if such an extreme measure had been adopted, it would have met the needs of a far greater majority of our rural boys than did the traditional type of education which catered specifically for the needs of the few who ultimately go to university Important as these few may be as ultimate leaders, their vocational interests do not justify that the vast majority of children are thrown into the world with an invertebrate education largely unrelated to their actual everyday lives and the work they are going to do. And the chances are that the few, by virtue of

[1] Principal Jacks probably had the same idea in mind when he wrote

" A type of education which seeks merely, no matter with how lofty an aim, to *undo* the effects of industry on the mind and character of a people will ultimately suffer defeat, for the forces of industry are mightier than it ; at most it will succeed in unfitting people for their daily work while not fitting them for anything else—a charge often brought against existing methods of education, and not without reason."—*Education of the Whole Man*, page 225.

their greater native intelligence would have survived almost any system of education in the country, however deterministic, and would have found their way to the many town high schools and the university in any case

The majority, however, who in all probability are less endowed by nature with the power of adaptation, fail to make the synthesis to overcome the dualism mentioned above, and when they leave school are thrown out upon life totally unequipped to control it What is worse, the effect on them is often negative Instead of being able to tackle life with an almost biological freshness (as they would have done if they had never gone to school), they cling tenaciously to the few hard-learnt shibboleths of the school and are thereby reduced to a state of stubborn inactivity, because the elaborate school-acquired machinery fails to function and their personality is gradually sapped by a sense of futility and failure Added to this, it must be remembered, were the language handicaps (mentioned above), which are fortunately not operative to-day as they were in the past.

Suggested Reorganisation of Rural Education

On all sides it is felt, therefore, that there is genuine need to reorganise rural education

(i) While the ordinary tool subjects should in no way be neglected, the old sound pedagogical principle of going from the known to the unknown must be recognised by making the child's rural environment the starting-point of all teaching The methods used must preserve the rural atmosphere and a sense of reality in the school

(ii) In the early standards an approach should be made to agriculture by means of nature study As the child reaches adolescence, the *ad hoc* requirements of farm life should be dealt with more specifically

(iii) By means of the school farm which it is proposed to run in connection with the school at certain selected places where suitable land and water are available, the greater part of the adolescent boys' and girls' time will be occupied in actually running the farm as an economic proposition. These schools will be residential, and they will produce to a large extent their own food Some schools of this kind have already grown up in the Cape Province, more as the result of the initiative of the particular teacher than of any set policy of the Education Department They have proved such a success that it is proposed to try the type out in other places The Transvaal Education Department has definitely embarked on a large-scale experiment with this type of school. The object is to centralise a number of the small one- and two-teacher rural schools and bring the children together in large farm hostels after Standard IV This scheme will, it is hoped, lend greater reality to the whole educative process, and to prepare these boys and girls more directly for effective living on the land.

There will, however, also be a system of bursaries by which those

who are able to profit by higher education can proceed further with an academic education in the town high school which leads to the university.

(iv) While most of the staff on these centralised school farms will be selected specialists, it is necessary at the same time that the rank and file of teachers of the small rural schools, which will of necessity still constitute the main educational agency in the sparsely populated areas, should also be better equipped.

Justification for Agricultural Bias

It is, therefore, proposed to let primary teachers take a year of training in an agricultural college, in addition to the two years' post-matriculation professional training which they ordinarily receive at the normal school In the meantime, vacation courses in agriculture are to be instituted for teachers in service A basis of co-operation with the Department of Agriculture has also been arranged by which the Agricultural demonstrators will place their services at the disposal of the school to teach the children agriculture in a practical way and to connect the school up with the demonstration work they do in the community This strong agricultural bias in the rural primary schools is justified on the following educational grounds

(*a*) The child will acquire at least those specific skills and rudiments of knowledge which will help him to make a living more effectively, and form a foundation on which, e g , extension work of the Department of Agriculture can build

(*b*) His daily work on the farm will gain prestige and acquire deeper meaning by being recognised in the school, and vice versa when he is older, he will not regard those things which one learns out of books (even about farming) as mere theory, unconnected with practice

(*c*) Rural life is so rich in contacts with the physical and social world that, in the hands of the skilful teacher, it is probably the best means with which to foster the young child's general mental and physical growth

(*d*) Above all, the continuity of the learning process will be preserved and the child's own mental development will be rid of that fatal dualism to which we referred above In short, if the child learns to find himself by sensing that he has gradually achieved the power of control over his environment, even in a limited way, he has achieved something invaluable for the development of his personality and character Even if there are amongst such children (and there must be) those who have the desire (and also the necessary intelligence) later on to go in for a type of secondary education leading to the university and professions, then we can see no reason why any of this vocational work he did in the primary school should be a handicap to him. On the contrary, it may be a distinct gain—a gain which the traditional school rarely achieved, viz. the appreciation of a unifying principle in all his learning activities inside and

outside the school. This attitude will be of value whatever studies or occupations such a child may ultimately take up

Of course, much of what will be done on the school farms and even in the upper standards of the small rural primary schools will be work of a secondary nature (in the strict sense of the word secondary) because so many of the children are adolescents

But coming to the ordinary *secondary* or *high* schools, there is, of course, generally in rural areas and small towns, the possibility of taking agriculture as a subject for the Senior Certificate In the Cape Province, it is proposed to expand this subject to such an extent in some of the rural high schools by means of the home project plan, that some of the children will devote fully 50 per cent of their time to agriculture, and so also be prepared more specifically for the activities in which they will be engaged on leaving high school

Other Types of Agricultural Education

So far we have dealt with agricultural education in the ordinary primary and secondary schools in rural areas, where, however much attention is given to agriculture, the aim of a *general* education is dominant We come now to the *ad hoc agricultural colleges* and schools There are four colleges under the Union Department of Agriculture These cater in a specific way for the training of agricultural experts The work is of a post-Junior Certificate or even post-matriculation level, and the colleges cater for the more advanced and well-to-do type of student These colleges are also experimental stations and education is really a secondary consideration. In between this advanced and specialised type of *ad hoc* agricultural training and the more general training given in the rural primary and secondary schools, there are the *agricultural schools* run by the Union Department of Education These give a two- to three-year training to boys who have completed their Standard VI They are mostly boys of the poorer, landless class, who are thus equipped for farm service as foremen and managers Though they receive instruction in the two official languages and civics and bookkeeping, they learn their agriculture " by doing " They run the whole farm and do all the work incidental to the running of a farm, including smithy work and carpentry necessary for effecting repairs and making gates, fences, etc. A boy is not drafted to a farmer unless the school regards him as trained for the job. The products of these schools are exceedingly popular with the farmers and the demand has outrun the supply. Unfortunately these schools are severely handicapped in recruiting pupils, partly because the farming population has not yet been convinced that training is necessary for their own children. " I can teach him whatever he wants to learn, and what was good for his father is good for him," is still heard. The chief handicap is, however, the administrative dualism between the Union and the provincial authorities (to which reference was made above), by which the source of supply from the ordinary schools to these agricultural schools is practically cut off.

Then, too, recently the Department of Agriculture offered rural boys 1s. per day, and free board, to work as farm hands on the experimental stations and agricultural colleges This was designed as a relief measure to combat unemployment of youths on the land. While the incidental training received in this way was not nearly so efficient as that given to boys in the Union Education Department's agricultural schools, the small wage offered by the agricultural colleges is proving such a strong counter-attraction, that the numbers entering the Union Education Department's schools have in consequence decreased considerably. So much so that the latter Department is seriously considering handing these schools over, either to the Union Department of Agriculture, or to the Provincial Education Departments This matter has been the subject of prolonged discussions between the Departments concerned at the last meetings of the Inter-Provincial Consultative Commission to which we referred above As a result of these discussions it seemed clear that the Union Department of Agriculture was not interested in this lower grade (post-Standard VI) type of agricultural training The high unit cost of this type of training again is frightening the Provincial Departments In order, however, to get away from this administrative dualism and the disastrous competition between departments, the Union Education Department is prepared, not only to hand over these agricultural schools to the provinces, but also to pay them half the additional cost which this education may involve over and above the ordinary subsidy paid to the provinces per pupil in the primary and secondary schools One condition was stipulated, however, viz that the character of these schools as *ad hoc* agricultural schools on the post-Standard VI basis, i e on a lower level than those of the Department of Agriculture, should be maintained, because it has been proved that there is a genuine place for such a lower type of *ad hoc* training, after which the poorer boy can step into a job immediately as a farm foreman or manager—something which the rural primary and secondary school, from the nature of the case, cannot profess to undertake with that amount of specialisation

The final link in this proposed chain of rehabilitative efforts is to ensure not only employment, but also ultimately *land*, for these boys who have been trained as farmers.

Conclusion

The present difficulty is this . A boy trained by one of these agricultural schools works for a farmer satisfactorily for six or seven years and has perhaps saved up a small capital in the form of money or cattle. He begins to think of setting up on his own and of marrying. The farmer, whose land is also limited, says . " I am sorry, but there is no more room for you here and I cannot afford to pay you enough to keep a family. I'm afraid you will have to look out for a place elsewhere." This is out of the question,

because he has not enough capital to buy a farm, nor are there any better prospects with other farmers This young man of 24–25 has, therefore, nowhere to go and generally ends up by working as a pick and shovel labourer on the road, while the farmer has in the meantime engaged another young fellow from the agricultural school.

In order to prevent this wastage, there are now definite arrangements under way with the Department of Lands by which, instead of giving out plots on irrigation settlement schemes to failures on the land (poor whites) as they have generally done in the past, preference should be given to young men who have been trained in agriculture and who have in addition proved themselves by serving their apprenticeship with a farmer in the way explained above Moreover, if the plots or farms of these trained young men are judiciously interspersed amongst those of the ordinary settlers, they will act as a very valuable leaven which the agricultural demonstrators and extension officers can utilise to lead the people to adopt more effective methods of agriculture

VII. Native Education

As was indicated in the chapter on the Education of the South African Natives in the 1933 Year Book of Education page 601, many of the problems of white education outlined above are exactly the problems with which the native African is faced, only perhaps in a more acute form, because the means of meeting them are still so utterly inadequate

The Minister of Education has, therefore, after consultation with the provincial administrations, appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr W T. Welsh (formerly Chief Native Commissioner of the Transkei), consisting of the four chief inspectors of native education of the four provinces, and the present writer, as Director of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, with the following terms of reference :

> To examine and report upon the systems of native education of the provinces
>
> To consider and make recommendations regarding (*a*) whether in view of the extent to which the Union Government has assumed financial responsibility for native education, it should take over the administration from the provinces, and if so, in what way native education should be administered , (*b*) what should be the relation between the State and missionary bodies in native education
>
> To consider and make recommendations on the following matters (*a*) the aims of native education , (*b*) the aims having been defined, the methods and scope of native education ; and (*c*) the part to be played by the vernacular and by the two official languages in native education.

This Commission has been engaged on this work since the middle of 1935 and is expected to report early in 1936

E. G. Malherbe.

CHAPTER FOUR

Recent Developments in New Zealand Education

(*See* Year Book, 1932, *pages* 600–26, 1933, *pages* 476–85 *and* 555–61, 1934, *pages* 99–100 *and* 357–8; 1935, 76–91 *and* 278–84)

ALTHOUGH New Zealand has felt severely the effects of the economic depression, there is little to indicate that we are living in a changed world, or at least that this change has affected New Zealand fundamentally We are aware, of course, that world conditions have altered owing to the rapid advance of industrial organisation and to the growth of the spirit of nationalism with its doctrine of self-sufficiency But as our exports are in overwhelming degree the products of the soil, and as our secondary industries are concerned with the manufacture of articles for the local market only, no radical change in our system of education has appeared necessary We have, however, during the past fifteen years, amended our post-primary system to bring it more intimately into touch with the life of the community Discipline has become progressively less evident, but the tone of our schools was never better than to-day Self-government is encouraged and the democratic spirit developed. The latter is also promoted by the system of free places, which are granted to all who pass a qualifying examination at the Form II stage, about the age of 13 years and 6 months About 80 per cent of pupils of this Form pass the examination, and of these, nearly 75 per cent pass on to the post-primary schools Thus we have now in our public post-primary schools little more than 1 per cent. of fee-paying pupils The number of pupils in endowed and registered private secondary schools was, in 1933, 4,224, mostly paying pupils, as compared with 30,866 in public post-primary schools, of whom only 445 were paying pupils The tendency since 1920 has been to increase the free places, both in the ordinary secondary school and the technical high school, the latter accepting also as free pupils a number of lower academic qualifications than the secondary school, including, without regard to academic qualifications, pupils who have reached the age of 14. Thus a very large percentage of our pupils from all types of homes are brought together with consequent increase of social solidarity. Health and morals can be supervised and directed at this very important stage.

Establishment of Intermediate Schools

A recent and important modification of our education system has been the establishment of the Intermediate School, whereby the pupils of 11 or over were withdrawn from the primary schools and transferred either into separate schools established solely for that

purpose, or into lower departments (Forms I and II) of existing high or technical high schools. So far, only a relatively small percentage of the primary schools have been thus reorganised, though there is little doubt, that once the economic depression passes, the movement will proceed with increased momentum. Though these intermediate schools admit pupils from the age of 11, they are not the exact counterpart of England's new Senior School: they take *all* the pupils over the age of 11 who have reached a certain standard of attainment, a standard achieved by approximately 90 per cent. The remainder stay another year in the primary school before passing to the intermediate school, unless they are over 12 years of age.

District High Schools

Throughout the rural districts of New Zealand, there are a large number of district high schools, i e primary schools with a secondary "top" There was from the first a strong tendency for these secondary departments to model themselves on the ordinary secondary school. During the past few years, however, optional courses, e g. academic, commercial, agricultural and domestic, have been drawn up, so that pupils of various degrees of intelligence and of various ambitions may follow the course most nearly adapted to their natural inclinations. This should be particularly helpful to those who have little desire to follow the traditional course leading to University Entrance The time is premature to judge of the success of the plan on a community which has hitherto attached so much importance to the academic course. The demand for these district high schools continues as recognition of the value grows, and as improvement in means of transport makes concentration easier.

The School Certificate

A somewhat similar amendment has lately been made in the secondary schools by the provision of a School Certificate, for which the standard of attainment is that of University Entrance. This innovation allows the pupil to select his course from a much wider range of subjects than is permissible under the regulations governing University Entrance. By arrangement between the University and the Education Department, common papers are set in common subjects of the School Certificate and University Entrance examinations, but pass conditions are not the same in the two examinations, and a candidate may pass for Entrance and fail for School Certificate or vice versa, even though he takes subjects suitable for both examinations. The School Certificate does not qualify for University Entrance, but it meets the wishes of pupils and parents for recognition of an equivalent course of study successfully completed. It thus precludes the possibility of pupils wishing for some such recognition being compelled to study certain subjects to the exclusion of others of, to them, more practical or cultural value. The innovation has received the formal approbation of commercial

circles ; but it is too soon yet to see whether the School Certificate will stand as high in public estimation as University Entrance, which for two generations has dominated the curricula of our secondary schools and entry into professional and business circles.

Curriculum Revision

The secondary schools are paying increased attention to manual work—in arts and crafts, both general and domestic. Provision has been made for pupils to change over, if desirable, from secondary schools to technical high schools, or vice versa. In three smaller centres, the existing secondary and technical high schools have been combined, the result being that a higher percentage of the pupils than formerly now include manual work in their curriculum. This tends to prevent any pupil pursuing too long a course not really suited to his aptitudes

Art and art appreciation and music are receiving increased attention in the post-primary schools In English studies, literature is receiving relatively much more attention than formerly, and formal grammar less Modern writers, especially of current literature, and the poets and the playwrights of to-day are studied as their predecessors were never studied in their days. The constructive side of English is fostered by the writing of short stories, poems and plays. Debating and dramatic clubs reveal pupils to themselves Libraries are rapidly taking the place of set books Thus in English studies, the pupil on leaving school will find that he is not entering an unknown world

Widening the History Syllabus

History is expanding its scope by a review of early civilisation and by a more intensive study of the past 150 years Current events at home and abroad receive much attention. This is aided by a press, whose cable service gives daily a particularly good summary of the world's news. Such factors as the rapid developments in transport, in the production and transmission of electricity, in the radio and the cinema, and the financial plight of our primary industries due to the headlong fall of prices have induced or compelled the Government to introduce measures for planning, regulating and controlling. Civics is thus becoming a more important adjunct or objective of history Just how far the school should go in explaining all these factors and their social and legislative reactions is a problem now in course of solution.

Geography

Geography, too, is feeling the effect of changing commercial and political conditions ; the necessity for treating it in a more scientific manner is being recognised, for the pleasant days in which there was an unfailing demand for our whole output of exportable products have passed—at least temporarily. This has made us more conscious of the existence of other countries, and more keen to under-

stand their industrial life The recent changes in the political affairs in the countries washed by the Pacific Ocean—Japan, China, Soviet Russia and Netherlands India—is making us aware that we, too, are a Pacific nation, that the " Far East " of yesterday is the " Near North " of to-day, a full and complete knowledge of which, especially in relation to our national life, is imperative

Science

The principal development in the teaching of science in the schools has been in the direction of laboratory equipment, which has improved much in the past fifteen years. Increasing attention is being given to the study of elementary biology, especially in post-primary schools for girls where it is most naturally linked up with hygiene and related subjects In the country high schools, including district high and technical high schools, much more attention is given to agricultural science, and several of the schools have farms For these there is a growing demand, and the co-operation of the leading farmers of the district has been enthusiastic At this point, the school is merging into the community It cannot truly be said that the educational aim has changed during the past twenty years , but the influence of changed national policies in agricultural matters abroad, and particularly in England, is seen in a heightened degree of interest in this branch of education.

Home science, too, has developed fast, and the University Home Science School keeps in touch with the community through broadcast talks and is steadily developing a corps of rural advisers whose function it is to spread scientific knowledge of home science through the medium of such societies as Women's Institutes.

Manual and Technical Education

In manual and technical education our aims have not been changed by recent events Our schools strive, as before, to give a balanced education ; to produce a citizen generally well informed and reasonably cultured, and at the same time, proficient in the theory and practice of his future calling The effect in recent world changes is seen rather in the keener interest taken in these schools.

Absence of " Revolt against Intellectualism "

As our secondary industries, owing to a very limited home market, were never highly developed and concentrated chiefly on the production of the relatively simple articles, our youth have been saved from that " revolt against intellectualism " mentioned by Dr. Schairer as so common in other countries In fact, the fiscal and financial measures adopted by the Government to mitigate the effects of the depression have stimulated our secondary industries to a degree unknown before. That such a " revolt " does not exist here is apparent from the increasing roll numbers, and also from the

extra-school activities associated with Workers' Educational Associations, Women's Institutes, etc The growth of the New Zealand Education Department's Correspondence School, and especially the post-primary side thereof, is further evidence of anything but a revolt against intellectualism among those that live in isolated farm, lighthouse, or bush camp So far, indeed, from any evident reaction against education among youth, we find, as one of the effects of the economic depression, a prolongation of school life, the demand for which became so insistent, that an extension of the period of free education was conceded by the Government to pupils unable to pass the moderate test required for free education beyond the stage of Form IV of the post-primary schools

School Medical Services

The decline of the birth-rate and the cessation of organised immigration have been reflected in a slowing down of the rate of growth of population and is already reducing the ratio of the numbers of school age to those beyond that age Families of one, two or three children are replacing the families of two, three or four times that number of which the parents of to-day formed a part All this is quickening public interest in the young as future assets, an interest manifesting itself in the schools in a deeper regard for the physical welfare of the pupils It is realised that the citizens of to-morrow may have to face a world that calls for more adaptability and nervous strength, and, for these, a sound constitution is fundamental Classes for mentally retarded children are now established wherever a dozen such children are in need of special treatment, and provision has been made for their compulsory enrolment Though the curriculum of these classes differs materially from those composed of normal children, the classes themselves are attached to the ordinary schools so that the environment is as far as possible a normal one For children below the level of educability, homes have been established to which those of anti-social tendencies can be sent A beginning has also been made with a school for " ineducables " of reasonably normal behaviour. Health camps with educational facilities are also developments of recent years At present, plans are being formulated for the care and education of crippled children The dental needs of school children are served by clinics wherever a certain sum is guaranteed locally, and a department has been established for the training of dental nurses For the smaller districts, travelling dental clinics are provided. The arts of swimming and life-saving are acquired by thousands of pupils annually, and during the past few years, no student-teacher can acquire a complete Teacher's Certificate unless he or she has qualified in these subjects. New Zealand's extensive beaches, her many rivers and her comparatively short winters, have caused swimming to gain more recruits in recent years than probably any other pastime. In the warmer weather,

swimming is often taken in many schools as an alternative to the more formal physical training. The passion for the open air revealed in our pastimes is reflecting itself recently in the planning of our schools—first in " fresh air " schools, where the eastern wall consists entirely of adjustable windows, and, more recently, in " open-air " schools, where, by movable doors, one complete side may be open the whole school day.

Growth of Consolidated Schools

The development of transport through improvement in roads and mechanical appliances has made possible the consolidation of many small rural schools, and this, in its turn, has enabled the consolidated school to be organised as a district high school, thus bringing the advantages of post-primary education to many thousands of relatively isolated pupils This movement towards consolidation has, in spite of strong local patriotisms, grown steadily during the past fifteen years

The Use of Broadcasting

The use of radio as an aid in education has grown rapidly in the past few years Three stations, covering almost the whole of the Dominion, are broadcasting weekly programmes chiefly to primary schools. A Dominion-wide broadcast to post-primary schools is now being organised in anticipation of the completion next year of one of the highest-powered stations in the Southern Hemisphere

Vocational Guidance

Vocational guidance is receiving more definite attention. The Education Department has issued pamphlets on the subject for distribution to school leavers, while unofficial vocational committees in which teachers, especially post-primary teachers, take an active interest, have come into being. These committees advise pupils and parents, not only of the type of positions most in need of labour, but also of the type of education most likely to equip the pupils for those positions Thus, during the past few years, an increasing number of pupils have been enabled to plan their post-primary education with greater confidence, and without sacrificing the cultural element which all systems of education should possess.

The Aim of the Schools

Dr. Schairer remarks that the best school is that which " confines itself to illuminating and perhaps explaining the realities of life which come within the circle of their pupils' experience, but never attempts to substitute itself for them."

It can fairly be said that this is the aim of our schools. The subjects of the curriculum are not divorced from the " realities of life " ; for the greater part they are intimately related to the pupil's life. This is not to say, however, that the curriculum may still

contain some subjects or aspects of subjects rather through force of tradition than from sincere conviction. For many years, however, the primary school has been freeing itself from the domination of the post-primary school, just as the post-primary school has recently been enabled to place before its pupils other objectives than entrance to the University.

It is also difficult to apply to New Zealand conditions the observation of Dr. Schairer that "the school spirit is too remote from hard realities." It is difficult to see why it should be so Neither pupils nor teachers lead segregated lives: they are but a fraction of their time in school; for the rest they are the associates of those who are intimately in touch with reality, and they certainly do not enter unsophisticated into post-school life When the first waves of economic depression touched our shores, it was not the relatively well educated, in the generally accepted sense, who were first detrimentally affected Nor as the depression deepened did they suffer to anything like the same extent as the others It is true, of course, that there is in some cases, e g domestic service, dairy farming, a relative scarcity of labour, but this is not a phenomenon peculiar to post-war years, nor does the remedy therefore lie in less school education, it must be sought for in improved conditions of service, for the disinclination towards certain forms of work is apparent in the relatively uneducated equally with the others. The great majority of our post-primary students who reach the University Entrance stage have no intention of pursuing a University Course, they pass to occupations of the various kinds—to farms, factories, shops, commerce, public service, etc

The Supply of Teachers

Dr Schairer seems to think that it is easier to extend educational systems than to provide a sufficient supply of competent teachers to implement such systems. This is no doubt the case when the doors of post-primary schools are suddenly flung wide. This problem, however, has not arisen in New Zealand, for here expansion of educational facilities has been gradual, and teachers have, if anything, been trained in excess of requirements. Where expansion of the school system has been contemplated, the policy has been laid down of training teachers in anticipation thereof It is realised, that any sudden great increase in the number accepted for training would probably necessitate drawing on a poorer stratum of candidates; hence such a policy has been avoided. Our system of classifying teachers according to their efficiency, enables us, whenever there is a surplus of teachers, to replace the inefficient with the relatively efficient. It is true, of course, that there is a wide gap between the best and the worst; but it is equally true that the average level in both qualifications and efficiency is higher than ever before.

W. S. LAMBOURNE.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IRISH FREE STATE

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1932, *pages* 715–28, 1933, *pages* 562–74, 1934, *pages* 350–6, 1935, *pages* 101–5 *and* 313–24)

A. EDUCATIONAL MACHINERY

Administration

THE craze for centralising which is afflicting so much of Europe has so far not so seriously affected Free State education as to justify the use of the term *machine* instead of *machinery* in describing the country's educational organisation; though the primary, secondary and vocational branches form a loosely-knit system, largely under the control of the Department of Education, at the head of which is the Minister for Education, the universities retain their autonomy. Of these, the younger, the National University of Ireland (founded in 1908), is mainly dependent on Parliamentary votes for its financial existence; the other, Dublin University, commonly known as Trinity College (founded in 1591), obtains the bulk of its income nowadays from investments, most of its property in land having been realised when the legislation took effect which made so many of the tenantry of the country owners of their holdings.

The National University is federal in its constitution Its headquarters are in Dublin; it does its work through the University Colleges of Dublin, Cork and Galway St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, is " recognised " by the University, and prepares clerical students for degrees in Arts There are nearly 5,000 students on the rolls of the universities: 2,000 at University College, Dublin, between 800 and 900 in Cork and about 620 in Galway Trinity College has about 1,400 students. In both Universities the number of students has increased in recent years; so much so that, unless the practice of taking university graduates into business finds favour in the Free State, the problem of finding employment for so many young men and women will certainly become very difficult to solve. While the Imperial connection lasts, there are chances of finding posts for the surplus products of the Free State universities, but if the outlet into the Empire is blocked, the prospects of graduates, and, consequently, of the universities which have produced them, are bound to be obscured.

Primary Education

The Department of Education has under its control the primary, secondary and vocational education of the country. The extent and

strictness of its control vary with the classification of the schools. Primary teachers are appointed and dismissed by school managers, who, being in most cases priests or parsons, are independent of the Department, but, on the other hand, salaries are paid directly by the Department, and the teachers' training is mainly financed from State sources. Pensions, too, come from the State. The teachers contribute, but their contribution takes the form of deductions from their salaries The control exercised by the Department is therefore almost complete Having control of the purse, it can withhold payment, and can thus in most cases prevent appointments of which it disapproves, and can compel dismissals. The school manager, however, is by no means a mere figurehead. A case is remembered in which the teacher was kept by the manager in his post against the will of the State authorities, and in a recent case of dismissal it was the action of the school manager and the Bishop of the Diocese, not the Department's action, against which the teacher protested

Secondary Education

The Department's control of secondary education, though less patent than its control of the primary schools, is hardly less firmly based on money and law The Department pays capitation fees in respect of all " recognised " pupils in secondary schools, and it supplements the salaries of teachers Recognised pupils must have reached the age of 12 years, and must have passed an examination in which a " pass " in Irish is essential This latter condition is a serious handicap to schools which educate children of the wealthier classes The Department would no doubt try to justify the impositions of the condition on the ground that preparation for the Irish part of the examination can be made in the primary schools, in which the language is compulsory from the infant classes upwards. But, rightly or wrongly, most middle and upper class parents are unwilling to send their children to primary schools, and the secondary school authorities have, of course, no means of compelling or persuading them to send them.

Status of Teachers

The other benefit which the secondary schools receive from the State, the supplementing of teachers' salaries, is also subject to stringent conditions, the stringency of which seems to be increasing. The number of teachers who can claim salary increments is determined by the number of recognised pupils, and the claimants for increments must themselves be recognised by the Department. For recognition they must be on the roll of the Registration Council, and registration is only granted to teachers who are graduates of a university or possess qualifications regarded by the Registration Council as equivalent to graduation. They must also have obtained university diplomas in education (e.g. the Higher Diploma of the National University, of Dublin, or of Queen's University, Belfast),

and they must have certified experience in teaching Teachers who have at heart the interests of their profession (and of the children) will not find fault with the strictness of these conditions ; in any case, it is only fair that the State, which does so much towards maintaining secondary education, should have whatever guarantee examinations can give that it is getting value for its money Teachers will be on surer ground in protesting against a proposal said to have been made in the Registration Council, that candidates for registration must be able to teach through Irish If this proposal is acted on by the Council, not only will the difficulty of registration be greatly increased, but the level of scholarship among the teachers seems bound to be lowered.

Private Schools

Private secondary schools still exist ; but, though they receive no financial help from the State, they are to a considerable extent subject to the control of the Department The Department's inspectors are entitled to visit them, and parents of pupils are liable to prosecution under the School Attendance Act if, in the inspector's opinion, a school is unworthy of the name A prosecution on these grounds was recently undertaken, but failed when the case was heard on appeal. The education authorities tried to get convictions on the ground that, because the defendants had sent their children to an institution in which Irish was not taught, they had failed to send them to school. It is to be noted that the Act gives the Minister for Education the right to determine whether a so-called school is to be regarded by the enforcing authority as a school

Vocational Education

Vocational Education, the third great branch of education controlled by the Department, is the only one in which the Minister for Education has delegated his power to local bodies Each " vocational education area," through county, borough, or urban council, elects a vocational committee, which is responsible for the vocational education of its district. It appoints its executive officers, draws up schemes of instruction, and is empowered to establish scholarships and to demand of the rating authority whatever sums are necessary for carrying out its schemes.

Need for a Consultative Council

The Vocational Education Act permits the Minister for Education to establish " whenever and so often as he thinks fit " a consultative council, but so far no such council has been established. Nor has any general education council come into being. The hopes expressed in the last edition of the YEAR BOOK seem farther from fulfilment than ever. Although a demand for an education council was put forward in the address of the President of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation at the Organisation's Easter Congress, there

is little likelihood of the demand being successful. And the Federation of Irish Education Associations, too, about which there was much talk some months ago, appears to have passed into the limbo. Outside the universities, therefore, Free State education is largely controlled by one man—the Minister for Education—assisted by permanent officials. If the Dáil (the Lower House of Parliament) were much larger than it is, there would probably be enough members interested in education to render the setting-up of an advisory or consultative council superfluous, but, as things are, the need for such a body is clamant. In saying this no want of zeal or of intelligence in the Ministry of Education is hinted at. Those who have the best means of knowing speak of the liberality of mind which determines educational policy, and the Department's annual reports certainly raise no suspicions of official inefficiency in carrying out that policy. Probably in one line of policy only would there be serious differences between the Ministry and members of an education council ; and, even in this, the majority would be likely to side with the Ministry During the last year or so vague feelings of dissatisfaction with the means appointed for the revival of the Irish language have been gathering strength and finding clearer expression Perhaps the strongest statement of the case against the Ministerial policy was that made by Professor Michael Tierney at the July meeting of the Catholic Truth Society, at Kilkenny This will be referred to later Here, one would like to say that the clamant need for an education council has arisen, not from Ministerial incompetence, but from the indifference of the public to education (apart from its " practical " aspect), and from the almost inevitably sectional outlook of the teachers. Except on such very rare occasions as that offered in 1934, by the meeting in Dublin of the World Federation of Education Associations, primary, secondary and vocational teachers have nothing to do with one another, and, consequently, have hardly any chance of viewing their own fields of work from the point of view of the nation, to say nothing of views from a higher standpoint Moreover, there is at present no means of bringing to the notice of the Ministry suggestions which the Ministry need interrupt its routine to attend to—suggestions that have survived the criticism of such a body of experts as that which the proposed council of education might become. Lastly, such a council would be a valuable addition to the national being as a means of curing that snobbishness which separates the different classes of teachers and which is largely due to their separation.

Teachers' Associations

An education council will no doubt be set up some day. In the meantime an imperfect crystallisation of educational opinion takes place through the teachers' associations. There are associations of school managers, of Catholic headmasters, an association of Protestant headmasters (the Schoolmasters' Association, an All-Ireland

body), associations of schoolmistresses and associations representing technical teachers. But, as far as the public knows anything about such matters, there are just three associations of teachers . the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, the Secondary Teachers' Association, and the Technical Instruction Association Of these, the first, from its size and experience, is perhaps best fitted temporarily to take the place of an education council. It has been in existence for sixty-seven years, and has a membership of something over eleven thousand. When Northern Ireland was created, it looked as if the I N T O 's existence in that area was no longer possible, but the Organisation very wisely set up a committee of Northern members to look after educational and professional matters that concerned Northern teachers, and by this concession of Home Rule to the part preserved the unity of the whole Since the political partition of the country the I N T O has continued from time to time to make towns in Northern Ireland meeting-places for its annual congresses , and, as far as an outsider can see, it has never excluded Northern members from office on political or religious grounds One may be permitted to add that the meetings of no other body in Ireland do so much as the congresses of the I N T O to strengthen the hope—which needs strengthening—that the country may regain its unity

Policy of the I.N.T.O.

The objects of the I N T O are given as the union and organisation of " all the national teachers of Ireland " and the provision of " a means for the expression of their collective opinion on matters affecting the interests of education and the teaching profession." The interests of education are put first, but actually, as one might have expected, it is the interests of the teachers which receive most attention. It could hardly be otherwise. The national system of primary education was established in 1831, but for nearly forty years the majority of the teachers suffered from a sense of political and social inferiority. With the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, however, and the removal from the universities (in 1873) of the last of the religious tests, the position of the majority began to improve. It was about this time that the I.N.T.O. began its work. There was much to do before the teachers could expect their " collective opinion " on education to be listened to, and in the meantime the struggle for existence was not becoming less intense. Salaries, even if one allows for the greater purchasing power of money half a century ago, were miserable. In fact, they continued to be low till the scarcity produced by the Great War so altered the value of money that a complete revision of salary scales became necessary. In 1920 a conference took place in Dublin between representatives of the Education Board, the British Treasury and the teachers, and for the first year or so after the establishment of the Free State the teachers were adequately paid. But this legacy

of the old régime was soon modified by the imposition of a 10 per cent reduction on salaries, and at the beginning of the present administration by the imposition of a further reduction And, about the same time, it was discovered that the Teachers' Pension Fund was in a bad way ; it was said that in a few years it would be impossible to meet the pension claims of retiring teachers The fall in the rate of interest and the payment of larger pensions (due to the payment of larger salaries) were threatening the existence of the Fund The Government's proposed solution of the problem was either an addition to the teachers' contribution to the Fund or a reduction in the amounts of pensions The solution, it is almost needless to say, was indignantly rejected by the teachers They had done their part ; they had all along contributed 4 per cent of their salaries—they had had indeed no option—and it was therefore the duty of the Government, which alone controlled the Fund, to make good deficiencies Up to the present no further steps seem to have been taken on either side.

Reports of the I N T O.

The annual reports of the I N T O are a valuable commentary on the official version, contained in the Department's reports, of the history of primary education since the creation of the Free State Both the Department and the teachers—the great majority of them no doubt sincerely—have professed a desire to see the Irish language revived , but before a native Government had long been functioning, differences of opinion began to show themselves respecting the means employed in its revival During 1926–7, the teachers were feeling that the Department was trying to get greater results from the teaching of the language than the teachers' opportunities for preparation warranted Irish, they said, was a new subject in the schools, and " the vast majority of the teachers " had had no more than five years (that is, of course, no more than their spare time during five years) to get whatever knowledge they had of the language Yet teachers were being already threatened with lowered ratings on the ground of insufficient knowledge of Irish. In the report for 1928–9 the I N.T O suggested that, in the matter of language revival, as in other matters of public concern, it was unwise " to push too far ahead of public opinion," and that a point had been reached at which it would be well to substitute quiet and sustained effort for the intensive work of the earlier years. What the teachers had done in fitting themselves to carry out the Government's language policy had been a harder task than that set for ordinary Civil Servants ; learning the language so as to be able to teach it being harder than acquiring a reading knowledge of it The strain on the teachers had been very great, and in 1928 one finds them demanding that they should no longer be expected to give up the best part of their holidays to language study. But the Department (naturally enough) has all along tried to force the pace, recognising that speed is essential to success, The teachers

probably recognise this fact as clearly as their masters, but they protest against attempts to increase the speed by threats of withholding salary increments from teachers who, in the Department's opinion, should have gained the bilingual certificate.

Relations between Inspectors and Teachers

Among other matters in which the Department and the teachers have long differed may be mentioned school inspection and the rules dealing with declining attendance averages Recently a grievance has been found in a new rule which requires women teachers to resign their posts on marriage Methods of school inspection have been for generations a source of trouble to the teachers In 1926 a commission considered the whole subject of inspection, yet eight years later one finds the I N T O asking the Minister for Education to arrange for a conference on the subject between its representatives and representatives of the Department The truth seems to be that, though in an imperfect world ideal relations between teachers and inspectors cannot be hoped for, in recent years these relations have been greatly improved, and that when graduation at a university has become the normal ending of a training course, a position will have been reached in which between inspector and teacher sympathetic understanding will be the normal relationship That day is still distant, but the number of graduate teachers is steadily increasing In 1929 there were 281 graduates in the service, of whom 205 were men In that year the total number of teachers (exclusive of junior assistant mistresses) was 9,303 Graduates, therefore, formed only 3 per cent of the whole number In the following year the number was 314, or 3 3 per cent , in 1931 it had increased to 408 (4·4 per cent), in 1932 it was 513 (5·1 per cent), in 1933 it was 575 (5·7 per cent), and according to the Department's last report, the number of graduates was 611, or 6·1 per cent of 10,045 teachers.

Falling Average Attendances

Falling averages affect teachers in country districts mainly That any schools besides those under Protestant management should be so affected seems odd in a country from which emigration has almost ceased, and in which a School Attendance Act is enforced. Yet the fact has been engaging the attention of the Department and the I.N.T.O. for some years Proposals were made to the Minister the gist of which was that the period during which a teacher was employed in a school in which the average attendance had dropped below the level warranting his employment should be extended beyond the two quarters allowed by the regulations. The extra period of grace should depend on the length of the teacher's service. Further, it was suggested that teachers who had become " redundant " on account of falling averages should be retained in the service till posts were found for them. The teachers can hardly have expected that this suggestion would be acted on. For some

time, indeed, it looked as if none of their suggestions would find favour with the authorities The Minister, however, has announced an amendment of the rules, which will give teachers who have served ten but less than fifteen years periods of grace lasting for three quarters ; those who have served between fifteen and twenty years periods of four quarters ; and so on, a quarter's grace being granted for every five-year period of service After twenty-five years of service the maximum period of grace, six quarters, will have been reached.

Married Women Teachers

The I N T O did what it could to get the Department to reconsider its decision on the question of the employment of married women teachers But it had to fight the women's battle alone. The school managers gave no help, and, when the matter was laid before the Standing Committee of the Roman Catholic Bishops, no opinion could be obtained The Department's decision will no doubt stand

Move beyond Nationalism

One of the most important steps ever taken by the I N T.O was its affiliation (in 1925) with the World Federation of Education Associations Nationalism has a place even in education, and excessive nationalism in such a country as Ireland is excusable ; but, like patriotism, nationalism is not enough The Organisation has been represented at the biennial conferences of the Federation, at Edinburgh, Toronto, Geneva and elsewhere , and in 1933, with the co-operation of the secondary and technical teachers, it entertained the Federation representatives at Dublin. The Secretary of the I N T O , Dr T J O'Connell, was in 1927 appointed by the Federation to the office of Director for Ireland.

B. Recent Developments

Development in those branches of education controlled by the Department of Education has been mainly along two lines : that which is expected to lead to the restoration of Irish as the language of the country, and that which is to lead through the continuation school to a technically educated population.

The Irish Language Problem

There can be no doubt that a great advance of a certain kind has been made since the restoration of the Irish language became an object of Government policy The number of school children who are not learning Irish is now negligible—though it is not always so regarded by the authorities. The number of secondary schools is increasing in which subjects other than Irish are taught through Irish, and the preparatory colleges, in which Irish is the language of instruction and of ordinary intercourse, tend to become the most important sources of supply for the training colleges. On the

other hand, it cannot truthfully be asserted that the use of the Irish language is extending beyond the schools and colleges Nor is it easy to see how it can extend beyond them At present, the man in the street shows no more signs of changing his language than he would if the Department's language policy had been directed towards stimulating the study of French

Problem of bridging the Gap

The Department, recognising no doubt the difficulty of bridging the language gap between the school and the home, has for some time been paying bonuses of £2 to those families in the Gaeltacht (the Irish-speaking districts) in which it is satisfied that Irish is regularly spoken It has, moreover, reserved more places in the preparatory colleges for boys and girls from the Gaeltacht than for candidates from other parts of the country Considering the smallness of the Gaeltacht population, one can imagine the resentment which this regulation has excited outside the favoured area The vast majority of the teachers see their children's chances considerably weakened by the preference given to Gaeltacht candidates Another plan for getting Irish beyond the school walls has met with equally unfavourable criticism The Department is trying to have all teaching in the infant classes done through Irish , and certainly, if Irish is ever to become the ordinary language of the school and the playground, and so, in time, of the street and the home, there is much to be said for beginning with the youngest pupils But those who have to carry out the Department's instructions are more impressed by the difficulty of doing so and by the injustice to the children which is involved in carrying out the instructions than by the prospect of ultimate success Prof Tierney (who occupies the Chair of Greek at University College, Dublin), in the address referred to above, strongly opposes making Irish the sole teaching medium of the infant classes He is no enemy of the language movement ; he goes so far as to claim that on the revival of Irish depends " the future existence of the Irish nation as a political entity " But he protests against a policy involving the teaching of English-speaking children through a language which they do not understand and of which many of their teachers have a very imperfect knowledge. He refuses to condone the consequent failures on the ground that failures must be expected in carrying out an ideal policy ; that they are to be regarded as casualties in an educational war. But the Ministry, as Prof Tierney is careful to point out, cannot be accused of condoning failures on such grounds either. He quotes from a speech in which Mr. Derrig candidly admitted the possibility of having introduced a little too hurriedly " a new language "—Irish—into the schools Prof Tierney sees a long period of bilingualism ahead, and regards attempts to drive out English as merely chimerical He lays down five principles · (1) That no man can teach anything properly through a

medium of which he and his pupils are not masters ; (2) that Irish can be brought a long way towards restoration without attempts to teach through it any subject but itself , (3) that attempts at rapid Gaelicisation of the country by compulsion are certain to fail ; (4) that the problem of this generation is not " the utterly unreal one of banishing English from Ireland, but the very pressing one of keeping Irish alive in the Gaeltacht " ; and (5) that school work alone will not bring a dead language to life

Concessions to Secondary Schools

The difficulties of a transitional period are felt in the secondary schools perhaps not less keenly than in the primary And therefore, to the secondary schools as well as to the primary, the Department has had to make concessions One still finds among the secondary school regulations a " temporary concession " which permits the postponement of the entrance examination in Irish in favour of pupils who have come from schools—preparatory schools, that is—in which they had no opportunity of getting the required knowledge of the language The postponed examination, however, must be taken not later than March 31st , that is, not more than five and a half months later than the ordinary entrance examination Another concession permits the " children of foreigners accredited to the Saorstát in a representative capacity " to substitute some other language for Irish at the entrance examination and throughout their school courses On the other hand, one finds that for the ordinary pupil conditions dealing with the Irish part of the certificate examinations have been made slightly harder A candidate who takes algebra is now required to choose either the Irish or English version of the examination paper , he will no longer be given papers in both languages In 1937 this condition will apply to arithmetic papers as well, and, in the following year, to history and geography

Developing a Technically Educated Population

While changes in the primary and secondary curricula have become to a large extent concerned with detail, with adjustments of ideals to actualities, there is still room in the vocational and technical fields for large-scale planning The Government-fostered industries of the last few years have created a demand for highly trained men to take the more responsible positions in the new factories For positions in the sugar factories at Mallow, Thurles, and Tuam, six university men who had graduated with honours in chemistry, and who had " a competent knowledge of the Irish language," were given a two-year course of training in sugar manufacture at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow These specialists are now at work in the factories, and the Department has already devised and put into operation another scheme, one for training apprentices employed in the bigger industries Sugar manufacture, as is well known, has alternately busy and slack

seasons During the latter periods, in which the full staffs are not needed, the Department has made arrangements for the withdrawal from the factories of half the apprentices and for their training in technical schools In the following slack season the other half enter the schools Those who are attending the schools are paid at the same rate as those who are employed in the factories, and, if attendance at the technical schools involves travelling, the extra expenses are paid. There is, for example, no technical school at Tuam, but the authorities have made arrangements for the instruction of the apprentices at the City of Dublin Technical School

Training of Apprentices

In various parts of the country classes have been formed for the technical instruction of young people employed or hoping to be employed in the new industries, but so far the really big schemes are those devised for the training of apprentices employed in sugar factories and in printing works The printing trade apprenticeship scheme is confined to Dublin, the cost of erecting plant being too great to make it applicable to smaller centres

Increased Attendances at Continuation Schools

The success of such schemes, of course, depends largely on the work done in the primary and continuation schools The attendance of primary school pupils continues to improve, the latest annual record being the best In the school year 1928–9 the average number of pupils on the rolls between 6 and 14 years of age was 422,073, and the average attendance was 353,582, or 83 7 per cent In 1933–4 the numbers were 420,494 and 357,918, or an attendance of 85·1 per cent The highest percentage of attendances (87·9) was reached in the City of Cork schools In the continuation schools attendance is stated to be satisfactory, and it is noted that pupils are beginning to attend these schools and classes at the age of 14 in greater numbers than formerly. Another satisfactory feature is the introduction of study periods, during which the pupils are free to work at any of the school subjects The teacher supervises and gives help when required, but there is no class teaching while the study period lasts.

Effects on the Universities

Of the two ferments that have been most active in Free State education, the Irish language revival alone has affected the universities Vocational education is intended to lead to the technical school and the workshop ; the Irish language is supposed to be the concern of the whole people. According to this view, the universities, although autonomous, have a duty to perform in the work of restoring the language. Many would agree that both universities were doing as much towards its restoration as ought to be expected of them But enthusiastic revivalists are by no means satisfied.

Even the National University, in the opinion of the President of the Gaelic League, has fallen far short of patriotic expectations Yet, long before the Gaelic League was of any account, the Royal University, which may be regarded as the parent of the National, had made Irish an essential subject for matriculation There are to-day at University College, Dublin, four professorships founded for the promotion of Irish learning University College, Cork, has its professors of Irish and lecturers, and it is prepared to teach several subjects through Irish In University College, Galway, lectures in Irish are given on thirteen subjects, and " there is no faculty in the college in which some subject or subjects cannot be done through Irish " Situated in the official Gaeltacht, it is expected some day to be the intellectual centre of Irish-speaking Ireland Even Trinity College, Dublin, an English foundation in a city which seems never to have been Gaelic, has an Irish professorship and a vigorous Gaelic Society The provost, Dr Gwynn, is a notable Gaelic scholar

Trinity College is supposed to be excessively conservative, but some recent changes seem to indicate that the academic mind is still open to new ideas Music (its theory and history) has become an examination subject in the Sophister years of the Arts course ; the Moderatorship course in Mental and Moral Science has been remodelled , and there are new courses in Legal Science and in Law A scholarship and diploma in the History of European Painting were instituted in 1934 in accordance with the wishes of Miss Sarah Purser and Sir John Purser Griffith, who each gave £1,000 to form two funds, one to be administered by Trinity College and the other by University College, Dublin (N U I) A memorial to the late Dr John Joly, F T.C D., has taken the form of a lectureship, and the first lectures were given in January of last year by Lord Rutherford, of Nelson One might also mention the establishment of new professorships—professorships of Physical Chemistry, of Biochemistry, of Geophysics, and of the History of Philosophy. The " silent sister " may not have become loquacious, but she is certainly very busy.

H. R. CHILLINGWORTH.

CHAPTER SIX

NEWFOUNDLAND CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1932, *pages* 729–39, 1934, *pages* 357–8, 1935, *pages* 115–16)

FOR an understanding of the general organisation of education in this country one may turn to the comprehensive chapter, with its interesting historical preface, written by Dr Vincent P Burke for the YEAR BOOK of 1932 The present article is an attempt to indicate what changes have come, or may be impending, because of the peculiar position, both governmental and educational, in which Newfoundland now is It is obvious that no changes in organisation, or even curriculum, will count for very much unless they are the result of a clearer insight into what education ought to mean for the young Newfoundlander

A New Form of Government

To understand current developments in education it is necessary to remind ourselves of recent events in the sphere of government in this country Two years ago, the Newfoundland Royal Commission, whose chairman was Lord Amulree, had not completed its examination into the Dominion's position and finances This little country had been trying to carry an impossible burden of debt, which was partly a legacy from the war, and partly the result of unproductive outlay, e g on branch railways, and other causes, and this in the face of falling revenues The market price of our chief export, salted codfish, had dropped from, say, eight or ten dollars a quintal (112 lb) to two or three dollars; the current avenues of seasonal employment at the industrial centres on the mainland had been closed almost overnight, and many of our workers had to be kept alive by relief funds. Drastic retrenchments, such as the " severe blow to education " mentioned in the chapter on Newfoundland in the 1934 YEAR BOOK, served only to create fresh difficulties

The Report of the Royal Commission pointed out the close connection between the financial and the political aspects of our problem. It emphasised the demoralising effect on the character and the earning-power of so many of the people, produced by excessive paternalism in government, to use a mild form of expression The remedy proposed was in the main two-fold, viz the temporary substitution, for the responsible form of government of a British Dominion, of government by a Commission of six men " drawn " half from the Mother Country and half from Newfoundland, and

the assumption of our annual deficit by the British Government for a few years The change to this novel form of government within the Empire, so interesting to a student of political history, was initiated by a resolution of the House of Assembly and embodied in the Newfoundland Bill passed by the British Parliament It is now in effective operation The Department of Education is under one of the three Newfoundland Commissioners, the Honourable F C. Alderdice, lately Prime Minister

How has education fared as a result of such a thorough change of control ? We may note first of all that more money has now been made available, since a debt conversion has reduced public expenditure and a grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom has been added to the revenue Whereas in the year 1933–4 the amount spent by the Government for education was $517,661, last year it was $721,547 (estimated), while for the year 1935–6 the estimates are placed at $971,432, a figure not far from the $1,025,565 of the year 1931–2 While an annual outlay for education of 65 or 70 shillings for each pupil enrolled—for that is about what the last figure represents—may seem a very modest achievement, yet it will make some service possible, since our people will use it with economy

But this chapter can record not merely an increased grant of money Equally important is encouragement, for those carrying the burden of teaching and administration have been sorely tried in these years Now that they learn, as, for example, in a recent interim report of the Commission of Government, that the education of the people is regarded as the most important work of the Government, they have taken heart again , the more so since the policy of the Commission carries the approval of the Government of the Mother Country

Indeed, as was so clearly brought out in the Amulree Report, a prime essential of reconstruction in Newfoundland is to restore the weakened *morale* of its workers, so many of whom were—and still are—discouraged and dependent To provide education of the right kind for their children is evidently indicated

But the education of the parents is not to be neglected In the field of adult education there are brighter prospects The third Annual Report of the Newfoundland Adult Education Association shows that Opportunity Schools have been conducted successfully at twenty-two centres in the outports (i e towns and villages other than St John's), an increase over last year of one-third, in spite of a very severe winter While the first work of these schools is the instruction of adult illiterates in the three R's, the chance of further service has been eagerly seized Music is always a feature of this type of school, visits are made from house to house with reading and explanation of simple leaflets on health and community service, classes are held for a few women in the home of one of them, girls' clubs are formed, navigation and weaving are given such attention as is possible, and so on The Association was also able to offer fourteen broadcasts from St. John's.

For initial inspiration the Association owes much to Dr Albert Mansbridge, C H , and for help in planning the proper type of school to Miss Will Lou Gray The generous assistance of the Carnegie Corporation of New York may again be noted with gratitude. It is heartening to report that the Government is paying attention to Adult Education, having placed a special item in the financial estimates for next year and having released Dr V P Burke, O B E , lately Secretary for Education, from many of his other duties in order that he may devote more time to this work

Revision of the Curriculum

A development which is partly at least a consequence of the economic crisis is the recent revision of the school curriculum The courses of study followed in the primary grades have not been very uniform or indeed systematically drawn up In the higher grades (VI to XI or XII, for the Canadian arrangement holds approximately) the chief instrument for grading has been the annual examinations of the Council of Higher Education ; for, while no school is compelled to enter candidates for these examinations, yet in practice the Council's syllabus has quite generally influenced the curriculum of nearly every school doing work of these grades These annual tests, conducted by an impartial and representative board of examiners, have long been considered of great value in co-ordinating the work of the schools, so many of which have been deprived of contact with each other and with the central administration by difficulties of communication, and have been staffed with not too well-trained though faithful teachers Certainly, since its beginning in 1893, the work of the C H E (as it is familiarly called) has done much to arouse interest in education and indeed, in the opinion of many, has pointed the way, through the co-operation of the religious denominations, to some of the most promising educational movements in this country But educationists are fully aware of the danger that the use of any general examination system is liable to certain untoward tendencies, such as to look on examinations as an end rather than a means, to judge the work of a teacher or a school by the number of " passes," and to regard a child as examination-fodder, disregarding his personal needs. It has often been asserted that an examination syllabus tends to become " academic," pointing all pupils to higher education rather than each to his proper sphere in life.

It will be no surprise to learn that, when Newfoundland began to feel the severe pinch of hard times, then questionings arose Are we getting the most value for the money, small as it is, that we spend on education ? Is the school course " practical " enough ? Does it relate itself to our own country and its needs ? What about vocational schools ? Are the public examinations a good thing ? Is " homework " necessary ? These were some of the questions asked.

Commission on the Curriculum

In October 1933 it appeared to the Government " desirable and expedient that an enquiry be held into the curriculum of the schools with a view to ascertaining whether such curriculum is well adapted to the needs of the country and with a view to the suggesting of any improvements " A Commission of Enquiry, composed of ten representative citizens, was appointed by his Excellency the Governor This Commission employed the usual methods of such bodies Its report was presented on May 19th, 1934 Early in the enquiry it was realised that any consideration of curricula raised at once the allied questions of public examinations, training and status of teachers and supervision of teaching

The Report gave a modern statement of the main objectives at which the education given in our schools should aim, together with general observations on curricula, their preparation, their possibilities and their limitations. One of its most important recommendations was for the appointment of a permanent committee to draw up a detailed course of study for all grades, with a wise suggestion for periodical revision in the light of experience The general outline of a suitable curriculum was sketched It provided for an elementary course, up to Grade VIII or about age 14, which might be complete in itself and would include, beside English, arithmetic, geography, history, nature study and religion, the teaching also of civics, hygiene and homecraft (for girls), together with recreational and practical subjects, but would exclude algebra, formal geometry and (in general) foreign languages For the higher grades the recommendations followed the usual modern lines, but special reference was made to biology, navigation and the study of local industries

As to public examinations, the Commission recommended none earlier than Grade VIII, an examination which could be regarded as a First School Leaving Progressive elimination of the present public examinations for Grades IX and X was recommended, but only when satisfactory substitutes should be supplied These substitutes, in the opinion of the Commission, include adequate supervision, better qualified teachers and properly graded school tests Thus there would be ultimately only two public examinations—or possibly three, for a new Grade XII was mentioned—a First and a Second School Leaving Hitherto there had been C H E. examinations from Grade VI to Grade XI inclusive

The matter of supervision, so difficult in Newfoundland because of the extent of coast-line (someone has reckoned it as 6,000 miles), was considered and the appointment of a number of supervisors, rather as helping teachers than as reporting inspectors, was strongly advocated As to the training of teachers, the chief recommendations were for a longer period of professional training—at least one year—and a close association of the institution for training with the inspiring life of the Memorial University College. On the question

of modern foreign languages the Commission made the remark, by no means superfluous, that they ought to be taught only in those schools where there are persons qualified to teach them The problem of homework was seen as not a mere matter of how much time—which should be very short—was to be given to out-of-school studies, but more a matter of their nature, which should be recreational rather than formal Vocational training, in its narrower meaning, could not be the task of the elementary schools, of which so many have but one teacher, and that one a woman Other recommendations had to do with compulsory education, instruction for health, adapting the curriculum to suit the one-teacher school, provision of alternate courses in schools, instruction by mail and by wireless

Recent events in education in Newfoundland have developed along some of the directions indicated by the foregoing summary

Teacher-training

Even before the publication of that Report, the Memorial University College had taken steps to establish a department of teacher-training The Normal School, which was closed in December 1932, had done good work under an able and faithful principal and staff, but the period of training was too short, the entrance qualifications were irregular and too little use was made of the vigorous university college growing up in the same buildings Those who enter the teacher-training department of the College have at least the academic standing of matriculation, they remain for (at present) one year, and it is obvious that they gain much by sharing the studies and the life of the other college students A much-needed emphasis is placed on such parts of their training as education for health and method in the primary school

Last autumn a large committee was appointed to draw up a detailed curriculum for Newfoundland's schools While the major part of its work has now been completed, the actual course of study has not yet been made known It is well understood, however, that in many of its parts, and indeed in its whole plan, it will resemble closely the admirable " Course of Study " authorised last January by the Council of Public Instruction for Nova Scotia, a province whose life is probably more like that of Newfoundland's than is the life of any other country It will not be possible nor, of course, advisable to introduce the new curriculum to our teachers all at once. But the fact that there is presently available a modern, flexible and humane course of study for our schools is a highly important achievement.

The related question of supervision has also received attention Supervisors, to the number of some ten at first, are now being appointed to visit the schools A personnel of good quality is fortunately available, thanks partly to the work of the Memorial University College.

Administration

Some reorganisation of the Department (formerly the Bureau) of Education has lately been effected It will be remembered that the local School Boards are denominational in character, the three main bodies being Anglican, Roman Catholic and United Church For each of these three there has been hitherto a Superintendent of Education and an Assistant Recent legislation has abolished these offices In order, so one supposes, to retain connection between the denominations and the Department, there has been established an Advisory Board on which the three religious bodies are equally represented The late Secretary for Education is to be the chairman of this board

The new Secretary for Education is Mr L W Shaw, who last year was professor of education in the College.

Libraries

The Newfoundland Royal Commission's Report commented on the absence of a public library in St John's A small collection of books in the Colonial Building was mainly for the use of the members of the Legislature , the Memorial University College has built up a very useful, if still small, library by gifts from friends and by a grant of $1,000 a year for the past three years from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, but the students of the College have, of course, first claim ; and the Travelling Library is intended for outport circulation The Commissioner for Public Utilities at once set about remedying the state of affairs Space has been found in the Museum Building for a library for St John's , legislation has been enacted setting up a Libraries Board, whose operations can be extended outside the capital , and an amount for books and maintenance has been included in the Estimates for 1935–6

The College

Before concluding, one ought perhaps to mention the place of the University College in educational developments, present or anticipated But the writer of this article is probably too close to the life of the College fairly to appraise its value This institution is now just ten years old Its growth has been rapid But the high aims of its founders, the ideals of John Lewis Paton, the first president, a faithful adherence to sound methods of teaching, and its efforts to serve outside as well as inside its own walls . these were bound to issue forth into something more than a mere numerical increase Last year the evening and extension attendances were the largest for some years More significant still, active voluntary study-groups were formed among both graduates and present students in order to understand some of the causes for Newfoundland's present plight and, if possible, to help to find the best way out.

ALBERT G. HATCHER.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INDIA RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

(*See* YEAR BOOK, 1932, *pages* 685–714, 1933, *pages* 576–600, 1934, *pages* 110–15, 359–69 *and* 782–826, 1935, *pages* 104–14 *and* 707–809)

(1) SHARP DECLINE

Statistical Survey

THE rapid quantitative progress, which was made in Indian education in the early 'twenties, has not been maintained in subsequent years The " peak " year was in 1927, and was due largely to the remission of provincial contributions by the Government of India, which rendered available large sums of money for education and other social services, but in later years financial and other obstacles have intervened The statistics for 1934, however, are less unpromising (See Table 3)

The comparative drop in the number of schools gives little cause for disappointment, indeed, as will be shown later, a well-devised policy of concentration is desirable (See Table 1)

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS BY PROVINCES

PROVINCE	1922	1927	1932	1933	1934
Madras	37,290	50,943	53,547	51,075	50,618
Bombay	13,310	14,819	15,962	15,757	15,674
Bengal	51,929	58,833	67,407	68,773	70,338
United Provinces	18,559	22,068	23,521	22,941	23,106
Punjab	7,920	13,860	12,000	11,673	11,664
Burma	7,180	6,885	7,304	7,356	7,347
Bihar and Orissa	25,965	31,495	29,037	28,952	28,767
Central Provinces	4,921	5,187	5,336	5,326	5,463
Assam	4,745	5,331	6,594	6,586	6,715
North-West Frontier Province	792	747	987	992	1,003
Minor Administrations	700	880	1,115	1,135	1,157
Total for British India	173,311	211,048	222,810	220,566	221,852

Far more serious is the comparative decline in enrolment An increase of 630,806 pupils in 1927 has been followed by one of only 69,671 in 1933, though by the larger figure of 299,659 in 1934 (See Table 2.)

TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS IN RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS BY PROVINCES

PROVINCE	1922	1927	1932	1933	1934
Madras	1,745,518	2,440,874	2,877,504	2,864,597	2,967,672
Bombay	896,877	1,116,170	1,300,648	1,298,192	1,332,524
Bengal	1,835,017	2,289,876	2,720,061	2,797,387	2,899,541
United Provinces	965,059	1,280,450	1,457,997	1,470,340	1,513,467
Punjab	552,622	1,086,087	1,200,600	1,164,820	1,151,590
Burma	345,665	443,302	525,013	524,864	524,031
Bihar and Orissa	763,277	1,065,496	1,038,634	1,054,290	1,063,127
Central Provinces	330,681	391,623	450,494	457,077	470,753
Assam	208,014	270,433	348,306	352,556	356,869
North-West Frontier Province	49,395	63,076	83,918	86,959	89,040
Minor Administrations	50,100	81,863	119,291	121,055	123,182
Total for British India	7,742,225	10,529,350	12,122,466	12,192,137	12,491,796

TABLE 3

TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY SOURCES

YEAR	EXPENDITURE FROM				TOTAL
	GOVERNMENT FUNDS	BOARD FUNDS	FEES	OTHER SOURCES	
	RS	RS	RS	RS	RS
1916–7	3,91,62,853	2,23,17,618	3,18,71,138	1,95,31,459	11,28,83,068
1921–2	9,02,30,028	2,47,31,150	3,80,08,648	3,07,83,143	18,37,52,969
1926–7	11,93,32,854	3,65,91,114	5,21,27,191	3,77,96,413	24,58,47,572
1931–2	12,46,03,905	4,38,18,535	6,22,69,534	4,11,64,648	27,18,56,622
1932–3	11,35,50,798	4,07,03,238	6,29,62,895	4,06,58,937	25,78,75,868
1933–4	11,47,02,150	4,19,34,311	6,47,89,282	4,03,39,443	26,17,65,186
Increase between 1917 and 1922	5,10,67,175	24,13,532	61,37,510	1,12,51,684	7,08,69,901
Increase between 1922 and 1927	2,91,02,826	1,18,59,964	1,41,18,543	70,13,270	6,20,94,603
Increase between 1927 and 1932	52,71,051	72,27,421	1,01,42,343	33,68,235	2,60,09,050
Increase between 1932 and 1933	1,10,53,107	31,15,297	+6,93,361	5,05,711	1,39,80,754
Increase between 1933 and 1934	11,51,352	12,31,073	18,26,387	−3,19,494	38,89,318

The causes of this sharp decline are many If Indian education is to be placed on an effective foundation, it is necessary first to face facts and to diagnose the disease

Political controversy has undoubtedly played its part in undermining educational progress, but its evil effects are often exaggerated. The " national " schools, which were started fifteen years ago, have failed to command support , discipline, even in colleges, has been largely restored , acquiescence rather than conflict has become the more potent danger to educational advancement

The serious economic depression, which is world-wide, has affected both school attendance and enrolment in India The rural population, in particular, owing to the pinch of poverty, have been reluctant to send their children to school and, even more serious, to insist upon regular attendance by those of their children who are at school

Financial support has also been seriously reduced, especially by Government and by other public bodies There has been an alarming decrease in Government expenditure on education , even the slightly increased figure in 1934 was markedly below that in 1929

Almost more unfortunate than retrenchment itself has been the method (or rather the absence of method) by which it has been carried out There is much in the educational system that is ineffective and wasteful , and the call for retrenchment might have provided the opportunity for removing defects Unfortunately, in a fit almost of panic, *pro rata* reductions were made, with the result that good and bad alike were cast into the abyss , and promising beginnings, especially in the education of girls, in the education of adults, in medical inspection and treatment, were nipped in the bud It will be a long time before Indian education can recover from ill-timed and clumsy economy

The provincial figures illustrate not only the drastic treatment meted out to all provinces, but also the wide variation in the financial position of provinces (See Table 4) In pre-reform days the Government of India was able to mitigate inequalities, but imperial subventions have become a relic of the past In consequence, while progressive provinces now tend to become more progressive, backward provinces tend to become even more backward While it is gratifying that the Governments of Madras and the United Provinces were able to increase their expenditure on education by Rs 54 and Rs 22 lakhs respectively between 1927 and 1932, it is equally (or more) distressing that backward provinces, such as the Central Provinces and Bihar, were compelled to decrease their expenditure by Rs 24 and Rs. 16 lakhs respectively during the same period. It is difficult to conceive how these governments have been able to carry out their educational responsibilities.

The truth is that governments in India have no settled policy in the matter of education, and educational advancement is at the mercy of ill-timed doles on the one hand, and of ill-timed retrench-

TABLE 4

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE BY PROVINCES IN LAKHS OF RUPEES

PROVINCE	1927	1932	INCREASE OR DECREASE	1933	1934
Madras	202	256	54	244	246
Bombay	199	190	— 9	170	176
Bengal	148	144	— 4	135	135
United Provinces	196	218	22	199	198
Punjab	151	165	14	154	160
Burma	95	94	— 1	65	58
Bihar and Orissa	72	56	— 16	52	55
Central Provinces	72	48	— 24	42	44
Assam	25	29	4	28	28
North-West Frontier Province	14	19	5	19	19
British India	1,193	1,246	53	1,136	1,147

ment on the other This lack of policy was considered by the Hartog Committee to be the gravest defect in the system

> " We have no doubt that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India, but, as we have shown, the expansion and improvement of education do not depend merely on money Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds We were asked to report on the organisation of education At almost every point that organisation needs reconsideration and strengthening, and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organisation of education need readjustment "

These serious words of warning have fallen very largely on deaf ears The weakening of the higher personnel has continued, and the fear is that even if a bold policy of advance were formulated there would not be an agency competent to carry it out The discontinuance of recruitment to the Indian Educational Service may have been essential to the furthering of political policy, but there is no excuse for the prolonged delay in providing a substitute for the condemned Service ; and even in those provinces in which a new Service has been constituted, the arrangements are not such as to promote efficient recruitment. Communal and provincial considerations stand in the way , a spirit of narrow provincialism is not in keeping with educational advancement.

A direct result of deterioration in the higher personnel has been a further weakening of the inspectorate ; and this weakness has been accentuated by the fact that, in all provinces, the decentralisation of control of primary education to local bodies, which are often inexperienced and sometimes corrupt, has been carried too far, and that

insufficient powers have been retained by provincial ministries of education In Bombay, even the responsibility of inspection has been transferred to local authorities with fatal results. Such transference of authority is also antagonistic to the conception of ministerial responsibility and embarrasses an Education Minister in developing an important national Service and in ensuring a wise expenditure of public funds. The effects of this policy can be seen in a faulty distribution of schools, in inexperienced administration, in wholesale transfers of primary teachers, in the appointment of untrained teachers when trained teachers are available, and in a general weakening of discipline.

It is also unfortunate that, during these critical years, the Government of India have cherished an exaggerated conception of provincial responsibility and have therefore abstained almost entirely from contact with education In recent years, however, the idea has steadily gained ground that the Government of India have an important part to play in education, if only by providing a means whereby provincial authorities shall come together and co-ordinate educational activities The Government of India have at last decided to revive the Central Advisory Board on Education.

(ii) Signs of Progress

The present situation is therefore critical, but there are silver linings to the dark cloud of depression

Education of Females

First and foremost is the improved position of girls' education ; an achievement which is due primarily to the initiative shown by the women of India Old-time prejudices are fast disappearing and, in place of apathy and even active opposition, there is a growing desire among parents that their girls shall be educated It is therefore unfortunate that the claims of girls' education are often neglected in spite of the recommendation of the Hartog Committee that, " in the interests of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion " ; indeed, priority is given to girls only in schemes of retrenchment

The hopeful sign of girls' education is not only that more girls are attending school, but also that (far more important) they tend to stay longer at school and therefore benefit far more by their schooling than formerly.

The statistics are striking. (See Table 5) The number of candidates for Matriculation has increased from 1,565 in 1927 to 4,982 in 1934 ; and that for the Degree from 188 to 591 during the same period The percentage of successful candidates also compares favourably with that for men. (See Table 6)

The Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, of which the Master of Balliol was chairman, were of opinion that

TABLE 5

GIRL CANDIDATES FOR MATRICULATION OR HIGH SCHOOL FINAL EXAMINATION

PROVINCE	NO OF CANDIDATES				NO OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES			
	1927	1932	1933	1934	1927	1932	1933	1934
Madras	384	544	623	706	383	542	612	692
Bombay	363	751	854	1,021	175	375	441	565
Bengal	215	608	813	1,047	157	394	547	609
United Provinces	115	259	309	382	82	139	167	235
Punjab	148	551	658	865	60	336	456	590
Burma	343	667	720	1,033	120	281	304	333
Bihar and Orissa	13	39	38	7	8	13	15	1
Central Provinces	43	90	111	137	16	49	55	70
Assam	40	78	83	121	32	53	63	85
North-West Frontier Province	6	8	28	42	6	6	19	27
Delhi	28	74	105	150	13	47	60	74
British India (including minor administrations)	1,565	3,383	4,407	4,982	1,002	2,138	2,770	3,191

TABLE 6

WOMEN GRADUATES

PROVINCE	CANDIDATES FOR B A AND B SC EXAMINATIONS (PASS ONLY)				NO OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES			
	1927	1932	1933	1934	1927	1932	1933	1934
Madras	64	102	149	142	54	56	94	72
Bombay	33	43	48	58	20	27	30	40
Bengal	43	87	108	130	29	64	77	92
United Provinces	19	54	81	95	11	32	56	71
Punjab	12	53	72	107	9	20	42	71
Burma	13	25	26	29	5	14	18	16
Bihar and Orissa	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Central Provinces	1	11	14	11	1	6	11	7
Assam	—	1	1	3	—	1	1	3
North-West Frontier Province	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	2
Delhi	—	1	7	6	—	1	3	4
Ajmer-Merwara	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	1
Bangalore	1	6	3	6	—	4	3	4
British India	188	385	509	591	130	226	335	383

women's colleges are generally more satisfactory than men's colleges that they are better staffed, that enrolment is within manageable limits, that more individual attention is given to students The higher education of girls is therefore passing through a critical time : will the grave defects, so prominent in men's colleges, be repeated in women's colleges ? This is one of the most important questions which now confront Indian education.

The Problem in the Villages

Similar progress has not been made, however, in the lower ranges of girls' education, where the difficulties are even more complex and baffling The view is often held that increased facilities for training would solve the difficulty, but the root of the trouble lies deeper It is unreasonable to expect that young women from the towns will consent to serve in distant and unfamiliar villages An essential preliminary to progress, therefore, is an assurance that women teachers in the villages shall live in safe and congenial surroundings but in view of the present conditions of life in Indian villages it is almost impossible to fulfil this condition There is thus a vicious circle . until girls' schools in the villages have been improved, it is extremely difficult to find recruits from these schools who are sufficiently competent to receive training with a view to their becoming teachers in village schools , until, again, better teachers have been provided for these schools, it is difficult to expect the necessary improvements The attachment of small training classes to some of the more advanced schools in rural areas is a possible means of breaking the circle, but in any case progress must be slow

Co-education—A Suggested Solution

Faced by these difficulties and, still more, by the acute financial depression, many provincial governments are seeking a solution in the promotion of co-education at the primary stage Indeed, the alternative in many places seems to lie between co-educational schools and no education for girls at all Even if more money were available, the multiplication of minute, single-teacher girls' schools would be of little value The ineffectiveness of this practice is illustrated by the position in Bengal, where more than half (18,878) of the girls' primary schools in the whole of British India are located , yet only three out of every hundred girls admitted to these schools reach Class IV three years later !

The wide extent to which co-education at the primary stage was practised in the past in India is not generally realised ; even at the present day nearly 40 per cent of the girls at school are reading in boys' institutions In Burma, where social conditions differ very considerably from those in India, co-education is widespread ; and in Madras the practice is growing very rapidly The system of co-education, as practised in India, however, is most unsatisfactory in that it is applied only to the pupils and not to the staffs , girls are

admitted to boys' schools only on sufferance It might be better if the practice of co-education were developed by the admission of little boys to the better girls' schools In any case, the practice of co-education at the primary stage must be encouraged in India, if only on financial grounds ; it would be well if more attention were paid to its problems

The Depressed Classes

Another direction in which progress has been made in recent years lies in an improved attitude towards the education of children belonging to " the depressed classes " Up till a few years ago, the main method of meeting the requirements of these unfortunate people was the institution of separate and exclusive schools, which did much harm by crystallising the stigma of inferiority In all provinces, to a greater or lesser extent, the policy is now to insist upon the admission of these children into the ordinary schools ; in Bombay, for example, an acceptance of this principle is made a condition of grant-in-aid There is a danger, however, that these children will still be reminded of their social inferiority by being excluded from the classrooms and by being compelled to sit in the verandas , but provincial reports indicate that the spirit of exclusion is rapidly disappearing

Effect of Communal Schools on Progress

It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that the spirit of exclusion still persists in other directions Though it is generally admitted that teaching in indigenous schools, *maktabs*, *pathshalas* and the like, is extremely inefficient, pupils still flock to these schools instead of to the primary schools In Bengal alone the number of boys in *maktabs* increased from 448,968 to 614,717, and that of girls from 179,478 to 244,816 during the quinquennium of 1927–32 The persistence of communal secondary schools and colleges, especially in the Punjab, is also inimical both to educational efficiency and to social harmony It cannot be right, especially during the present stage of India's development, that so many pupils should spend the impressionable years of life in the narrowing atmosphere of an exclusive communal institution Popular feeling is steadily growing in opposition to this practice, but vested interests are still strong.

Increase in Extra School Activities

Another promising development is the promotion of healthy activities in schools and colleges, many of which are by no means the drab places which they used to be. Good and well-designed buildings have been constructed , school gardens are often well kept, and the pupils are encouraged to take an active interest in them ; the playing of games has also been developed Special progress has been made in physical training in which Indian boys show considerable aptitude. The Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides

have done much to provide healthy recreation and to instil a desire for service ; they also have done much to transcend the limitations of caste and creed. Promising beginnings have also been made in the medical care and inspection of school children.

Progress in Rural Areas

In some provinces, notably the Punjab, Bombay and the United Provinces, the special requirements of the large rural population have been receiving attention The first and essential step in this direction is the expansion and improvement of vernacular middle schools, but the tendency in the past has been to approximate their courses and the methods of teaching too closely to those of anglo-vernacular schools which lead to the universities and thus accentuate congestion in the towns A modification of this practice was made first in the Punjab by attaching farms and garden plots to a number of vernacular middle schools and by giving intensive courses of training in agriculture to a number of senior vernacular teachers In more recent years praiseworthy attempts have been made, especially in the Punjab and the United Provinces, to render the courses more suitable to rural conditions and to bring the training courses for teachers into harmony with the spirit of these courses A noteworthy event in still more recent times has been the inclusion in the Government of India budget of a sum of a crore of rupees for the work of village reconstruction

(iii) Plans for the Future

In spite of these promising developments the present position of Indian education is critical , and evil tendencies, if they are not checked, may soon reach formidable dimensions It is reassuring, therefore, that the existence of these evils is at least realised Education reports of recent years are most frank and outspoken utterances , there is no sign of self-satisfied complacency Public opinion is also hardening, and there is a growing desire to face facts and to make sacrifices From many quarters there is an insistent demand for reconstruction

The Problem of " Wastage "

The Hartog Committee drew pointed attention to the serious " wastage " in primary education

> In the primary system, which from our point of view should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to use an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling So far as we can judge, the vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy can be expected In one province (Bengal), despite a very large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils and in the expenditure, the number of pupils who reached Class IV was actually less by nearly 30,000 in 1927 than it was ten years previously It is to be remembered that in present condi-

tions of rural life and with the lack of suitable vernacular literature, a child has very little chance of attaining literacy after leaving school, and, indeed, even for the literate, there are many chances of relapse into illiteracy

The " wastage " figures are still depressing They are due very largely to a careless distribution of schools, especially in Bengal, to irregular attendance, to bad teaching, to unhelpful and uninspiring inspection. The figures are also inflated by the practice of admitting pupils to school at any time during the year, but efforts are now being made to remedy this defect (See Table 7)

TABLE 7

" WASTAGE " IN THE PRIMARY CLASSES

PROVINCE	PROPORTION OF BOYS IN			PROPORTION OF GIRLS IN		
	CLASS I, 1928-9	CLASS IV, 1931-2	CLASS V, 1932-3	CLASS I, 1928-9	CLASS IV, 1931-2	CLASS V, 1932-3
Madras	100	26	11	100	13	6
Bombay	100	40	36	100	24	17
Bengal	100	13	10	100	3	2
United Provinces	100	23	17	100	8	6
Punjab	100	28	18	100	20	17
Burma	100	17	8	100	9	3
Bihar and Orissa	100	11	9	100	3	2
Central Provinces	100	46	12	100	19	4
Assam	100	37	32	100	25	17
North-West Frontier Province	100	20	13	100	20	10
Delhi	100	26	18	100	20	17
British India (including minor administrations)	100	21	14	100	10	6

It is at least reassuring that in practically every report proposals for reducing " wastage " are discussed The lesson has at least been learned that a hasty multiplication of primary schools will result only in increased " wastage " and that concentration of effort is imperative. In Madras, the Champion report has been much discussed , there is now a determination to place the primary system on a firmer basis, and to ensure as far as possible that, on the one hand, every class shall include a reasonable complement of pupils and that, on the other hand, no teacher shall be responsible for more than one class This determination necessitates a review of exclusive schools for particular communities as well as an extension of the practice of co-education Other provinces, with one notable exception, are also reviewing the position on similar lines and are striving to initiate a bold policy of concentration. The exception is Bengal, where, in spite of the admission that there are twice the

number of primary schools than are actually necessary, nearly 2,000 new schools have been added within the last two years

The Problem of Compulsion

In view of this new attitude towards the development of primary education, opinion has been modified in regard to the enforcement of compulsion A few years ago, there was a widespread belief that, if only sufficient funds became available, compulsion would prove to be the panacea of all our ills The view is now gaining ground that a hasty application of compulsion, without first having prepared the ground, would result only in increased " wastage " Unless a system of compulsion is based on firm foundations, unless the majority of parents are actively in support, unless an ample supply of trained and efficient teachers is forthcoming, unless there is careful supervision and a wise distribution of schools, compulsion would do more harm than good It is also of doubtful morality to compel parents to send their children to school unless the schooling shall be beneficial to them and unless the health of children shall not be impaired by working in unhygienic surroundings It would be folly, again, to graft compulsion on to a system of three-class primary schools, in which the pupils would have little prospect of gaining a firm grasp of literacy On the other hand, granted favourable conditions, compulsion would prove an economy and would be infinitely less extravagant than the present system, which gives so little of literacy in return for large expenditure It is therefore necessary to review briefly what are " the favourable conditions."

Need for Full Primary Schools

It is first essential to prescribe a suitable period of primary education and then to adapt the schools to that condition In Bengal and Bihar, the large majority of primary schools comprise only three classes, but this period of schooling is too short to produce effective and lasting results In the Punjab, on the other hand, recent policy has been to create a large number of lower middle schools, with six classes in each, in the hopes that these schools will become the primary schools of the future This objective is laudably ambitious, but, in view of the financial shortage and of the danger that the lengthened period of primary education may result in rural pupils losing their bent for rural occupations, it may be desirable at present to shorten this period Practical considerations indicate a course of five years and a primary school of five classes.

With this objective in view, it becomes essential to review the existing supply of schools and to remove the cut-throat competition which is so distressing a feature in many provinces. The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, has referred to this necessity in cogent terms :

> There is a movement for substituting for the village school a variety of schools intended for the benefit of particular communities. . . We

are now reaching a stage when each village wants a primary school, a *maktab* and a *pathshala* In addition, it is claimed that even at the lower primary stage separate schools are necessary for girls, and also in many places for children of the depressed classes Thus, in the poorest province of India, we are asked to provide five primary schools for each village

It is mainly for these reasons that the number of single-teacher schools is so great, indeed, they form the majority of the primary schools of India Care should therefore be taken to meet the legitimate demands of the several classes and communities with a view to rendering exclusive schools unnecessary, and also to evolve a system of co-education which will meet the requirements of girls as well as of boys Facilities for education above the primary stage should be concentrated in a limited number of central schools

Relation of Local Bodies to Ministries

In order to render possible a policy of concentration, it will next become necessary to review the relations between local bodies and ministries of education, in some provinces it may be necessary to constitute special authorities for the administration of primary education The inspectorate also requires strengthening, and suitable executive powers should be invested in inspectors

Need for Trained Teachers

A well-devised distribution of schools having been arranged, the next step will be to provide them with efficient and suitably trained teachers Bad teaching is an extravagance, not an economy The figures for 1934 show that only 53 per cent of the primary school teachers for boys in British India had received training, and that many even of these possess very limited general qualifications, the percentage of trained teachers ranging from 29 in Bengal to 77 in the Punjab and 68 in the United Provinces An expansion and improvement of training facilities are therefore essential, for this purpose concentration in a few efficient institutions is imperative In rural schools also, which form the vast majority of primary schools in India, the teachers should not be recruited from anglo-vernacular schools in the towns, but should be young men with a rural outlook and with sympathy towards rural progress Vernacular middle schools are therefore essential to the right development of primary education The Hartog Committee were emphatic on this point

> Effective arrangements for training vernacular teachers must, generally speaking, precede the expansion of primary schools, and the training of vernacular teachers itself depends upon a good supply of recruits from the vernacular middle schools Hence, money spent on expansion and improvement of vernacular middle schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on almost any other of the many objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist

Many provinces are now striving to follow this advice; and, provided that the control of primary education is made more effective, the outlook for compulsion is more promising than it was a few years ago But it will also be necessary to improve the machinery for enforcing compulsion, as reports are widespread that the authorities are reluctant to exact fines, that there are often long delays in the conviction of defaulters and that there is lack of interest on the part of attendance committees

An Alternative to Compulsion

An interesting innovation is now being attempted in Madras in an alternative scheme of compulsion, which is applied only to those children who have joined school There is some force in the observation made by the Linlithgow Commission that it is more important to remove " wastage " than to strain after the last truant It has also been suggested that, at the outset, the compulsion of children who are reaching the maximum age under the Act is an unprofitable labour, and that efforts would be better applied to ensuring that all children of the minimum age shall be enrolled at school each year

Congestion in the Universities

A second hopeful feature of the times is the growing concern caused by the congestion in universities of large numbers of students who are ill-fitted to benefit by university teaching Statistics show that nearly 60 per cent of pupils in the four senior classes of high schools cannot expect even to enter for the Matriculation examination before they are 18 years of age, and that, such is the " wastage " in university examinations, very few even of the successful candidates will be competent to enter for the Intermediate examination two years later The result is that universities are severely impeded in their work of higher studies, and, even more serious, India is now faced by the problems of ever-increasing middle-class unemployment Many in the past have urged as a remedy the stiffening up of examination standards, but this expedient, by itself, cannot be regarded as a right solution It is not equitable that children should be denied the benefits of education, merely because they have no bent for literary studies, neither is it advisable that the close of the high school course should be coincident with a holocaust of victims. The root of the trouble lies far deeper

The Hartog Committee made the following diagnosis of the disease ·

> All sections of the community have little, if any, choice of the type of school for their children The present type of high and middle English schools has established itself so strongly that other forms of education are opposed or mistrusted, and there is a marked tendency to regard the passage from the lowest primary class to the highest class of a high school as the normal procedure for every pupil

Since that time, opinion in India has been crystallising The Punjab University Committee pointed out that, in that university alone, the number of students had increased from 6,583 in 1917 to 19,090 [1] in 1931 ; they rightly observed that " if the present rate of expansion is maintained, the burden will become intolerable . The school foundations are not strong enough Every stage of education should have a clear objective and as far as possible be self-contained " Their main contention was that effective reform of universities must be preceded by a drastic reconstruction of the school systems of India

Even more striking, the Universities' Conference, which was held in 1934, and included most of the Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities, passed unanimously the following resolution

> A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools, in such a way that a large number of pupils would be diverted either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions

Need for Reconstruction

In the meantime, educationists and leaders of public opinion have been urging in the strongest terms the need for school reconstruction Prominent among these is Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who, in his convocation address at Allahabad University, voiced the following opinions

> The University and the Government can combine, each within its sphere, in providing for the diversion of a large number of our young men into schools and institutions where they can be made to learn something that may enable them to earn a decent living by following some useful vocation or occupation or by settling them on the land where land is available This will necessarily involve the overhauling and readjustment of the entire educational machinery It is only when the State has reorganised its system of secondary education and made it more fruitful than it is at present that the universities may be expected to fill the place which it is their duty to fill

Suggested Shortening of High School Course

The Government of the United Provinces, inspired by the initiative of the (then) Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, were not slow in acting on the suggestion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru In August 1934 they published a most illuminating resolution, in which they first reviewed the present situation and then made definite proposals for the reconstruction of the school course. The length of the high school course should be shortened by one year, and the year thus subtracted, in combination with the two years of the present Intermediate course, should form a new three-year course for the Higher Certificate By the constitution of this higher secondary course, the way would be prepared for providing a shortened secondary course, " which would be complete in itself and untrammelled by

[1] Including colleges at Delhi

university requirements" On the completion of the secondary course, "only those who have a bent for literary studies would prolong them, while facilities for vocational training would be provided for those whose bent does not lie in literary studies" It is at this stage, in particular, that the diversion of pupils to other forms of education would be most appropriate The replies to this resolution are awaited with great interest, not only in the United Provinces, but also throughout India, as also is the report of an Unemployment Committee which has been appointed by the government of the United Provinces and which has as its chairman Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru himself

Need for Special Vocational Training

The Government of India have also broken their long silence in educational matters, and have placed before provincial governments their general proposals In doing so, they have endorsed the suggestion in favour of a shortened secondary course, which would provide a good general training to pupils up to the age of 15 or 16 years They have deprecated "the inclusion of vocational subjects, along with literary subjects, in the ordinary secondary schools and colleges To be successful, vocational training requires somewhat expensive equipment and, above all, experienced and practical teaching, it seems obvious, therefore, that resources should not be dissipated, but should as far as possible be concentrated in institutions designed for this purpose Moreover, there is a danger that a haphazard intermingling of vocational and general study may defeat the very object which it sets out to achieve, pupils may be tempted by the bait of somewhat superficial and desultory vocational training to prolong unnecessarily their literary studies and thereby to drift into paths which are unsuitable to them" The Government of India also realised that education, by itself, cannot create new industries and thereby increase the opportunities of employment. They hoped, however, that "boys who complete the shortened secondary course, as proposed, and subsequently benefit by a form of vocational training, would be more likely to be absorbed into industrial occupations and to make the most of industrial opportunities than are many of those who now graduate or fail to graduate at a comparatively advanced age In any case, they would probably receive an education better adapted to their capabilities."

Revision of Examinations

The Government of India also suggested that a commendable feature of the proposal would be the elimination of biennial examinations, which "militate against continuity of study. From an early age in life, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of a public examination; after each interruption of his course, a pupil spends perhaps half of the first year in adapting

himself to new conditions and often to new surroundings, and perhaps half of the second year to cramming for the next examination

An undoubted advantage in the scheme proposed by the Government of the United Provinces would be that each examination will take place at the termination of a particular stage of education and will thereby test whether pupils have attained the objective of that stage For this reason, examinations would have a more clearly defined purpose than they now do "

It is premature to predict the result of these discussions The present system is so deeply embedded in a rut that it may prove difficult to impose new ideas, however beneficial they may be Vested interests in India, as elsewhere, are strong Universities have learned to depend upon examination fees , colleges and schools of huge dimensions will resent the diversion of many of their pupils to other institutions , examiners and writers of textbooks will be in danger of losing a large portion of their precarious incomes There can be little doubt, however, that, unless the evil is scotched, the future of India will be gravely jeopardised It is difficult to resist an expression of regret that the late Lord Curzon, instead of devoting his eminent talents to the reconstruction of the school system at a time when the task would have been comparatively easy, was led astray by the desire to improve the constitutional machinery of universities and to stiffen up Government control

Suggested Federal University

Another interesting discussion has been raised by the proposal of the Government of India to place the University of Delhi on a Federal basis The Sadler Commission on Calcutta University were undoubtedly justified in regarding the affiliating universities as unsatisfactory, examination-ridden institutions ; but it is open to question whether the new type of unitary university, which they recommended, is the best suited to Indian conditions , it is only fair, however, to add that, unless they are based on firm foundations of school education, no universities of whatever type will be successful in India It is also at least arguable that, as observed by the Hartog Committee, " it would be a loss to India if the healthy traditions of the colleges were sacrificed by a too rigid adherence to the formula of a unitary university , and that it would be preferable to retain the vigorous life and traditions of the colleges and to place on the University the duty of organising the work of the colleges "

In a letter addressed to the University, the Government of India suggested the following conditions as being suitable to the development of a Federal university :

(*a*) The University and its constituent colleges should be situated in close proximity to each other

(*b*) Each constituent college should be actively engaged in work of a university standard

(*c*) Each constituent college should be prepared to forgo some

measure of its autonomy in order to share in, and to contribute to, the life and government of the University as a whole ; and

(*d*) The actual teaching should as far as possible be furnished by constituent colleges under the guidance of the University

In furtherance of these ideals, the Government of India have handed over the beautiful old Viceregal Estate and buildings to the University and its colleges The University is now engaged in working out in detail the measure and manner of control over the colleges, which should be vested in the University Provided that the school foundations are reconstructed on the lines suggested above, there is good promise that the University of Delhi will give a lead to the rest of India by stimulating the growth of college traditions and at the same time by co-ordinating their activities for the common good by means of well-devised university control It is essential to this purpose that the conditions of work and service in the colleges should be carefully regulated

Conclusion

It has been possible, within the space of this article, only to refer to some of the main issues which are now engaging, or should engage, attention The need for drastic reform is widely admitted, but words should now be translated into action Some stimulus is imperative It is difficult to expect that new and inexperienced Governments will have the strength to fight against vested interests and to take the initiative in the difficult task of reform , it is the duty of the present authorities at least to prepare the way for their successors Educational progress cannot for ever be waiting upon political reform.

G ANDERSON

CHAPTER EIGHT

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

Introductory

THE object of this chapter is to describe certain important developments that have taken place in recent years in the educational policy of the United Provinces and to discuss critically the lines along which attempts are being made at the reconstruction of primary and secondary education It is not intended to present a systematic, statistical survey of the various branches of education such as have appeared in the preceding issues of the YEAR BOOK about certain Indian provinces In the opinion of the Editor, as well as the writer, a discussion of tendencies and contemplated developments is likely to be of greater and more general interest than a conventional picture of existing conditions which, in many respects, are not dissimilar to those obtaining in other provinces

Before dealing with some of these recent developments, a few words may be said about the special cultural importance of the United Provinces in the life of the country These provinces have been for many centuries, during the Hindu as well as the Muslim periods, the nerve-centre of Indian culture, and some of the most significant streams of Hindu and Muslim thought have come to their fullest development here Movements in literature, art, architecture, as well as religion and philosophy which represent Indian culture in its most typical phases, found their natural home here The development of Urdu and Hindi languages, of Mogul painting, of Mogul architecture culminating in the indescribable beauty that is the Taj at Agra, of the religious philosophy of Kabir—to name only a few comparatively later cultural achievements—are all associated with these provinces For education, too, they had developed a vast network of religious and semi-religious Hindu and Muslim institutions which provided the most important centres of instruction for the people till after the Mutiny of 1857, and even now some of the best-known centres of oriental and religious education, like the Nadwa and the Gurukul Kangri, are found here But it is a very curious and unexplained anomaly of the present educational situation in India that, in spite of this great cultural past, and in spite of being the only provinces with as many as five universities—including the two national universities of Aligarh and Benares—they are at present educationally very backward In primary as well as secondary education the United Provinces is behind most other provinces in point of literacy and the number of scholars receiving instruction in the schools The causes for this backwardness are partly historical, into which we cannot enter here, and partly administrative, i e. other provinces

either established the present system of English education earlier and maintained their lead or, by adopting a more vigorous policy of educational expansion, as in the Punjab, they went ahead, leaving the United Provinces behind The problem before the educational authorities of the province is, therefore, twofold the provision of increased educational facilities, on the one hand, so as to remove the reproach and handicap of being educationally backward, and, on the other hand, the improvement of the quality and system of education so that the existing and new facilities might be utilised most effectively These are two closely connected—in fact inseparable—aspects of one and the same problem, because the quantitative expansion of education will be of no avail whatever till education is so reorganised and reconstructed that the public as well as the students would realise that they are getting proper return for their expenditure of resources and time The wastage and inefficiency which characterise primary education, the narrowness and uniformity of secondary education, the non-selective basis of education at the universities—all these and many other minor factors are responsible for the increasing dissatisfaction with the existing educational system It has become more insistent and vocal in recent years, with the result that the Government have been compelled to take cognisance, and various measures are under contemplation to improve this state of affairs

Reconstruction of Secondary Education

Perhaps the most important measure of educational policy in recent years is the United Provinces Government Resolution on Secondary Education published on August 8th, 1934, with the object, in the first instance, of eliciting public opinion on the contemplated changes and, later, of introducing necessary legislation for the purpose of effecting required modifications in the system of secondary education The Resolution has aroused great interest and discussion not only in these provinces, but in all parts of India, because the situation that it sets out to deal with is not peculiar to these provinces, but presents complex and baffling problems to educationists all over the country They are realising, with ever-increasing poignancy, the state of acute unemployment amongst the educated classes which are unable to find a proper footing in the economic and industrial life of the country and are driven to indulge in a pitiable and wasteful competition for the comparatively limited openings in the services and the " liberal " professions Again, the rigid and narrow scope of secondary education, which provides only academic courses, affects adversely the development and chances of those students who are not temperamentally or intellectually suited for such courses This has resulted in the overcrowding of the colleges and the universities by large numbers of students who are not fitted to profit from the higher literary and scientific education provided by them. The obvious remedy for this situation

seems to be to divert such students at the pre-university stage to various kinds of practical pursuits and to train them for entering such technical and industrial vocations which do not require, as a condition precedent, higher education at the colleges or the university In the scheme as outlined by the United Provinces Government Resolution, it is proposed to institute, after Class IX of the high school, three years' parallel courses in agriculture, commerce and industry in addition to the existing courses in arts and science This three years' work will fall between the high school and the university stage and may be designated as higher secondary education It is hoped that, as a result of these changes, two welcome consequences will follow Firstly, it will ease the unemployment situation by equipping young men to enter into various technical and practical vocations, and, secondly, it will improve the standards of university education by confining it to those who are intellectually better fitted to receive it Before attempting any criticism or appraisal of these proposals, it seems necessary, in view of their far-reaching and important implications, to quote from the Government Resolution in some detail, because it not only explains the nature of the contemplated changes, but also includes a summary of the views of many leading educationists on this problem

United Provinces Government Resolution on Secondary Education

Secondary Education and Unemployment

The Hartog Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission exposed some of the weaknesses and defects of the educational system of India and suggested remedies The need for revision in certain directions has been generally recognised, but reform has had to wait for the occasion which would supply the compelling force This has come in the economic changes, which have necessitated a new attitude towards social and political questions.

In view of the increasing unemployment amongst the educated classes, it is no longer possible to regard our secondary schools and colleges merely as institutions for cultural development His Excellency Lord Willingdon in his address in March last to the Universities' Conference expressed the poignancy of the situation when he said .

> From the point of view of the students concerned, it is heart-rending that many young men, who have fought their way successfully up the educational ladder and have gained high degrees and distinctions, often in spite of many obstacles and handicaps, are yet unable to find means either of maintaining themselves or of serving their fellow-men From the point of view of the country it is disastrous that the labours and initiative of these young men should be running to waste

Demands for Reform of Higher Education

These distressing conditions have had the effect of bringing into prominent relief one aspect—and it is an unfortunate aspect—of the

system of higher education It is now the recurring theme of convocation addresses at Indian universities The following extracts from some of these show that there is a widespread demand for reform from both educationists and men distinguished in public life, and that there is unanimity amongst them that the value of university education is impaired by the presence in the universities of a large number of students who are unfit for higher literary or scientific education , that these students cannot hope to obtain employment which would justify the expense of their education, and that the only feasible remedy is to divert them to practical pursuits at the pre-university stage

Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, in his Convocation Address in 1929, said " Where there is no diverting of students to vocational courses, where, generally speaking, every student is forced to adopt one general course which leaves him unfit for anything except clerical training of a poor kind, it is not surprising that universities have been hampered in their work by admitting students who are unfitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be more likely to succeed in other careers It is clear, therefore, that for bringing about much-needed improvement in university standards of admission, teaching and examination a sound system of secondary education with attractive vocational courses must be adopted This way lies the remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things and not in the proposals for leaving out in the cold students who are not gifted or have not been fitted by proper school instruction for university education " Sir P C Ray (Benares Hindu University Address, 1932) endorses the finding of the Hartog Committee that " the universities are crowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or morally by their university training," and he pleads for " a considerable elimination of candidates in the process of selection " Dr Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, also would eliminate the student who aspires to a degree " by simply cramming the notes dictated by his teachers, who has not even read the books prescribed for his study by the university and to whom education means simply an intensive exercise of his memory " But he thinks that this type of student will be able to earn his livelihood if he will abandon " the idea that certain classes are only meant for intellectual or clerical work and that manual or mechanical work is something of a degrading nature All work must be regarded as honourable To encourage this habit of mind nothing is better than early manual training " Sir Shadi Lal (Punjab University, 1933) says " There can be no doubt that the teaching imparted by the university is adding year after year to the already large number of unemployed graduates A young man reading in a college believes that university education provides a sure qualification for employment under Government or for a definite place in some profession But all that awaits him at the end of his academic career is a rude disillusion-

ment A small section of our students may continue to follow the course now prescribed by the university , but the bulk of them must be trained to business, to develop the resources of the land, to organise and expand industries and to apply themselves to all branches of commerce " Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad University, 1933) presses for reform in the system of education in the interests both of the universities and of the students " From a purely cultural point of view, from the point of view of the advancement of knowledge and learning," it is undesirable " that our universities should consciously or unconsciously allow themselves to be used as so many factories for manufacturing candidates for deputy collectorships, tahsildarships and munsifships, not all of whom can fulfil their ambitions " There is waste " in disappointment, discontent and despair " of lives which might be " more usefully and more honourably spent in other, though humbler, spheres " He sums up his constructive proposals as follows " The university and the Government can combine, each within its sphere, in providing for the diversion of a large number of our young men into schools and institutions where they can be made to learn something that may enable them to earn a decent living by following some useful vocation or occupation or by settling them on the land where land is available This will necessarily involve the overhauling and readjustment of the entire educational machinery It is only when the State has reorganised its system of secondary education and made it more fruitful than it is at present that the universities may be expected to fill the place in the general life of the country which it is their duty to fill " Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, at the convocation (1934) of the Calcutta University, expressed similar views " The number of unemployed graduates is yearly increasing Something should be done for picking out the most suitable students for higher and cultural education While, on the one hand, those of our students who are not fit for cultural education should resolutely set themselves to the task of learning what has been characterised as the mechanical vocations of life, we on our side must be prepared to meet them half-way by providing adequate and efficient facilities for vocational training. The present diffusion of higher education with the results it has been giving should be regulated and, if necessary, limited "

Vocational Training as Suggested Solution

The conference of Indian universities, which met at Delhi in March 1934, considered the question of unemployment, and in this connection the reorganisation required in secondary education in order to make possible a higher standard of university education. The following resolution was passed .

> A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils should be diverted

at the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions This will enable the universities to improve their standards of admission

This resolution is of special importance, as it was passed unanimously by representatives of practically all the universities in India.

Problem of Increased Number of Students

There is no doubt that the main trouble in universities is the ever-increasing numbers of students, many of whom are unfitted to benefit by university education The tendency is for all pupils, whatever their bent and competence, to prepare themselves for admission to a university " The result of this tendency," says the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India in the quinquennial review on the progress of education in India for 1927–32, " is that the work of the higher classes of secondary schools (and consequently university classes also) is clogged by pupils, sometimes nineteen and twenty years of age, who are unnecessarily prolonging their literary education and are thus wasting their own time as well as other people's money " If once the high schools were relieved of this burden, the problem would become easier The Educational Commissioner recognises that the problem will not be solved merely by the arbitrary elimination of pupils who are unfit for higher literary studies " It is not equitable that boys should be denied all facilities for education merely because they have no bent for literary education " He suggests the provision of effective substitutes—a type of higher vernacular education in rural areas " which will be capable of expansion, which will be in harmony with village conditions and requirements, which will train up boys and girls desirous of remaining a part of the village and of spending lives of service to the countryside ; in urban areas it would ordinarily take the form of vocational training of various types imparted in separate institutions "

The need for reform of the system of secondary education in the United Provinces is shown by the number of pupils who are " over-age " in the senior classes of secondary schools All pupils over 18 years old may be reckoned as " over-age " in Class X and those over 17, 16 and 15 as " over-age " in the next three lower classes respectively. In 1931–2 no less than 37,890 out of 72,260 pupils, or 52 3 per cent , were " over-age " in the four senior classes of secondary schools Many of these " over-age " students are drifting into courses of higher literary study for which they have no aptitude.

Suggested Course of General Education

It would, therefore, seem advisable to constitute in the United Provinces a secondary course, of which the object should be to provide a general education complete in itself and untrammelled by university requirements. The following definite suggestions have been made :

The course may be shorter than the present high school course by one year and the medium of instruction should be the vernacular throughout Only those who have a bent for literary studies should prolong them beyond the high school stage. The high school examination should, therefore, have two kinds of certificates—one certifying completion of a course of secondary education and qualifying for admission to industrial, commercial and agricultural schools, and the other qualifying for admission also to Arts and Science Intermediate Colleges The Intermediate course should, if the high school course is curtailed by one year, be extended to three years and should be of four parallel types—(1) Industrial, (2) Commercial, (3) Agricultural and (4) Arts and Science—and end with an examination which may be called the High Certificate Examination These diversified courses would to some extent meet the criticism expressed by the Hartog Committee " In the present system all sections of the community, with their different occupations, traditions and outlook and with their different ambitions and aptitudes, have little, if any, choice of the type of school to which they will send their children In fact, the present type of high and middle English school has established itself so strongly that other forms of education are opposed or mistrusted and there is a marked tendency to regard the passage from the lowest primary class to the highest class of a high school as the normal procedure for every pupil " Only students who have passed the Higher Certificate Examination in arts or science should be eligible for admission to the arts and science courses at universities , but the Higher Certificate in commerce and agriculture may qualify for admission to university courses in commerce and agriculture respectively on such conditions as the universities may prescribe The Higher Certificate in commerce may be recognised as the qualification for admission to all clerical posts in the public services Students who have specialised in a single aspect of some industry often find it as difficult to obtain employment as those who have received a purely literary education The industrial courses should, therefore, not be of a specialised vocational character, but should aim at giving technical training of a general character designed to develop skill of hand and eye, cultivate practical aptitudes and prepare boys for and predispose them towards industrial life In order that schools may discover at as early a stage as possible boys who are fitted rather for an industrial course than for a literary course, manual training or handicraft in some form should be compulsory in the lower classes of secondary schools and optional in the two highest classes.

A modification of these proposals would be to have the High School Examination at the end of the present Class VIII and to extend the Intermediate course to four years This would make it easier to co-ordinate anglo-vernacular with vernacular secondary education, it would enable boys to transfer to craft and commercial schools at a suitable stage and it would provide a four-year course and consequently more thorough training at the Intermediate stage.

On the other hand, the difficulties of reorganisation would under these proposals be increased A large number of teachers now employed in high school classes would have to be employed in other ways, it would be more difficult to find a sufficient number of suitable teachers for a four-year course in industries, commerce and agriculture than for a three-year course, and such a scheme would involve a lowering by two years of the age of admission of students to the Intermediate classes of Degree Colleges

Summary of Proposals

The proposals which have been suggested as perhaps feasible in the United Provinces may be summarised as follows

(*a*) The length of the high school course should be reduced by one year

(*b*) The length of the Intermediate course should be increased by one year In order to emphasise that this course is self-contained and complete in itself, it may be designated the Higher Certificate Course

(*c*) The course for the Higher Certificate should be along four parallel lines

(i) Commercial
(ii) Industrial
(iii) Agricultural
(iv) Arts and Science

(*d*) The High School Certificate should be of two kinds

(1) Certifying completion of a secondary school course and admitting to commercial, industrial and agricultural courses, and

(2) Certifying fitness to proceed to the Higher Certificate courses in Arts and Science

(*e*) Manual training or handicraft in some form should be compulsory in the lower classes and optional in the higher classes of secondary schools in order to discover boys with practical aptitudes and predispose them towards industrial pursuits

Criticism of Proposals

A careful study and analysis of the scheme shows that it has its strong as well as weak points In so far as it seeks to reduce the emphasis on the predominantly academic nature of secondary education and to provide for a diversification of the courses to suit students of different capacities, it is a welcome step in the right direction It may also bring about some improvement in the quality of students going up to the universities and may direct a certain number of young men towards different technical lines who at present drift aimlessly into higher academic education This drift is undesirable on academic grounds, because it lowers the standards of higher education, where quality should be the primary consideration; it is wasteful financially because a majority of students who enter the institutions of higher education are not only psychologically unfitted for it but can ill afford to defray its expenses

But the scheme has failed to take into account certain very important and relevant factors, the omission of which seriously endangers the chances of its success In the first place, it seems to be based on the assumption that the problem of unemployment can be

tackled with any measure of success from the educational end alone —that is, by altering the incidence of emphasis within the field of education, it would be possible to reduce appreciably the stress of unemployment But the real truth of the matter is that the existing problem of unemployment is more economic and industrial than educational, the mere provision of suitable technical, industrial or agricultural education may ease the situation to some extent—it cannot offer any permanent remedy This view is confirmed by the fact that, although there is considerable provision even now for vocational training in these provinces, trained technical workers often fail to find sufficient openings in the market for their talent and they suffer from unemployment almost to the same extent as the ordinary graduates and undergraduates Besides degree and diploma courses in agriculture, commerce and technology, there are industrial schools in different towns for training in weaving, wood-work, metal-work, leather manufacture, tile-making, arts and crafts, etc But some of these schools are not being utilised effectively because students trained in them do not find scope for the exercises of their technical aptitudes They also lack the capital to start small industries of their own and, even when capital is forthcoming, they have to face the competition of the better organised and much more efficient industries of Japan and the West Thus in the peculiar conditions prevailing in India, technical education cannot profitably precede the industrial expansion and development of the country, the two should proceed in close co-ordination

A second difficulty is likely to arise in the actual working out of the scheme It is proposed to provide four parallel courses at the end of the high school course, i e after Class IX, without any possibility of students transferring themselves from one course to another if their first choice is found to be unsuitable This implies the psychological assumption that by the time a student passes Class IX his mind is sufficiently formed to justify an irretrievable choice But this assumption is not tenable Moreover, there is no indication of how the selection of candidates will be made for taking up the various types of courses No machinery is proposed to be set up with the object of vocational testing and of offering vocational guidance. If the selection is left to the uninformed judgment of the parents, or the arbitrary criterion of the High School Examination results is adopted, it will bring about no improvement in the existing situation. The scheme can be useful only when there is a rigorous and intelligent selection of candidates at the entrance to the Intermediate course, and the same principles of exclusion and inclusion are applied to all, irrespective of their economic status If the sons of well-to-do parents are found intellectually unfit for, say, the Arts and Science courses leading up to the university, they should be debarred from taking them up. On the other hand, it would also imply that there should be adequate financial help forthcoming to assist poorer students in prosecuting courses of study for which they are found to be mentally fit. But

it is extremely doubtful if the sponsors of the scheme have entertained, or are likely to entertain, any such far-reaching and radical ideas

Thirdly, the scheme will present when applied to the present complex and variegated system of schools of the province—Government schools, aided and private schools, rich and poor schools, rural and urban schools—many administrative difficulties It will reduce most of the private schools to nine classes, as they will be unable to bear the cost of additional teachers and equipment without generous aid from the Government, which is unlikely to be forthcoming The new vocational secondary schools can only be developed in a few large, selected centres where even the average middle-class parent will find it very difficult to send his sons from his own village or town For a large class of people there is the danger, therefore, of the scheme limiting, instead of adding to, the existing educational facilities The Higher Secondary Certificate, which will naturally become the minimum qualification for entrance to many services and professions, will be placed beyond the reach of many aspiring and intelligent students who will be unable to join schools where arrangements exist for Intermediate teaching Nor does the scheme show any appreciation of the value of part-time day and evening technical institutions as alternative or supplementary to the work of whole-time secondary schools, although this type of training has been found most useful in many European countries and is being provided there on an extensive scale

Finally, the scheme is defective in so far as it fails to envisage the reorganisation of the entire pre-university period of education as a connected whole The most outstanding weakness of secondary education in India is the fact of its standards being low, so that most of the students who complete this stage are not fitted, intellectually or practically, to discharge their duties as citizens and workers What is needed is a thorough reconstruction of education from the lowest class upward, and a radical reform of primary education is a prerequisite condition for any lasting improvements in secondary education In the scheme under discussion there are no specific proposals for improving the standards of teaching and examination or for the reconstruction of methods and curricula The only important and forward step is the unqualified admission that all education at the high school stage should be in the vernacular But the possibilities implicit in the suggested change of the medium of instruction have not been realised There is no indication of the fact that the standard aimed at in the teaching of the various school subjects can be raised to a considerable extent and that, as a result of the contemplated change, the students may be expected to show a more thorough grasp and understanding of the contents of their school studies If this were adequately appreciated and worked for, it will be possible to save one year from the present period of secondary education and add it on to the university without impairing the standard of the former and with every hope of providing

a better education at the latter. It will also be possible to mark out the primary and secondary stages of education in a more intelligent and psychologically justifiable manner.

An Alternative Scheme

The alternative scheme of reorganisation here suggested will work out as follows

1 Primary education extending over a period of five years, with a syllabus reconstructed on modern lines and aiming successfully at the realisation of permanent literacy which is not being achieved at present, as pointed out in the following section of this chapter

2 Secondary education which will be imparted in distinct and self-contained six-years' schools and will provide a variety of courses which will permit the introduction of vocational bias in the first three years and lead to a certain amount of specialisation during the last three years Under this scheme, the first public examination will be held at the completion of this secondary course, but an optional examination might, if necessary, be provided for at the end of Class VIII for those who may be unable to proceed farther for financial or other reasons With a better-planned syllabus, with the use of the vernacular medium and with the more leisurely and thorough work which would be possible in a six-year school dealing with a homogeneous age-group, it is hoped that the students will not only attain the present Intermediate standard in eleven (instead of twelve) years, but also be equipped better for work at the university or in vocations and professions for which they are qualified

3 The one year economised at the preceding stage could be added on to the Degree work so that students will take their B A or B Sc Examinations after three years' continuous and connected work instead of the present two years' study, which is insufficient. This will help to strengthen and popularise Honours courses in place of the present Pass courses, which do not aim at any high degree of intellectual proficiency

The Government Resolution under discussion has been circulated to elicit public opinion, and it has stimulated considerable thoughtful criticism and thus served a useful purpose It is to be hoped that, after taking into consideration the views of important and well-informed educational organisations and other public bodies, the Department will proceed vigorously with the task of constructing a system of secondary education really suited to modern conditions and designed to reconcile the claims of the vocational and cultural aspects which have not been co-ordinated so far in our system of education.

The Consolidation of Primary Education

The Problem of Superfluous Schools

Amongst reports published by the Department of Public Instruction in recent years, special interest attaches to the report of

Mr. R S Weir (Deputy-Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces) which deals with " primary education for boys and girls in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with special reference to uneconomical and superfluous schools (1934) " It is important because it attempts to deal with an annoying educational problem of long standing namely, the rather haphazard multiplication of primary schools in these provinces, without paying enough regard to their efficiency and the stress of educational needs in the locality In the past there has been a conspicuous lack of integrated planning on a large scale, and often small one-teacher schools have been founded in unsuitable localities, prompted often by considerations which were not always relevant Mr Richey, in his Report on Grants-in-aid, had expressed the view that " primary schools in India are usually started by individuals who hope to earn a livelihood by teaching They are not founded with a view to meeting any educational need, but from motives of personal gain " This, however, is not the whole truth , for philanthropic motives also play a considerable part in the establishment of these schools But this philanthropy has often been misdirected, with the result that there is an overcrowding of schools—many of them inefficient ones—in many areas Weir's Report has established this point after a careful survey It says " New schools were opened without due consideration of site, staff and efficiency Results have not been commensurate with our expectations We have many boys in our schools, but we have little education Provision far in excess of this demand has been made, and there are at present three thousand superfluous schools in these provinces The Boards have on their hands a plethora of schools far in excess of their needs and far beyond their abilities to maintain in repairs and efficiency " [1] The need for a more co-ordinated policy and a better consolidation has been felt for a long time in various provinces, and the Hartog Committee reported on the situation in these words :

" It is very improbable that a multiplication of schools on the lines which have been generally adopted is resulting in a corresponding output of literates the opening of more small and understaffed schools has often resulted in an increase of waste There is a grave danger lest the continuance of the almost valueless schooling, such as the children receive in the majority of single-teacher schools, will convert the parents into active opponents of education " [2]

Compulsion on a Permissive Basis

Thus the problem, investigated in the United Provinces by Mr Weir, is an all-India problem and its effective solution is essential for the reorganisation of primary education There were a number of earlier attempts in the United Provinces in this direction during the last ten years The Kichlu Report had drawn the attention of the Department to this problem in 1925 in the following words

[1] Weir's Report, page 6 [2] *Loc cit*, page 70

" The District Boards are maintaining a large number of primary and preparatory schools in which the enrolment is very small These uneconomic institutions are an expensive luxury and are at present the cause of much waste of public funds " It had revealed a great deal of wastage in the primary stages and had recommended *the introduction of compulsion on a permissive basis* by the District Boards on the same lines as had been introduced in the Municipalities in 1919 In consequence of this Report, the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act was passed But, as in the case of the Municipalities, so in the case of the Boards, this approach to the problem of compulsory education proved a failure in two ways Firstly, it failed in the sense that most of the local authorities were unable to take advantage of the scheme under the conditions formulated, as is shown by the fact that from 1923 to 1933 the number of Municipalities availing themselves of the Act rose only from twelve to thirty-six, while about fifty have no compulsory education schemes yet Similarly from 1926 to 1934, only twenty-five District Boards adopted the scheme of compulsion for certain selected areas But what is even more disconcerting than this quantitative failure is the fact that the results of compulsion, wherever applied on a voluntary basis and without the full and direct responsibility for the cost on the part of Government, have been disappointing " The Government should realise," reports Mr Weir,[1] " the extent to which compulsion in general has so far failed to achieve the aim of primary education, viz the conferment of permanent literacy within four years " The total expenditure on vernacular education is still very inadequate, considering the needs of the provinces, but there has been a considerable increase during the years 1919 30, the Government share of the contribution rising from Rs 14 lacs to Rs 73 lacs But neither the enrolment of students nor the increase in literacy has been commensurate with the increase in expenditure—for example, while the latter has increased fourfold, the increase in enrolment during the period has been only 28 per cent All this goes to show that there has been both leakage and disorganisation and full use has not been made of whatever scanty resources have been available

A realisation of this wastage partly prompted the measures suggested by the Department of Public Instruction to meet the financial crisis of the year 1931–2 There was an all-round retrenchment in expenditure of 6¼ per cent in all the Departments, including Education, and the Government suggested to the District Boards that the cut in grant should be met by the abolition of uneconomical schools, reduction of grants to unsatisfactory schools and reduction of overstaffing The idea was that, in this way, expenses incurred on small or superfluous schools could be cut down and money could be spent on the maintenance of better schools By a policy of consolidation and concentration and a readjustment of existing educational expenditure on more effective lines, it was hoped that a real curtailment of

[1] *Loc. cit*, page 34.

educational facilities will be avoided, and it might indirectly result in improving the existing situation But the Boards were guided by certain other pressing considerations and were unable to carry out the suggested policy of eliminating uneconomic schools to any considerable extent, the reduction in income was made good by applying a flat or graded cut to the teachers' salaries

Survey of Problem of "Wastage"

It was felt at this juncture that a survey of the whole existing situation in this respect would be desirable and that a provincial survey of existing facilities for primary education "would reveal numbers of small or superfluous schools, the expenditure on which could better be devoted to maintenance of other schools" It was, therefore, decided by the Government to have a scrutiny of the distribution, the enrolment and efficiency of these schools, and Mr. Weir was put on special duty in November 1933 to study and report on the situation

The study was conducted with the co-operation of the districts' inspecting staff and the authorities of the District Boards Its objects were to examine the existing facilities for vernacular education and for the training of teachers in rural areas with a view to making specific proposals for improvement and to discuss the schemes of compulsory primary education for boys and girls "with a view to seeing how the present allotment for the purpose could be made to yield better results and how the defects in their working could be removed" A careful examination of the distribution, enrolment and staffing of the primary schools revealed the fact that there were about 3,000 superfluous or uneconomic schools in these provinces Of these Mr Weir has recommended the abolition of about 2,500, or 14 per cent. of the total number of primary schools, and has suggested that the educational inspectors should carry out every fourth year a scrutiny of the schools maps of the districts under them In this connection *a superfluous school* has been defined as "a school which can be abolished without detriment to the efficiency of education in its vicinity," while an *uneconomic school* is one "which fails to confer permanent literacy on its students or does so at an excessive cost" Mr Weir has come to the conclusion that "most of the preparatory schools in the United Provinces are uneconomical They fail to make literate five-sixths of the students who enter them. The few who achieve literacy do so at a high cost: Rs. 120/ (about £9) per annum each or more than the annual income of an ordinary Indian household"[1] It is a significant commentary on the values which inspire the policy of educational expenditure in India that, in spite of the 80 per cent wastage involved in it, the figure of fifteen shillings per month per student who achieves literacy is looked upon as an abnormal extravagance!

The reasons for this wastage are well known to students of Indian

[1] Weir's Report, page 11.

education and have been repeated faithfully by every educational committee and commission without, however, resulting in any effective remedy of the existing conditions Permanent literacy cannot be achieved unless a student completes at least a four-year primary course In the words of Mr Harrop, the present Director of Public Instruction " It is uncontestable that unless a boy reaches Class IV he carries away nothing of lasting value " But under the existing educational scheme there is an abrupt and heavy fall in numbers from the Infant class to Class IV The enrolment figures for the year 1933, for example, tell their own tale eloquently enough without requiring any detailed comment

	Infant	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*
Total Enrolment (U P)	416,248	204,349	147,865	107,233	81,362

Analysis of Statistics

An examination of these figures indicates the depressing conclusion that only about one-fifth of the students who join the Infant class stay on till the end of Class IV and achieve real literacy , all the rest fall by the roadside and lapse back into illiteracy sooner or later Mr Weir aptly compares this wasteful situation to a machine working with 25 per cent efficiency There is (comparatively speaking) futile over-enrolment in the Infant class for various reasons—there are a number of small, superfluous schools where teachers are anxious to get together the prescribed minimum number of students, i e 30, and parents look upon them as convenient places where young children can be " stored " away without the payment of any fees till they are grown up enough to help them in their work But as many of these schools—about 47 per cent of the total—are single-teacher schools and the teachers are often untrained, ignorant and poorly paid, they fail to win the loyalty of the community and the interest of their pupils, and the wastage is consequently unchecked The Report recommends that such single-teacher schools should either grow into two-teacher schools or be abolished There is no justification for them in the densely populated United Provinces, and they are particularly out of place in areas where the schemes of compulsory education are under way The closure of these schools has been recommended mainly on two grounds : low enrolment and insufficient progress from the Infant classes to the higher classes. It is contended that the closure of these schools will not mean a setback to primary education in general, but merely diminish the unprofitable enrolment, in the Infant class, of such children as are entirely unlikely to complete their education up to Class IV On the other hand, it is claimed, that " there will be no drop, but rather a rise in the figures reaching Class IV when the superfluous and uneconomic schools have been abolished The boys and the staff will be concentrated in fewer schools, but there the tuition and conditions will be so much better that stagnation will be effectively reduced and boys will receive due

advancement." [1] An interesting comparison made between the educational policy of Bengal and Bombay in this respect shows that fewer schools, wide areas and big enrolments have resulted in far better educational progress in Bombay than in Bengal, where the total initial enrolment is larger, the schools more numerous and crowded and the average number of boys per school is smaller While Bombay manages to retain in Class IV forty-one out of a hundred Infant class children, Bengal retains only seven and the United Provinces fifteen What is needed in the United Provinces also is consolidation and concentration , not the multiplication of small, ill-equipped, one-teacher schools, but fewer schools and higher efficiency The report also definitely recommends that there should be some control over admissions and, as a tentative measure for reducing wastage, compulsory attendance without compulsory enrolment should be enforced up to Class IV But the real remedy for the appalling waste and inefficiency lies in a vigorous attempt to enforce a well-thought-out scheme of compulsory primary education over the whole province The Government should definitely recognise and shoulder the responsibility of enforcing free and compulsory primary education and should be prepared to finance the scheme, even at the risk of reducing expenditure over higher education The desire to take shelter behind the plea of financial stringency and administrative difficulties should be eschewed What has been successfully achieved in other countries, no better circumstanced financially than this, should be possible in the ancient, civilised land of India, provided honest and genuine desire for the welfare of the country is forthcoming on the part of the authorities concerned

The Education of Special Classes

Another important aspect of educational policy which deserves to be mentioned here has to do with the education of certain special classes or communities which require special consideration, either on account of their educational backwardness, or because of their distinctive cultural needs and traditions While it is the obvious function of an educational system to promote the spirit of unity and harmony amongst the various groups and communities in the country, it must take into account any special factors which retard the progress of a community and must provide room for the expression of the legitimate cultural aspirations of particular groups India is a land of great variety—a fact which is responsible for the richness as well as the complexity of its life—and this variety is emphatically mirrored in the United Provinces It has been the obvious and expressed desire of the Department of Education of these provinces to examine the special requirements and claims of the various important minorities with the object of meeting them so far as possible Little has so far been done , for, during the last

[1] *Loc cit* , page 17.

few years, a discussion and examination of problems and resources have been going on, but there is reason to hope that, within the framework of a unified system of education, due representation and weight might be given to the various important communities During the last few years, the Department has turned its attention to this aspect of the educational problem and efforts have been made to find out the views of some of the special communities on their educational needs and problems Reference will be made to these efforts in the following paragraphs

Education of the Depressed Classes

The depressed classes have been defined in the Government of India Memorandum on the Progress of Education in India (drawn up for the perusal of the Hartog Committee) as " those members of the Hindu community who are regarded as outcastes or ' untouchables ' and who have in consequence suffered from serious social disabilities in the matter of education and general advancement " Various factors have been operative during comparatively recent years to ameliorate their condition The awakened conscience of the Hindu community, the efforts of the Indian National Congress in their behalf under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the special provision made for their education by the Government have all resulted in the slow but steady improvement of their position In some parts of the country and amongst certain orthodox sections of the Hindus there is still a great deal of deplorable prejudice against a free association with them in such common concerns as education and in the use of public buildings and amenities, but, under the stress of modern conditions, this attitude is weakening and is likely to disappear in due course

In the United Provinces the actual number of persons belonging to the depressed classes is larger than that in any other province—about eight millions During the last ten years there has been, comparatively speaking, a fairly rapid increase in the enrolment of depressed class children in schools From 1922 to 1927 their number increased from 40,000 to 90,000, which represents an increase of about 125 per cent (as against an increase of only about 33 per cent for *all* the pupils in the province) During the last quinquennium (1927–32) their number has increased by about 30,000, which represents an increase of 33 per cent, which again compares very favourably with the rate of increase for all pupils [1] But these percentages are apt to give a misleading idea of progress because the basis of comparison is an educational situation which borders on almost complete illiteracy. In 1927, for example, only 1 1 per cent .of the children of depressed classes were under instruction, the corresponding figure for the total population being 2·8 per cent.[2] By now the depressed class percentage has risen to about

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education* (1927–32), page 244
[2] Hartog Committee Report

1 4 As practically all these children are confined to the primary stage, it is not difficult to form an idea of their educational backwardness

But there are certain features of the situation which give cause for hope. The most important of these is the increasing enrolment of these children in common schools on equal terms with all the other children. As the Hartog Committee Report pointed out, the policy of extending the system of segregate schools " tends necessarily to emphasise rather than to reduce the differences between the depressed classes and the other Hindu castes " Considerable progress has been achieved during the last ten years or so in the policy of securing for these children a reasonable footing in the ordinary schools In the United Provinces, during the quinquennium 1927–32, the proportion of depressed class children attending *common* schools rose from 75 to 84 per cent , which means that at present only one-sixth of these children are attending the segregate schools The Director of Public Instruction reported to the Hartog Committee that " the single mixed primary school is the most economical and the most efficient type of primary institution These separate schools, therefore, should be regarded as institutions of temporary expediency which will serve the purpose of bridging the period until the community agrees that its needs can be fully served by the mixed school and is willing to use that institution and to allow it to be used without let or hindrance by all classes of the community " This view is now generally accepted officially as well as by the public, and the trend of the present policy is to secure their enrolment in the common schools

Amongst recent measures taken for the encouragement of depressed class education are the appointment of special supervisors, the remission of school fees and the provision of post-primary scholarships In 1924, the contract system of grants was introduced and the grants previously allotted for the purpose were merged in it The present prescribed minimum expenditure on this head for the period 1931–6 is Rs 1,50,000 (about £11,000), which is pitifully inadequate considering the immensity of the task but represents some improvement on the expenditure of the previous decade An annual recurring grant of Rs 40,000 (about £3,000) has been allotted for granting scholarships to children of the depressed classes Mr Weir has made certain recommendations in his Report on Primary Education with the object of breaking down the barrier between depressed class education and the system of ordinary primary schools He proposes that, on the framing of the new grants contracts in 1936, depressed class schools working successfully should cease to be called by this distinctive name and become ordinary district board primary or preparatory schools, but where they are inefficient and superfluous, they should be abolished and the children should be sent to the nearest board school. Any savings from the closure of such schools are to be allotted to the scholarship fund for depressed class children Special care should

be taken not to retrench depressed class teachers, if any school is abolished, its teachers should be provided with posts in the district board service But that will not be enough; special efforts should be made to select, train and enrol in the district board schools pupil teachers from the depressed classes Their proportion at present is very meagre The most satisfactory method of securing the confidence of any particular community in the common system of education is to ensure that a reasonable proportion of teachers belonging to it find a place within the system They will not only secure confidence, but also guard their legitimate interests and claims and serve as an attraction to draw children into the common schools

An important step, which may possibly lead to valuable results, in the direction of envisaging the problem of depressed class education correctly was taken two years ago In September 1933 there was a conference between the Minister of Education, assisted by the Director of Public Instruction and certain members of the depressed classes with the object of finding out their real needs and demands and discussing likely measures for helping in their uplift through education The recommendations of the Conference, which cover a large field, have been referred to an educational officer of the Government with the object of examining them and reporting to the Government as to how "education can most suitably and economically be advanced among the depressed classes" He has also been directed to make a general survey of the educational conditions of the depressed classes in each district and examine the facilities already available for their educational progress It is too early to say what steps the Government are likely to take on the recommendations of the Conference, but it is a distinct advantage for the educational authorities to be put in possession of the views of the community concerned on its distinctive problems rather than to pretend an omniscience which even a Department of Education cannot reasonably claim or possess

Conferences with the Muslims and Indian Christians

Similar conferences have been held between the Education Minister and certain representatives of the Muslims and of the Indian Christians in which these communities outlined and discussed their educational needs and requirements So far as the Muslims are concerned, there has been no attempt at any appraisal of their educational position since the establishment of Islamic schools and Maktabs on the recommendation of the Piggott Committee of 1913. At this conference the Muslims drew the attention of the Minister to their very meagre representation in the educational services of the Department and the local bodies, as well as on the various educational boards and committees which govern and direct educational policy. This demand, it has been pointed out, is not motivated exclusively by a desire to gain an increased foothold in

the services—important as that consideration may be—but rather by a realisation that they could neither contribute of their best to the development of education nor look after their culture adequately without having an adequate representation in the teaching profession. They have also expressed dissatisfaction with their educational progress, particularly in secondary and higher education, and have suggested ways and means of accelerating the pace Likewise the conference on Christian education has given expression to its view on the special educational problems of the community But no action has so far been taken on these proposals and they are still under the consideration of the Government It would, therefore, be premature to say whether these conferences will yield any appreciable results and lead to any far-reaching reconstruction of educational policy

K G SAIYIDAIN

SECTION III

The U.S.A.: Significance of Recent Happenings in American Education

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1934, *pages* 368–82, 1935, *pages* 360–73)

THE chapters on current educational events in the United States which have appeared in the two preceding volumes of the YEAR BOOK have included a minimum of interpretative material The principal objective has been to present a detailed chronicle rather than a critical appraisal of these events

The educational happenings of the past year are not sufficiently different from those of the preceding biennium to require a third chapter of the same type The major educational happenings of the past year represent logical developments of events described in the chapters cited The schools and colleges of the nation have continued to operate under depression conditions The prediction of a year ago, that 1934 would mark the bottom of educational retrenchment, and that 1935 would bring a definite although moderate trend toward educational recovery, has been justified Educational budgets generally, although not universally, have been increased. Phases of the educational programme eliminated since 1930 are being slowly restored

Continuance of Federal Educational Activities

The unprecedented activity of the Federal Government in originating and financing educational projects, which was the major educational event of 1934, has been continued and further developed

Several million dollars were again allocated for the financial relief of districts unable to keep their schools open Besides this direct aid, the Federal Government has continued to finance several educational innovations in which the primary purpose has been relief of individuals rather than school districts Adult education classes have been continued for a variety of purposes—reduction of illiteracy, provision of vocational training in a number of trade and industrial fields, and to make available general educational opportunities This has involved such special phases of adult education as worker's education, parent education, avocational hobbies and handicraft classes and general cultural education Nursery school classes have also been continued

Expansion of Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Programme

Provision has been made for doubling the enrolment in Civilian Conservation Corps Camps, which are providing socially useful

work for young men in forest reserves and rural areas, on such projects as reafforestation, prevention of soil erosion, road building and the development of public parks. The number of the camps is being increased from 1,500 to 2,900, with an increase in enrolment from 300,000 to 500,000.

An allotment of $6,000,000 has been made for the development of camp educational activities The expanded programme, when completed, will involve the training of 2,300 camp educational advisers, the development of outlines of instruction in practical vocational subjects, instruction for those deficient in elementary school work, opportunity to continue high school and college work, development of activities in arts and crafts, nature study, health and physical education, athletics and recreation About half of these courses are vocational in nature Those in typing, auto-mechanics and forestry lead in enrolment Sixteen per cent of the courses deal with elementary school subjects, and 4,000 illiterates are receiving instruction. Thirty-two per cent of the courses are on the high school and college level

Camp libraries are a focal point for educational work There is great diversity among camps as to the amount, quality and character of educational work carried on Individual interests and previous educational experience influence the type of camp school developed, no two of which are alike

One teacher associated with the educational staff of the C C C. Camps recently published an article, from which the following is quoted .

> I came into the Civilian Conservation Corps in search of reality I wanted a job that needed doing I was tired of teaching a lot of twaddle that nobody wanted or needed Suppose the pupils learn all about Cæsar's attack on the Gauls ? Suppose they know the details of the Battle of Leipzig ? Is there any point to it all ? Despite the fact that I was considered liberal and progressive, I knew that tradition held reality outside my door [1]

How this seeker after reality found it is described in the following paragraph .

> We teach civics from the newspapers, the text we all use as soon as we leave school We argue principles and cause and effect And no annually mulled book facts get me by There are always one or two boys who show up any narrow or weak points in my presentation What could be more real than our personal interview work ? We must know about the N R A , the relief situation in the cities, the prices of shoes and employment figures A formal, impersonal educational adviser would be run out of camp All attendance on educational matters is voluntary
>
> The Civilian Conservation Corps may be the first step towards a school without diplomas and credits.

Whether this vision of the educational work of these camps will be generally realised time only can tell A recent report issued by

[1] Farr, Henry L " One Teacher's View of C C C ," *School Life*, vol xx, page 211, May 1935

the Federal Office of Education states that in June 1935 a large number of C C C young men were granted eighth grade and high school diplomas on the basis of formal credits they had accumulated while attending the camp schools

Summer Camps for Women

The beginnings of a programme for needy unemployed women is being developed as a phase of the relief programme At the time of writing, seventeen educational summer camps in eleven states have been authorised, and others are under consideration Various types of vocational and general educational work are provided

National Youth Administration

Probably the most important educational event of the past year is the establishment of the National Youth Administration This agency was established June 26th, 1935, as a phase of the Work Relief Programme by an executive order of the President, which prescribed the following functions and duties

> To initiate and administer a programme of approved projects which shall provide relief, work relief and employment for persons between the ages of 16 and 25 years who are no longer in regular attendance at a school, requiring full time, and who are not regularly engaged in remunerative employment

In further amplifying his order, the President states

> I have determined that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youths They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to work and earn for themselves

The programme, according to the executive order, will consist of several parts Employees in all types of industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises will be asked to accept youths as apprentices, under arrangements worked out with the State Committee on Apprentice Training A minimum wage will be provided during this apprenticeship Apprenticeships in Government service are also provided for

The state and local committees are also instructed to develop job training for 15,000 youths by utilising available school shop facilities in afternoon and evening hours, and by using available private factories or plants at times when they are not in regular operation These classes will be taught as work relief projects by unemployed persons qualified to teach the special fields involved

Job counselling and placement service is to be developed in co-operation with appropriate existing public and private agencies, such as re-employment offices and college employment bureaus Work relief is to be provided for 15,000 youths in connection with various projects at a maximum of $15 per month This particular phase of

the programme is limited to unemployed youths in families certified for relief

Financial aid at the rate of $6 per month for 100,000 high-school boys and girls is to be provided for those in families eligible for any form of Government relief Provision is also made for the extension of the programme for aiding 120,000 college students Needy students are offered an opportunity to earn $15 per month in part-time work, incidental to college attendance

A new and elaborate organisation is set up for the administration of the foregoing youth programme, and an allotment of $50,000,000 is made for the first year.

In amplifying his executive order, President Roosevelt stated .

> It is recognised that the final solution of this whole problem of unemployed youth will not be attained until there is a resumption of normal business activities and opportunities for private employment on a wide scale The National Youth Programme will serve the most pressing and immediate needs of that portion of unemployed youth most seriously affected at the present time

Appraisal of Current Educational Events

The foregoing supplements the detailed descriptions of current educational events included in the two preceding issues of the Year Book The remainder of this chapter will attempt to appraise the significance of current happenings in relation to certain permanent characteristics and long-term trends affecting educational policy and practice in the United States More specifically, an attempt will be made to throw light on the difficult question of whether recent educational events merely represent an extension of education along established lines, or whether educational development following the World War, and particularly since the outset of the economic depression in 1929, shows signs of a conscious adaptation to changing economic and social conditions

Before attempting this ambitious assignment, it is desirable to indicate certain features of the general social scene which are more or less peculiar to the United States First, the decade following 1918 was a period of almost unprecedented educational expansion in the United States The economic consequences of the World War were not felt, except for a slight recession in 1921–2, until late in 1929 General prosperity permitted the school systems of the country to recover the losses of the war years and to go to higher levels Educational expenditures doubled between 1920 and 1930. Enrolments increased, especially at the high school and college levels . A teaching personnel that was largely new was recruited, trained and placed on substantially increased salary schedules There was much activity in the field of curriculum revision School plants recovered the losses of the war years, and in many instances were both modernised and expanded

As this period is viewed in retrospect, however, it represented generally an extension and expansion of education in directions

anticipated by 1920, and in some instances originated many decades earlier

Not until 1930 did education in America come under the influence of the depressing economic, social and political forces, which afflicted most of the countries of Europe during the 1920's The last five years, therefore, has been an especially significant period for the schools and colleges of the United States It is during this period that they, like all other institutions, have been forced to look to their foundations and to justify their social contribution in the public mind

Characteristics of American Education

Education in the United States has been operating under depression conditions for five years That this period has been marked by substantial retrenchment is convincingly demonstrated by facts presented in the chapters of the two preceding issues of the YEAR BOOK Now that the first signs of recovery are definitely showing, what is the significance of these five years of educational appraisal ? Do they represent merely an interruption in the development of the old American tradition in education, or are there indications that the current crisis has been a prelude to new adaptations of education to social needs ? These difficult questions can perhaps be best studied by describing some of the distinguishing characteristics of the American educational tradition The more important of the current events in education may then be examined against this background Decision may then be made as to whether these happenings are merely an extension of traditional educational policy and practice, or whether they represent the beginnings of new and fundamental adaptations

Faith in Universal Education

One of the most powerful forces which brought the American school system into existence was the naive faith of the American people in universal educational opportunity Free schooling has been the most concrete expression of the American ideal of equality of opportunity Belief in the curative power of education for social ills and in its benefits for the individual has approached the fervour of a religion

This faith, plus the industrialisation of the nation, resulted in an amazing increase in school attendance, not only at the elementary, but also at the high school and college levels Enrolments in free high schools approximately doubled each decade between 1870 and 1930 Considerably more than half of all children aged 14–18 are now enrolled in secondary schools. The growth in college enrolment has been equally striking.

During the last five years, secondary school attendance has continued to increase College enrolments decreased slightly in the trough of the depression, but are once again on the rise New

junior colleges are coming into existence Chicago abolished its one junior college three years ago and has now replaced it with three. San Francisco has just opened a new junior college with a beginning enrolment of 1,900

It appears that further growth of secondary schools and colleges of the traditional type is likely in the years just ahead The faith of the American people in universal educational opportunity does not appear to have been fundamentally modified by the depression Rather, its practical operation was merely halted

Some might include the development of the C C C camps, the growth of adult education and the establishment of the National Youth Administration as recent expressions of America's uncritical faith in universal education I would not so classify them Rather, they exemplify other characteristics of education in the United States, dealt with subsequently in this chapter

Equality of Educational Opportunity

Tax-supported educational institutions from the kindergarten through the college are now maintained by most of the States of the American Union Children and youths are admitted without tuition fees or discrimination as to class, religion or race This situation constitutes the American interpretation of the ideal of equal educational opportunity—one of the slogans of national life.

In the summer of 1933, the National Conference on the Financing of Education, referred to in the YEAR BOOK of 1934, proposed an extension of this principle After canvassing the situation and discovering that many youths were being denied educational opportunity, because of the straightened circumstances of their parents, this Conference proposed

> That a democratic society is under obligation not only to provide adequate education for youth at public expense but livelihood if necessary up to the age when society is prepared to offer employment

This was looked upon as an extremely radical proposal at the time it was made. During the last year and a half, however, it has rapidly been accepted in practice In establishing the National Youth Administration in June 1935, President Roosevelt accepted this principle Projects already in operation, such as the C C C. camps and the National Youth Administration, will provide for the education and the complete or partial support of some 700,000 American youths before 1935 comes to a close

The Social Security Act, just passed by the Federal Congress, which launches an extensive programme of social insurance—old-age pensions and unemployment compensation—includes an appropriation of nearly $3,000,000 to assist the states in providing medical and corrective services for crippled children and an appropriation of $1,500,000 to aid state agencies in caring for homeless and neglected children.

Whether the policy of providing support as well as free schooling for considerable numbers of children and youths will become a permanent practice in the education of American youth cannot be predicted. It now constitutes, however, one of the most striking innovations in educational policy of the depression period

Democratic Differentiation of Educational Offerings

For several decades the United States has persistently been differentiating curricula at all educational levels to meet the varying capacities and needs of a school population, growing both in numbers and heterogeneity This trend largely explains many of the educational developments of the present century

The elementary school first broke with the practice of providing a single, academic curriculum in which all were expected to achieve a set standard of performance Substantial modifications in the curriculum have been made to take account of differences in mental capacity The ideal increasingly incorporated in practice is to differentiate content and activities to fit both group and individual needs

One of the fundamental purposes at the back of the development of the junior high school for the early adolescent group had to do with the need for earlier differentiation of secondary education The growing diversity of capacity and background of the high school population was cited as the justification

The senior high schools, enrolling those up to 18, were slower to respond to this trend Practically all these schools to-day, however, in so far as their facilities permit, offer several curricula in addition to the traditional college preparatory course

Developments on the junior college and collegiate level have been in the same direction To-day, in most of the large colleges and universities of the United States, any youth of average capacity or, better, who is willing to put forth reasonable effort, can proceed to the Bachelor's degree by a number of routes.

Present indications are that this characteristic trend will continue within the framework of the traditional American public school system

There are certain developments under this head, however, which represent new adaptations to changed social conditions Some of these are taking place in the regular schools On the collegiate level a growing number of institutions are developing honours courses and other special opportunities for students of unusual capacity and industry This is occurring both in the undergraduate Liberal Arts colleges, such as Swarthmore and the Lower Division of the University of Chicago.

New College, recently established in Columbia University, represents a bold attempt on the undergraduate level to develop a radically different programme for the training of teachers, which integrally combines both general and professional education Besides classroom work, heavily weighted with content drawn from the contem-

porary economic, political and social scene, and foreign travel, this programme involves practical work experience on a farm owned and operated by the College, first-hand contact with several vocations, with social welfare work and other real-life situations High standards of mastery and performance are required for at least five years beyond high school graduation before the Bachelor's degree is awarded.

The University of Minnesota has been developing a differentiated programme to meet the special needs of entering students of average and below average capacity Separate courses involving a larger proportion of vocational and practical content are being worked out

The educational activities of the Federal Government, particularly those initiated during the last two years, represent the most radical differentiation of educational offerings which has occurred in many decades They are especially significant because of their close tie-up with vocational and other practical affairs of life, their combination with a substantial amount of real labour, and the voluntary and informal basis on which they are organised Because of these characteristics, they appear to constitute a new adaptation to the realities of the social situation, rather than an extension of a traditional tendency

Vitalising of Educational Programmes

In spite of the tendency, which has operated for some time, to bring a larger element of reality into the school programme, there is still a gulf between schooling and real life A number of tendencies accelerated by the depression are operating to narrow this gulf

Recent courses of study reveal this trend quite clearly Several states are now promoting extensive programmes of curriculum revision The courses which are being issued by some of the states represent a decided change from the conventional basis of organisation. The Virginia state course of study [1] is an advanced example This course is not organised under the traditional subject-matter groupings, such as reading, arithmetic, history and art Rather, it is organised from the kindergarten through the secondary school, around eleven major functions of social life, such as (1) protection and conservation of life, property and natural resources ; (2) production of goods and services and distribution of the returns of production , (3) expression of æsthetic impulses , and (4) extension of freedom " Centres of interest," based upon the major functions, suggest the general outline of work for each grade For example, " home and school life " is the centre of interest in the first grade, and the children, using material appropriate to their stage of development, explore such questions as . How do we protect and maintain life and health in our homes and school ? How do the

[1] *Tentative Course of Study for Virginia Elementary Schools* and *Tentative Course of Study for the Core Curriculum of Virginia Secondary Schools*, Richmond, Va

things we make and grow help us ? What can we do to make our home more beautiful and pleasant ?

In the ninth grade in the secondary school, the centre of interest is " agrarianism and industrialism and their effects upon our living " In the course of developing the major functions of social life in this grade, such problems as these are dealt with How and why does the change from an agrarian to an industrial order affect the use and conservation of natural resources ? How do agrarianism and industrialism influence the development of our artistic resources and the adjustment of all individuals to their use ?

The theory of the Virginia course is that attitudes and appreciations, conducive to desirable behaviour, will result from instruction integrated around major problems of individual and group life These attitudes are integrally tied up with certain habits and knowledge, and involve their integration and mastery through the vital units of work in which the children engage In cases where it is necessary, however, the teacher is instructed to provide, through direct teacher guidance and drill, for more complete mastery than may be gained in the new units of work Materials, organised under conventional subject-matter headings, are included to aid teachers in this type of instruction

The Virginia course is one of a number of advanced examples, which illustrate a tendency more or less reflected by many recent courses of study These assumptions underlie this trend greater effort is put forth and mastery achieved when the work of the school deals with materials intrinsically interesting to children The school as a social institution is obligated not only to acquaint the child with the culture of the past and to train him to adjust to life as it is to-day, but also to prepare him to play a part in correcting current social ills and in building a better social order

The schools of some communities are adopting a variety of methods to develop activities that go far beyond the classroom or playing field The camp project of the High School of Commerce in New Orleans, Louisiana, is one example This high school, bought and paid for, through work of various types performed by its students, a sixteen-acre pine-covered camp site, facing on a stream The development of this site, involving the clearing of the land, the construction of athletic fields, the sinking of a well and the construction of a recreation pavilion and other buildings, provided week-end activities for the boys of the school for several years

The project has recently been incorporated for such purposes as the following . maintenance of a recreation camp, provision of teaching facilities in woodmanship, woodcraft, hunting, fishing, swimming and scouting, and the offering of summer vacation facilities to students, alumni and faculty members

The requirements for membership in the camp are few To qualify, a boy must be a student in the High School of Commerce He must know how to cook. He must be able to pay for his own food, and must be willing to abide by the camp rules.

Developments of the foregoing type are the exception rather than the rule There are some indications that they will become more common as adjuncts to classroom work in the years just ahead

The tendency to bring a greater degree of reality and vitality into education is perhaps more strongly reflected in the newer educational activities of the Federal Government Many of these have a vital and close connection with real problems of both individual and social life A youth working all day on a soil erosion project can understand the importance of planning in order to preserve natural resources A youth on work relief can readily realise the importance of mastering the practical skills of a trade or of knowing how to go about obtaining a job The problem of unemployment is not an abstract study to him

Scattered throughout the country are some 6,000 county farm agents, concerned with an educational programme initiated by Federal legislation In the past they have largely confined their educational activities among youths and adults to narrow vocational topics concerned with increased agricultural production Recently they have extended their educational work to include consideration of such fundamental phases of the New Deal as the Agricultural Adjustment Act It is obvious that a farmer needs no artificial stimulus to bring him to a meeting which explains the workings of a law, which restricts the amount of cotton he can raise and determines the size of the Federal pay cheque he is to receive in connection with this restriction

Trend toward Centralisation

The school system of the United States is more highly decentralised than that in any other large western nation Belief in the merits of state and local autonomy in the field of education is rooted deep in the thinking of the American people

A number of the Federal educational projects, initiated during the past two years, have constituted a challenge to traditional attitudes on this issue The educational relief activities have been administered by newly appointed relief officials, operating under rules and regulations prescribed in Washington They have come into frequent clashes with state and local school officials on matters intimately affecting the financing of education and the determination of educational policy.

The National Youth Administration, although its work will involve the close co-operation of existing school officials, has been placed under the control of a wholly new administrative organisation, extending all the way from the Federal Government to the local school district. The United States Office of Education was not made responsible for the administration of the Youth Programme at the Federal level. New state committees, rather than the established state departments of education, are responsible in the forty-eight states.

This, and somewhat similar tendencies, which have come into the educational picture in the last two years, have aroused some dissension on the part of existing school officials It was a subject of a resolution at the July meeting of the National Education Association

This situation raises issues of outstanding significance to the future development of education in the United States The depression has made it abundantly clear that, at least in depression periods, there are many local, and even some of the forty-eight state, school systems which have neither the financial ability nor the social vision to maintain the educational facilities demanded by contemporary social life

Confronted by this situation, the Federal Government had two choices It could have provided financial aid and leadership which would have permitted the state and local school systems to have met their educational obligations, with a minimum of encroachment upon their integrity and responsibility Instead, in some respects at least, the Federal Government has pursued an opposite course Incidental to its relief activities, it has created new and highly centralised governmental agencies to develop and administer educational activities The National Youth Administration is the outstanding example Whether this tendency is a temporary phenomenon of the depression, or whether it represents a rapid acceleration of a policy of administrative centralisation, will not be clear until at least another year has passed It appears, however, that we are on the verge of a series of significant revisions in the relationship of the Federal Government to education, which have as their purpose the adaptation of this public service to new social needs

Rise of Teachers' Associations

The development of strong professional organisations among teachers is a comparatively recent phenomenon in American educational development The National Education Association, with a current membership of 200,000, had less than 10,000 members at the close of the World War Its sedate programme involved a narrow range of pedagogical issues The education associations of most of the states did little more than hold an annual convention previous to 1918 To-day they enrol 700,000 teachers and are developing in co-operation with the National Education Association a militant programme, involving both the economic and intellectual welfare of the teaching profession

These organisations vigorously opposed educational retrenchment during the depression and actively pressed the interests of education in Washington during the development of the " New Deal " legislation During the past year their attention has been claimed by a series of attacks on academic freedom in a variety of forms. Led by a powerful chain of newspapers, certain elements in American life have sought to suppress liberal tendencies as well as to restrict

the teacher in the exercise of various private, professional and citizenship rights Dismissals and other punitive measures have been visited upon individual members of the profession

The demand from the rank and file of the profession that teachers' organisations should adopt militant measures to combat this situation, came to a head at the meeting of the National Education Association in July, and took the form of instructions by the Delegate Assembly that a Committee on Academic Freedom be appointed to investigate dismissal of teachers in violation of the principle of freedom of teaching, to co-operate with other national organisations engaged in maintaining academic freedom and to seek public support to maintain the intellectual rights of teachers This action brings the largest and most influential teachers' organisation into line with several small and somewhat radical groups in dealing with this and other lively professional issues

Recent conventions of both state and national education associations have revealed an aggressive militancy on the part of teachers, which has not been characteristic of this group in the past. There are some signs that the teaching profession in the years just ahead may become another powerful " pressure group," which will concern itself, not only with strictly educational issues, but also with matters of broad social policy

Long-term Planning in Education

The system of education in the United States has been built up by the policy of piecemeal addition The various levels of this system trace their origins to quite diverse sources Even to-day they articulate rather imperfectly, in purpose, curricula and administrative organisation There has been a minimum of logical planning characteristic of centrally conceived and administered systems of education The assets which have accrued from the decentralised, and more or less unplanned, development of education in the United States have to date probably outweighed the liabilities

The realities of the depression period have emphasised the weaknesses of our schools Leaders in educational thought clearly recognise the importance of bringing the elements of foresight and planning into the future development of American education This may be done through the process of centralised planning and control, or through the leadership of non-governmental voluntary organisations and planning commissions As has already been pointed out, the depression has resulted in some developments which lean towards governmental centralisation Whether these have permanent or merely temporary significance is still uncertain

The depression has also initiated a new type of long-term educational planning through non-governmental agencies National, but unofficial, commissions dealing with curriculum revision and other important matters have long played a major rôle in educational evolution Until recently, however, they have only dealt with segments of the educational programme. They have been inclined

to accept the educational *status quo* and to be concerned with lifting poor and average practice nearer to the best of existing procedures They have frequently worked with inadequate financial resources

There is now coming into the picture a new type of educational planning commission The Committee on the Care and Education of Youth of the American Council on Education, a federation of education associations, is launching a most ambitious programme, to be financed by a grant of half a million dollars Through research, hearings of the type frequently employed in the development of education in Great Britain, deliberation and propaganda, this Commission hopes to appraise existing educational organisation and to project and popularise a programme for its future development The membership of this Committee is made up of both laymen and educators, with the former in the majority

A similar development is represented by the appointment of the Educational Policies Commission at the July meeting of the National Education Association This Commission was created on the recommendation of the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, the agency which has been most active in fighting the battles of the schools during the depression In urging the appointment of the Educational Policies Commission, the Chairman of the Joint Commission stated

> The purposes of this agency would be to stimulate thinking and long-term planning within the teaching profession on the highest possible level, looking toward the continued adaptation of education to social needs It should be instructed to appraise existing educational conditions critically and to stimulate thinking and action to the end that desirable changes be brought about in the purposes, procedures and organisation of education
>
> The creation of such a Commission would consciously provide for long-term educational planning, which to date has often been neglected The objective should be to bring a higher type of thinking and statesmanship into the development of the programme of teachers' professional organisations If there is any group in this nation which should protect itself from the corroding influence of narrow self-interest and limited vision, it is the teaching profession

The membership of the Educational Policies Commission is made up of both laymen and educators, with the latter in the majority It will, therefore, primarily represent the teaching profession, and will develop co-operative action among numerous education associations—national, regional and state

The movement towards educational planning has already gained considerable impetus in several of the states and in some local communities A Conference on Long-term Educational Planning, held in New York City in August 1935, brought together several hundred educators representing twenty-two states and various local school systems

There are numerous signs that the depression is creating a new type of agency in the United States concerned with the continuous replanning of public education.

Depression conditions continued to restrict the operation of the school systems of the United States during 1935 Conditions were better, however, than in 1934 Educational recovery appears to be under way

What is the significance of the educational events which have characterised the period from 1930 to 1935 ? Has the depression merely represented a halt in the development of American education along traditional lines, or are there signs of innovations and adaptations to changed social demands ? The United States continues to hold firm to its faith in universal education—the numbers enrolled in some type of educational institution will probably increase in the years just ahead Current tendencies promise to provide not only free schooling, but also partial support for considerable numbers of children and youths The tendency to provide a widely differentiated educational offering continues in the regular schools and colleges It is taking new forms in connection with Federal agencies, such as the C C C camps and the National Youth Administration There are some signs that the depression is bringing a greater degree of reality and vitality into educational programmes —focusing their activities increasingly upon realistic problems of individual and group life This trend is most strongly reflected in recently initiated projects of the Federal Government These projects are bringing with them an unusual degree of centralised control, affecting both the purposes and administration of the schools Whether this is a temporary or a permanent development is still uncertain Depression conditions are bringing increased solidarity and militancy into the ranks of the teaching profession There are some signs that teachers will organise into associations competent to deal, not only with major educational issues, but also with matters of broad social policy One of the most significant recent developments is the creation of adequately financed long-term planning commissions These voluntary agencies are concerned with the critical appraisal of existing educational organisation and procedure, and with the planning of needed adaptations in educational purpose and practice

In some respects, current events suggest that the depression merely interrupted the evolution of education along traditional lines In other respects, these happenings prophesy fundamental educational reorganisations, designed to meet the realities of the changing social scene.

JOHN K. NORTON.

SECTION IV

Some " Growing Points " in African Higher Education

Introduction

TO-DAY, most of the British Colonial Dependencies in Africa are beginning to recover from the financial depression, and once more, even among the more conservative Governments, there is a tendency to look forward towards reconstruction and development In times of stress, Governments in Africa, as elsewhere, are chary of undertaking new expenditure in education, and even tend to economise in current expenditure the results of activities in that field are difficult to foretell, take some time to become effective and, in them, economies seem to cause the least immediate hurt On the other hand, when signs of a return to normal economic conditions appear, it is in the educational fields, in their broadest sense, that there is a first claim for re-expansion At this time, therefore, it may be especially pertinent to review some of the institutions which, using the term in its biological sense, are the " growing points " in African education, to discuss the light which they cast on probable future trends in education and to consider those aspects which they suggest as deserving more careful study and encouragement

Every school worthy of its name should, of course, be a " growing point " in education Not only should every school be a centre for conserving and passing on from one generation to another the body of lore and knowledge acquired in past ages, but it should also be the leader in new movements and their aspiration In the African dependencies particularly, schools must be the meeting-ground of new and old ideas, from the fusion of which comes smooth progress

Growing points in African education, it would appear, can be viewed from two angles Firstly, there might be a consideration of schools in general and a discussion of their relation to the changing economic and social needs of the people Secondly, there might be a discussion of certain outstanding institutions in their relation to trends of educational policy and development It is hoped that the first aspect, covering as it does a wide field, may form the subject for subsequent discussion In this article, however, discussion will be limited to the narrower field : as examples, it is proposed to review three leading institutions, Achimota College in the Gold Coast, Makerere College in Uganda and Fort Hare Native College in South Africa, each in a different part of Africa, and each profoundly affecting educational policy throughout the African world.

From the discussion of these institutions it is hoped to arrive at some conclusions as to general trends, difficulties and problems of present developments As each of these institutions is well known and has been fully described in numerous reports, only such brief descriptions will be given in the following pages as will provide a basis for our comparative comments.

Achimota College,[1] Gold Coast

The first move towards the founding of Achimota College was made by a Gold Coast Education Committee in 1920, which, under the inspiration of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the Governor at that time, recommended the erection of a special government secondary school As a result of the success of African-owned cocoa plantations and the profitable exploitation of European-owned gold-mines, the Gold Coast was at the height of its prosperity Wealth and ambition led the African to demand more and better facilities in education · indeed, many families were actually sending their children to England for school and college education The Committee recommended the provision, within the territory, of a secondary school of the very best possible kind and which might later also develop higher education It was hoped by this means to induce Africans to follow at least the primary and secondary, and later, perhaps, the undergraduate parts of their educational careers in their own country On the one hand there was an appeal to local pride—the Gold Coast should have an institution which could hold up its head as inferior to none—and on the other hand it was felt desirable that the doors of better educational opportunities should be open to wider numbers than was possible when, in order to find schools of unassailable standards, it was necessary to go overseas There were, and of course still are, other secondary schools in the Gold Coast, but Achimota was to be exceptionally well equipped, was to supplement these other schools and, as has been said, was to lead eventually to the establishment of a college of university standing

In 1926, the Rev A G Fraser, who had done such remarkable work in Ceylon, was appointed first principal About this time also the Phelps-Stokes Foundation in New York, which had been formerly solely interested in negro problems and housing schemes in the United States, decided to extend its interest to problems of educational development for negroes throughout the world Under its auspices, a Commission consisting of a few of the more prominent people interested in African education visited first West Africa and South Africa, and then East Africa, with a view to making a

[1] For fuller descriptions of Achimota College see the *Report of the Committee appointed in 1932 by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony to inspect the Prince of Wales' College and School, Achimota* (published by the Crown Agents for the Colonies), the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1933, pages 664–74, *The Prince of Wales' College and School*, by Mayhew, also Achimota Annual Reports, etc etc.

survey of schools as they found them, and putting forward some suggestions for future developments To this Commission was invited Mr Aggrey, an African from the Gold Coast who, after taking the early part of his education in Africa, had proceeded to America, and, at Teachers College, Columbia, had shown remarkable ability As the Commission proceeded in its tour, the wisdom of the invitation became more and more apparent Thousands of Africans, in every part of each territory which was visited by the Commission, flocked to hear Mr Aggrey speak his counsels were full of common sense and restrained inspiration From amongst her own people Africa had found a leader of unchallengeable standing, honoured alike by white and black races Many of the leading educational institutions in West and South Africa begged him to associate himself with their work, but it was Mr Fraser who inspired him to accept the post of assistant vice-principal at Achimota

The Scope of Achimota

After a careful study of the country and its needs, Mr Fraser, supported by Mr Aggrey, laid down three main principles Firstly, he believed that the development of higher standards of living in Africa depended upon the provision of equal educational opportunities for boys and girls alike Achimota College was to be co-educational at every level of its work, as it still is to-day Secondly, he believed that the college must be Christian in outlook and avoid all sectarian divisions, and thirdly, he believed that there must be provision not only of the best possible facilities at the secondary school stage and onwards, but that pupils must also have the best possible pre-secondary school training if they were to benefit by opportunities at the higher levels Achimota, therefore, was to be a Christian college and to provide education from the infant school level upwards It still does so to-day

From the beginning co-education has been a success at Achimota , no untoward incidents have occurred and healthy normal relations have developed between the sexes at all ages The past ten years have also confirmed the wisdom of Mr Fraser with regard to the non-sectarian but definitely Christian teaching of the college , for, whereas in so many parts of Africa unhappy divisions and intolerance between Christian sects are rife, at Achimota there is unity and mutual understanding As to the third principle, there was more need for better infant and primary schools when Mr Fraser first came to the Gold Coast than there is to-day, and further reference to this matter will be made in a later paragraph

Many years before the foundation of Achimota College, the Government, with a view to raising school standards, had established a teacher-training centre at Accra On the establishment of Achimota it was decided to hand over the work of this centre to the new college To the contribution of traditions and leadership brought by the amalgamation Achimota owes a great debt. To cite

one example amongst many, the direct transference to the new college of the study of drumming and African music, which had been encouraged at the old training school, brought to Achimota a respect for native studies which has played an invaluable part in subsequent development

It had been the original aim of Achimota to proceed from secondary school teaching to university teaching, with the idea that the College should ultimately become a university of the West Coast of Africa Sir Gordon Guggisberg had been inspired and stimulated by the remarkable medical school which the French had developed at Dakar, and perhaps by the founding of Raffles College, Singapore In his early speeches on Achimota we find references to the founding of a medical school as one of the aims of the college To this end the Government rebuilt its native hospital at Accra, and set aside an adjoining piece of land for the erection of hostels and laboratories Other projected lines of development were the establishment of an agricultural course and a school of engineering

The development of courses of university standard have, unfortunately, been only partially realised To-day, facilities are available at Achimota only for a comparatively small section of advanced pupils who are preparing for the intermediate degree examinations in arts and science of London University The insistence by Mr Fraser upon sound infant and primary education as a starting-point led to postponement in the development of higher courses, and when students were ready for higher work funds, unfortunately, were no longer available for expansion on the same scale as at other levels of the college An additional complication, in the case of the medical school project, arose from objections by the medical department to training of semi-qualified "medical assistants" after the French model a full medical training or nothing was their recommendation, and not even the Gold Coast could afford to maintain the teaching staff required for such an aim

During the last year the Gold Coast financial position has improved; hence, since his appointment in 1934, the new principal, Mr H M Grace, late of Budo College, Uganda, has been able to make fresh efforts towards the development of teaching of courses of university standing He is planning the establishment of an agricultural course to encourage the creation of a class of African country-squire farmers, who will develop the cocoa plantations of their families and play their part in the new economic organisation of village communities He is once again raising the question of medical training, and he views sympathetically the future development of a department of African sociology

To-day, therefore, judging superficially, Achimota appears mainly as a primary and secondary school with the addition of a teacher-training section, nevertheless, it is also a centre for university work, although, at present, this consists only of small sections in engineering and arts. According to the latest report there are 37

pupils in the kindergarten, 44 in the lower primary section, 116 in the upper primary and middle school, 100 in the teacher-training section and about 20 students preparing for university Intermediate examinations Furthermore, as patron of higher education in the territory, the college awards a limited number of scholarships which enable students to proceed to English universities for advanced study

The preceding paragraphs give a mere outline of the scope of the college ; a large volume would be needed to give an adequate picture of its activities, ramifications and influence Even a résumé would be too great a task to undertake in these pages, and for such, reference should be made to the many articles and reports already published on the subject Nevertheless, in order to give some kind of outline picture, without which the comparative comments in the last section of this paper would be unintelligible, a few brief notes on the wider activities and influences of the college are appended

Activities and Influences of the College

Achimota does not lose sight of the fact that an African school must not merely hand on the general heritage of knowledge from the outer world, but must also play its part in encouraging Africa to make her own contribution An attempt is being made within its walls to synthesise the contributions of Europe and the contributions of Africa to the enrichment and satisfaction of the latter continent As particular examples, tribal music (especially since the appointment to the staff of that remarkable composer, Mr Amu), tribal dancing and tribal drumming, side by side with an appreciation of European symphonies, are being encouraged at Achimota On weekdays during school hours, all the students, boys and girls, wear suitable European clothes, but during out-of-school hours and on Sunday evenings a large proportion of the students proudly wear their tribal coloured cloths European and African clothes have each their proper place There is a complete absence at Achimota even of " colour consciousness " Africans and Europeans mix on grounds of mutual respect for the customs of the other In the " hobbies " classes African carving and art take their place side by side with European crafts, such as book-binding and leatherwork In the classrooms, as part and parcel of their normal academic work, boys are encouraged to write studies of their own history and customs

From an academic point of view, however, the synthesis of African and European elements in school work has only just begun and is still very incomplete There is a lack of systematic organisation in the pursuit of African studies and arts Other work tends to crowd out the essays on tribal lore The dancing and drumming, the music and carving have tended to be regarded merely as supplementary play activities African things, as a whole, tend to be considered, it seems, rather as " frills " than as fundamental disciplines taking their proper place among other academic disciplines in the school. Achimota is beginning to realise this weakness and has

been considering the addition to the staff of an African Studies lecturer and research worker who could develop systematically these aspects of the college life

The work of the college is not limited by the boundaries of its grounds. In the agricultural section real research in the tropical fauna and flora of the whole territory, and of the West Coast generally, is being conducted The college maintains a printing department, which publishes reports and vernacular literature At a neighbouring village, and recently at the workmen's village within Achimota's own grounds, the school has been undertaking practical social service work, such as improving sanitary conditions, beautifying the surroundings and taking an interest in the people During vacations the staff spend their time in selected country districts for the purpose of learning the vernaculars, of getting to know the people, of spreading the influence of Achimota and of ensuring that the teaching at Achimota itself is of really effective service The college library is not only open to students and teachers at the school, but has been thrown open to all students and teachers throughout the colony For a very small fee to cover expenses, books may be borrowed through the post by people in even the most remote parts

One of the most remarkable features of Achimota is its independence of government control Inspired by certain writers on Indian development and supported by Sir Gordon Guggisberg, from quite an early stage in the development of Achimota Mr Fraser pressed that, as is the case with similar institutions in Europe, the new school and college should be under the complete executive control of the principal, and that he, in his turn, should be responsible to a Board of Governors who represented African opinion rather than a government department In Africa a serious obstacle in the way of the building of schools of character and tradition, financed by Government, is the fact that the staff is usually appointed by, and can only be disciplined or dismissed by, the Government; hence there is a tendency to transfer both headmasters and staff from one school to another to suit the exigencies of the service rather than to maintain continuity and team work in the individual schools Not only did Mr Fraser insist upon the right to select and control his own staff, not only did he truly control every aspect of the life of the institution, but he created a Board of Governors which has complete authority over both policy and finance As an expression of his desire to serve the people, the principal invited to membership of this Board a majority of non-Government Africans And as an expression of faith the Government has presented to this Board the buildings and equipment, which cost over a quarter of a million pounds Furthermore, in that same spirit of faith the Government covenants to pay an annual grant of £48,000 for maintenance and development The creation of a series of schools, which are equal to any in Europe, and the creation of a Board of Governors such as has been described these are indeed achievements unparalleled in any other African dependency.

Makerere College, Uganda

Makerere College made its first appearance as a small technical school, as a result of the recommendations of a Uganda Committee appointed in 1920 by Sir Robert Coryndon, who was Governor at that time The Committee had recommended the founding of a school which would provide training in trades for boys of post-primary standard, and in 1921, under Mr Savell as the first principal, Makerere Technical School was opened It started with fourteen boys, seven taking a course in mechanics and seven a course in carpentry

In 1922, the scheme was extended to cover further vocational courses of a higher standard, aiming at training pupils who had passed out from the junior secondary schools of the territory as apprentices in the Survey Department and as medical assistants in the Medical Department It was soon discovered, however, that the pupils sent to the school had an insufficient educational background to enable them to benefit by the standard of technical training which had been planned Three alternatives were possible to insist on higher standards at entrance, to give further academic secondary school training at the college prior to starting technical training, or to be content with lower standards of technical instruction

For a time, the original course for apprentices in the Survey Department was continued in spite of the low standards of the earlier education of its pupils, but the scheme for training medical assistants had to be modified immediately For work of such a responsible nature the academic background of the pupils was only sufficient to justify a short course of training leading to qualification as " dispensers "

The next step forward in the development of Makerere, a combination of the first two alternatives mentioned above, followed the appointment of Mr Hussey, from the Sudan, as the first Director of Education of Uganda Before his appointment, education in Uganda had been entirely controlled by the various missionary bodies in the territory, who ran their own schools and formed an Advisory Committee for the purpose of allocating government assistance and co-ordinating their efforts for the general good of the country Mr Hussey, in co-operation with the missions, graded schools into various categories in such a way as to provide an educational ladder at the top of which, as the institution for higher education, was to be the government institution of Makerere. Education in the mission schools was to be organised forthwith up to junior secondary school level, and Makerere arranged immediately for a three-year " senior secondary school " course leading to a matriculation examination As soon as students of post-matriculation standard were ready, pre-matriculation courses were to be gradually transferred to mission schools and Makerere was to concentrate upon professional training up to the level of university

Intermediate examinations Thus was created the new Makerere College, as the university-to-be for East Africa To fill the recently vacant post of principal, Mr Tomblings was transferred from a senior post in the administrative service

In the early stages of these new developments the original trade section was continued side by side with the advanced studies, progressively, however, between 1927 and 1929, the lower standard technical courses were curtailed and finally given up entirely, the work being taken over by a neighbouring school specially designed for the purpose

In order to find funds for development, and to ensure future careers for the graduates, co-operation has been encouraged between the college and the various technical departments of the Government An agricultural course has been organised in conjunction with the Agricultural Department, offering a three-year course of training and leading to appointments as plantation managers and agricultural demonstrators in that department A veterinary course has been organised in co-operation with the Veterinary Department, offering a four-year course which would qualify successful students for posts as stock inspectors and laboratory assistants Similarly, in co-operation with the Public Works Department, an engineering course has been organised providing a two-year training at Makerere, followed by two years' apprenticeship in various works in the Territory, and qualifying students for such posts as works foremen in the department

After raising standards of admission, and ensuring a proper academic background, Makerere was able once more to take up its earlier scheme for the training of " medical assistants " who rank below men with a full medical qualification but above " dispensers " Post-matriculation students spend two years at the college taking courses in general science and physiology After passing the necessary qualifying examinations in these subjects, they proceed to Mulago Medical School and Hospital in Kampala, where they take professional instruction and practise in the hospital. Students who satisfy the college examiners are given licences to practise within Uganda territory only and are drafted to the government Medical Department

Teacher-training was formerly organised at a separate institution It is now being transferred to Makerere side by side with the other departments at the college and leads to posts in the government and mission educational services

Linking up with departments in this way has certain disadvantages as well as certain advantages The college tends to over-emphasise vocational at the expense of general cultural courses, though it does guarantee posts for its graduates Even the general academic course leading to the Intermediate Arts examination is planned with the idea that the students will obtain posts, either as teachers in secondary schools, or as clerks in higher divisions of the African civil service. In an attempt to offset this tendency, and with a view

to making Makerere play a part in the preservation of African traditions and aspirations, a recent conference of the Directors of Education of the three East African territories recommended the inclusion of some courses in African arts and studies

One of the greatest contributions made by Makerere to the developments of African education is the organisation of inter-territorial co-operation Between 1930 and 1932, as a result of a series of conferences, to one of which we have just referred, between the Directors of Education of the three East African territories, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, having for their object the co-ordination of policy, it was arranged that each territory should provide its own primary, and increasingly its own junior and senior secondary education, but that, for purposes of higher education, they should pool their resources Thus Makerere College is to become the centre of advanced studies for the East African territories as a whole

In 1933, there were 117 pupils at the college, divided amongst the departments in the following proportions—14 medical, 15 agricultural, 5 veterinary, 13 in teacher-training, 27 taking commercial and 32 taking the general matriculation courses To-day the enrolment has increased to a grand total of about 150 students

South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape Province, South Africa [1]

The Native College at Fort Hare claims our special attention for two reasons Firstly, it is associated with, and is a direct growth from one of the earliest educational institutions to offer facilities to African students, namely Lovedale School and College, and secondly, it is the only institution available for Africans in the sub-continent which has status equivalent to that of a university college, and which is therefore able to prepare Africans for the same degree examinations as are taken by European candidates

Lovedale School, or Seminary as it was then called, was first opened in 1841 by a Dr Love (after whom it was named) of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland Its first pupils consisted of nine European and ten African children Throughout its early history, influenced probably by the effects of the new liberalism that was born of the French Revolution, Lovedale School imposed no colour bar, black or white, her pupils were human beings to be given equal chances of finding their places in the world according to their abilities During the following thirty years, under the Rev. William Govan, the seminary gradually grew and prospered and gave, to African and European children alike (though the latter were then only a small minority), academic education based upon the systems approved at that time in Scotland.

[1] For further details of Fort Hare College and its activities see *Stewart of Lovedale*, by Dr James Wells, and the various reports and speeches published by the Lovedale Press

Dr James Steward, principal of the school from 1870 to 1905, drew attention to the fact that although African and European children showed equal abilities in the lower standards, no further educational opportunities were available for the former and that, as a consequence, only the European pupils were able to go on and equip themselves for, and attain, positions of leadership in the social, economic and professional life of South Africa

In two ways Dr Stewart attempted to render possible the opening to Africans of careers formerly reserved to Europeans On the one hand, he developed at his own institution special facilities for training African pupils in trades such as carpentry, building and printing, and, on the other hand, he continued throughout his life to address meetings, to call conferences and, in fact, to do all in his power to secure the establishment of a native college for higher education which should open to Africans the doors to the learned professions In this second activity he was the real founder of Fort Hare Native College

In 1904, through Dr Stewart's influence, the Inter-Colonial Native Affairs Commission recommended the founding of an institution for higher education and for the training of native teachers Under his continued lead, a further Convention of natives from all parts of South Africa was then called to see how this recommendation could be carried out To them he promised a site close by Lovedale School for such an institution, and from his own personal estate, he promised financial help Unfortunately, just before matters were finally settled, Dr Stewart died, and by his will he left all his money to the United Free Church of Scotland , the money which he had promised was no longer available

For a time activities were inevitably suspended, but thanks to Dr Stewart's lead others became interested who spent their energies in enlisting public sympathy. About the year 1905, as a result of this propaganda, the newly formed Transkeian General Council offered a contribution of £10,000 towards the foundation of such a school. The United Free Church of Scotland, to whom Dr Stewart had left his money, were also approached, and they agreed to furnish a further £5,000 as well as a gift of land, the land on which, indeed, the present buildings stand During the next few years, unfortunately, the preoccupations of South Africa with the welding of the autonomous provinces into the newly created " Union " led to the matter being shelved once more, but in 1914 a start was made at last and classes began in two large marquees The South African Native College at Fort Hare had come into existence.

As has been the case in the foundation of other similar institutions, the first difficulty was that students had an insufficient academic background to enable them to benefit from higher education ; the college had to start with providing secondary education Gradually, however, secondary courses have been developed at Lovedale, Amanzimtoti and other schools in the Union, while they have been

progressively dropped at Fort Hare in favour of work of university standing

Since 1920 developments have been more rapid In that year the Government lent a further £10,000 for building and endowment, and the first block containing permanent classrooms, offices and a meeting-hall was erected The numbers of students increased rapidly, and the problem of housing arose To meet the need for boarding accommodation the Council invited various missionary bodies to co-operate, with the result that on the land surrounding the Administrative and Teaching block, the Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Anglican Missions in South Africa have each erected hostels for their students Since 1920 the College has steadily expanded and gained increasing prestige Courses are provided to-day in logic, psychology, ethics, economics, classics, physics and chemistry, and students are prepared for the degree examinations in arts and science of the University of South Africa

As with both the other institutions described, medical training was kept in mind from the first One of the long-recognised drawbacks in the African educational facilities in the Union has been the lack of opportunity for medical training The colour bar prevents Africans from working at almost all the medical schools and hospitals So anxious, however, are some families to help their sons to take medical courses, that at great sacrifice they have found sufficient money to send them to Great Britain, and particularly to Edinburgh, to take their professional training Towards meeting the obvious need for a local African medical school and hospital, the Chamber of Mines, in 1933, offered to Fort Hare the sum of £50,000 for the establishment of a native hospital and a three-year course for medical assistants As was the case at Achimota, in West Africa, however, the plan at Fort Hare has been opposed by the South African Medical Council, which insists upon a full medical training or nothing

The part which Fort Hare College is playing in the development of happier relations between the races in South Africa is very considerable Thanks to the fact that Africans have been enabled to read for the same examinations as are taken by Europeans, students by their indisputable achievements therein have won for themselves a new respect As a college of university status, Fort Hare has been able to send delegates to take part in discussions and conferences where young leading Europeans and Africans can meet on equal terms Under the leadership of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, the [illegible] centre for higher education for Europeans, inter-university debates have been organised. At first it was only deemed wise to allow European students to visit the Native College for meetings, but about a year ago a step forward was made when African students from Fort Hare were, in their turn, invited to pay a return visit to Grahamstown and were entertained on a basis of complete equality and friendship The freedom of intercourse and the mutual respect which are growing up between

African students at Fort Hare and European students at othe centres constitute a phenomenon of extraordinary interest an significance, not only for South Africa, but for all the English-speak ing dependencies and Dominions

Of recent years there has been an interesting development i that the Board of Governors of Fort Hare, in common with othe authorities in South Africa, are beginning to feel that one of th centres for African studies should be an African college ! As result, Prof Jabavu, one of the leading native scholars in Soutl Africa, was asked to give, in addition to his other classes a Fort Hare, a few courses in African studies This year, Mr Matthews, himself an ex-graduate of Fort Hare (B A and LL B of the University of South Africa, and M A of Yale University) who has recently worked as a research student of London University has been appointed to organise and develop an entirely new depart ment in these subjects which will conduct research and give course in African Sociology and Comparative Bantu and European law

Comparative Comments : Colonial Office Memorandum on Higher Education in Africa

In 1933 a sub-committee was appointed by the Colonial Offic Advisory Committee on Education, to comment upon reports received and to make recommendations for future investigation with regard to the development of higher education in Africa Their first report (No A C E C 44/33) was issued in Decembe 1933 and was circulated to all the territories concerned Discus sions are still taking place It is proposed here to consider anc compare the three institutions which we have described in the preceding pages in the light of their respective developments since 1933, and in the light of the recommendations of this sub-com mittee at the Colonial Office

Different Character and Different Aims of the Three Institutions—Necessity at all Three of starting by Provision of Pre-matriculation Classes

From an historical point of view, and on account of their bearing upon present status and future trends, it is helpful to contrast the different avenues along which the three institutions described have approached their present position in the provision of courses of university level Of the three, Fort Hare alone was intended, from the first, to give only university courses lack of secondary school facilities outside the college, however, compelled the college to commence secondary school work in the early classes Neverthe- less, such work was always regarded as a temporary measure and has been progressively handed over to the schools and colleges outside Fort Hare as soon as these were ready to assume the responsibility Turning to Makerere, the original institution from which it grew was, it must be remembered, intended to provide

vocational education of a comparatively low standard, and even under the reorganisation which made a new Makerere College as the centre of higher education for East Africa, this idea of teaching for vocations seemed to persist The courses of university standing provided there were, and still are, specific and vocational, leading to appointments in the technical and professional departments rather than being general and academic courses of value in themselves and leading only incidentally to professional posts Finding, however, that the academic groundwork obtainable at the outside schools of that time was insufficient as a basis for the higher technical courses, Makerere in its turn had to start by providing within its walls general secondary education Achimota developed along still different lines Originally intended to be a secondary school, with the idea of embarking later upon university courses in medicine, agriculture and engineering, it found itself dissatisfied with even the pre-secondary school teaching that was available in the territory and began by organising infant and primary schools

These three different paths of approach have largely determined the present characters of the three institutions Fort Hare, starting out with the intention of becoming a university college in the usual academic interpretation of the term, has reached that position in all but name Makerere, planned to provide vocational training, to this day still tends to be a training school for technical posts Achimota, with its insistence on the provision for all standards at all ages, has tended to become a complete education department in itself rather than a centre for higher education and advanced studies

With the exception of Achimota, Progressive Withdrawal from Secondary School Work and Advance into University Teaching

It will be noticed that, except at Achimota College, there has been a progressive withdrawal from the pre-matriculation field, this work having been handed over to schools outside as soon as they have equipped themselves to undertake it The divergence of Achimota from this principle brings out an interesting contrast of policy.

In the case of Achimota the principle of requiring a sound pre-university training was carried to an extreme by insisting upon the institution itself providing teaching from the infant schools upwards Such a policy savours somewhat of the colonising principles of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century when immigrant Europeans were encouraged to marry African girls with a view to creating a new race imbued with Christian ideals which would bridge the gulf between the peoples, and would lead Africa to a nobler future. Achimota policy does not go quite so far as that of the Portuguese, but they do start with children of 3 and 4 years of age ! The result of the Portuguese experiment was not to create the leaders for whom they hoped, but a separate class divided even from the African people. There is surely some danger in an

isolationist policy which takes children away from their homes and away from their normal background for their entire educational career

Schools, in Africa particularly, must be more than merely institutions for the teaching of young persons they should be, for the community as a whole, young and old, centres for the diffusion of ideas and the meeting-grounds for African and European contributions to the art of living The provision of one central institution for young people, however ideal that institution might be, can only meet half the obligations of a school In view of the limited total funds available, it would appear that there is much to be said, so far as infant, primary and secondary education is concerned, for the view that the money available should not be devoted to one ideal centre, but should rather be used to support a considerable number of schools, covering as wide an area as possible, even if those schools cannot reach unimpeachable standards

In the particular case of Achimota it would appear that there are two divergent aims at stake One school of thought would urge that the institution should not waste its energies in routine elementary teaching, but should concentrate upon advanced teaching and research The other school of thought visualises the provision of model teaching at all levels and is dissatisfied with present-day facilities, holding that there must be certain institutions of unchallengeable standing covering all school levels and giving Africa nothing but the best that can be procured

Linking up with the Needs and Aptitudes of the People Dangers of Over-emphasis on Vocational Side

The report of the sub-committee, to which reference has been made, opens with a restatement of the view that " the education provided must be of such a character as to encourage the development of the natural aptitudes of the people concerned to the fullest possible extent, having regard to the specific background and needs of the African environment "[1] It is more easy, however, to survey and to meet the " needs of the environment " than it is to determine and to foster the " aptitudes of the people," and this fact sometimes leads to a limited view of the scope and duties of an African college. Governments see the obvious need for more medical men, for better instruction in farming, for more clerks and for more teachers · these are needs of the environment Hence there is a tendency, which appears clearly in the kind of development which is taking place at Makerere, to think of institutions for higher education mainly, if not entirely, to meet such needs, thinking only in terms of professional training and preparation for employment, particularly in the government services.

Although, unquestionably, professional training is an important part of any university, it should not be the sum total of the work

[1] See paragraph I (*a*) in the memorandum quoted

There is the other aim, to which attention is drawn by the Advisory Committee, namely the fostering of studies which have not necessarily a utilitarian justification, but which aim at satisfying "the natural aptitudes of the people concerned to the fullest possible extent" Africa has great natural aptitudes for musical creation, for art and for philosophic study these are all subjects which should find a place in any African university college Bearing in mind this aspect of university life, it is a striking fact that Mr Jowitt, the new Director of Education in Uganda, has suggested that there should be a group for African studies at Makerere, that Mr Grace is contemplating a similar group at Achimota, and that Fort Hare is already organising a department in the same field Much more, however, has still to be done in the field of such studies if these university colleges of the future are not to fail as trustees for the due development of Africa's aspirations

Departmental Problems—Medical Training

In medical training, it will be observed, discussions on means of securing better facilities have been taking place at all three centres The difficulty is that it is held by most leaders of the medical profession that it would lower the standard and endanger human life to encourage any training other than a full medical course They feel that the training of medical assistants and their employment in government service, under the control of fully qualified medical officers, may prove satisfactory for a time, but that, as the numbers of assistants increase and there are no longer enough government appointments available for them, these medical assistants may turn to practise on their own account In that case a serious problem will arise with regard to unsupervised practice of a standard which might endanger human life For financial reasons it is not possible in the colonies to set up medical schools of a standard equivalent to those of European universities such standards require the appointment of professors in physiology and anatomy at salaries quite beyond territorial budgets A solution that is receiving increasing consideration is the provision for the first two years only of medical training at the African centres, after which, for standards of instruction which cannot for financial reasons be undertaken in the colonies at present, students might be helped to proceed to medical schools in Great Britain, to return, after securing their preliminary qualifications, to the colony for hospital work and special tropical studies

Agricultural Training

The dangerous tendency in regarding schools not merely as only vocational training-grounds, but as leading almost exclusively to posts in government service, is especially evident in the organisation of agricultural courses at Makerere College Then, as has been mentioned above, co-operation had been arranged between the

Educational and Technical Departments in order to find funds and to find jobs for successful students As a development of this policy, a course in agriculture is conducted with the principal object of preparing students for posts in the Agricultural Department as demonstrators, plantation managers and so on This work is, of course, of the utmost importance Perhaps the best way to spread improved ideas on farming methods amongst the people as a whole is through the absorption of the best trained men from the African universities as agricultural officers Furthermore, the legitimate ambition of Africans to qualify themselves for an increasing proportion of posts in the Government is quite understandable it is their country, and they should take an increasing share in its leadership and control On the other hand, there is something grotesque in the fact that hardly any students, if any at all, take agricultural courses with a view to themselves becoming farmers In this field one is particularly inspired by the lead given by Mr Grace at Achimota in attempting to organise a course in agriculture especially designed to meet the needs of African squire-farmers At this course students will be encouraged to look towards controlling and developing family plantations and leading the people economically, politically and socially very much in the same way as the squire-farmer did for so long in England

Women's Education

The Colonial Office memorandum lays stress on the need for providing facilities in higher education for women It points out, with justice, that whereas African men can, if necessary, come to Europe for advanced studies, there is naturally a considerable reluctance on the part of African parents to send their girls such great distances for advanced education [1] Nevertheless, higher education is equally important for women as for men not only are more nurses, more midwives and more women teachers a pressing need, but clearly much of Africa's future depends upon women leaders, wives and mothers with a breadth of vision and a wide general educational background In this field both Achimota and Fort Hare are showing a lead by opening their doors and making provision equally for men and women students Progress in this field may be slower in East Africa, but among the more progressive groups, such as the Baganda, the Wachagga and the Kikuyu, there is no doubt that there are women ready for such developments

Relations in the Immediate Future between African Colleges and the Universities in the Country of the Trustee Power

The memorandum issued by the Colonial Office sub-committee makes certain recommendations with regard to the future relations between the projected African university colleges and universities in Great Britain [2] Comparison is made between the African problem

[1] *Op cit*, paragraph I (*d*)

[2] *Op. cit*, paragraph V

and the growth from groups of colleges to separate autonomous universities at Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool and Reading, and it is suggested that, in the case of Africa, the various colleges aiming at university standing might be grouped together in the same way and associated perhaps with the university of the British capital, i e London It is also suggested that, through some such organisation, exchanges of staff between the metropolis and the new colleges might be arranged from time to time so as to offer to Africa greater assistance in the initial stages of organisation

Obviously, one of the most serious problems in African colleges is the provision of an initial staff of accepted standing who could develop the various faculties until Africa itself can produce its own leaders to staff its own centres of learning Clearly men in Europe of unchallenged position would prefer to continue to work in Europe rather than to go permanently to strange and uncomfortable lands, even if those lands could afford to pay them temptingly large salaries The suggested plans would at once, by providing an examining body of unchallengeable status, by providing co-operation in early organisation, and possibly by seconding for limited periods such staff as would have special interests, give the new colleges an immediate prestige and real facilities for development

Examinations

In an interesting paragraph in the memorandum the point is raised as to the advisability of Africans in Africa preparing for examinations designed in Europe to meet European needs [1] This raises a conflict between two schools of thought Led principally by such men as Prof Victor Murray, there is the school of thought which makes the comparison between the struggle of Africans for equality in academic matters and the struggle of women in Europe for the same object This school of thought would maintain that Africans must first pass identical examinations side by side with Europeans to prove their equal ability before they can afford to modify their curricula and look towards studies and standards more suited to Africa's needs and aspirations It is strongly supported by most educated Africans themselves, who would view with suspicion any examinations different from those taken by Europeans because of the danger of the standards being considered inferior.

The second school of thought, supported in the memorandum, suggests that the rigid application of European examinations is having a cramping effect upon education in Africa School courses at present, they say, are too often designed, not to meet African needs, but to prepare for alien examinations

So far as South Africa is concerned, there appears to be no question that equality must be proved first by the African passing tests identical with those passed by the European ; and Fort Hare is proceeding on this principle with a view to becoming a permanent

[1] *Op cit.*, paragraph I (*e*).

constituent college of the University of South Africa Any move at Fort Hare, therefore, for the establishment of new courses in subjects peculiar to the African genius must run parallel with, and not be substitutes for, the courses which the Africans take to show their common interests and equal abilities with Europeans One may hope, however, that in Central Africa there is not the same need for *complete* identity of courses and examinations and that, therefore, greater freedom could be allowed for the adaptation of both courses and examinations to local needs and local interests

Need for Inter-territorial African Colleges transcending Artificial Political Barriers

As a result of the partition of Africa into spheres of influence between European Powers, artificial political boundaries have been created which separate peoples of common stock and common culture Obviously such divisions are to be regretted the renaissance of Africa depends upon the various cultural groups reuniting in their common development Too often extraneous considerations, such as differing political principles on the part of the alien authorities or differing economic needs due to the presence of different European vested interests, interfere with the realisation of cultural union This may occur even between neighbouring dependencies like Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, which are under the same European Power In education and research, at any rate, it should be possible to overcome these obstacles In the pooling of efforts and resources of the three territories—Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda—by the development of Makerere as the inter-territorial college for East African peoples can be found one of the most heartening signs of a happier future for Africa So far as the West Coast is concerned, the proposals which have been put forward for co-operation between the various centres, such as Fourah Bay, Yaba and Achimota Colleges (providing for interchange of students and staff and the development of special facilities at one centre and others at another), would go far to produce a similar effect

African Participation in the Administration of African Colleges

Most thoughtful leaders in African affairs would agree that, as an ideal, the education of the youth of Africa and the selection of the things which they should learn should be a matter personal to the African people themselves. Most African leaders at this stage would and do, of course, turn to Europe for advice and help, but it should be remembered that an advisory rather than a controlling part in education is the rôle which Europe should play To Africans, the European is an alien, and it must be intolerable that the decision as to what is or is not good for African children to learn is so often decided by alien European executives It is a mere commonplace to reiterate that local authorities must increasingly trust Africans to manage their own affairs. At Achimota College there

has been established a Board of Governors which enjoys complete control and on which there is a majority of African members This is indeed an achievement in itself and an encouraging lead for an African renaissance

Universities must be more than Centres of Teaching they must be Centres of Learning and of Research

When one considers how the first colleges in Europe came into existence, and when one considers centres to which students are drawn in countries of old civilisation, such as those of India or China, would it not be correct to say that the first step in the founding of a college should be normally the gathering together of a group of scholars who desire to study and do research rather than to teach, but to whose feet young men come to sit ? It is suggested, that in these days of materialistic philosophies, the function of a university as a centre of learning is often forgotten and university institutions are too often considered only as centres of teaching

Considering the three African institutions under review, would it not be a fair criticism to suggest that their main avowed purpose is merely teaching Africans so that they may have opportunities of reaching European standards ? If such be the case, should we not be betraying the trust of the people ? Universities should lead thought , their staffs must be scholars with the time and the desire to study, think and lead It is true that the immediate needs of Africa urgently call for vocational and professional training and there is no time to wait for the growth of centres of learning from groups of learned men to whom, incidentally, young men might turn Nevertheless, in creating new universities, it would be inexcusable entirely to neglect their function as centres of learning as well as centres of teaching

Would not tropical Africa be the natural place for research into tropical agriculture and tropical medicine ? Would not Central Africa be the natural place in which to study Central African sociology and thought ? [1] Should not the new university colleges be the centres for such studies and research ? Such studies are, of course, already being conducted by the Agricultural and Medical Departments , researches in African sociology are being conducted both by Government, by organisations such as the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and by private persons It would appear possible, therefore, by reorganisation and at very little extra cost, to associate such research with the proposed colleges of university standing instead of being associated, as at present, with

[1] It may be emphasised here that we are by no means suggesting that all students at an African university college should take all or any subjects with special African significance it is not suggested that African ethnology or any other subject should be obligatory What is suggested is that the colleges should, in addition to their vocational work, also be centres for study and teaching of African subjects, however small may be the number of students interested

technical departments which are bound to be preoccupied to a large degree with administrative matters

It is suggested that, if colleges of prestige are to be developed and if the colleges are to fulfil their proper part in the cultural life of the country, they must do even more than has been outlined in the last paragraph Museums and connected researches in archæology, anthropology, geology, zoology and other fields, schools of music, of philosophy, of comparative religion, must all find their place in association with a projected university A university must be a sanctuary and a centre for the development of branches of study peculiar to the country and of aspirations peculiar to the genius of the people Much can be learned in these matters from a survey of the work of the Education Department under the Dutch Government in Java, where care of monuments, museums, archæological and musical research all fall within its care

There should be no confusion, however, between research and teaching, and no weighing of comparative values in terms of numbers of students Research workers must continue their investigations unhampered, irrespective of the numbers of students who might wish to attend courses by them or work with them In Singapore, there was an attempt some time ago to organise a department for Oriental Classics, but it was given up because so few students attended This, it is suggested, is a dangerous principle upon which to administer a university college The value of the department or the subject cannot be estimated in terms of numbers of pupils or even of the possible economic return to the country It can only be valued in terms of its relation to the culture and aspirations of the country and its contribution to the general knowledge of the world

As far as universities in Africa are concerned, it is suggested that at the present stage two quite separate movements need encouragement On the one hand, standards of actual teaching require to be raised gradually with a view to training professional men to take their place in the community On the other hand, there is an immediate need for small groups of scholarly men at the university centres who will engage in research and to whom, ultimately, advanced students may come when they are ready

It is the desire of all thinking leaders that these African colleges should reach a level of equality with the universities of Europe So long as the African colleges only teach the groundwork of professional training in a manner approximating to that provided in equivalent courses in Europe, there cannot be equality African colleges must do some things better than can be done in European colleges. In addition, we would urge that equality of status between African and European should depend, not so much upon the ability of the African to learn European things from Europe and to pass European examinations, but upon the African developing in certain academic directions peculiar to his genius until he surpasses the European in those fields and so, in his turn, has something to teach

Europe and the world outside Africa Just as African students come to England to study those things for which our universities have special facilities, so English students must be tempted to go to African colleges to study those things for which only African universities have special facilities Such a relationship between universities in Europe and in Africa, where students of each race may go, each to the university of the other on a basis of mutual respect, is no Utopian dream for the far future it is the accepted position in the colony of one great European Power In the faculty of Medicine at Batavia in Java, it is the normal procedure for Dutch students in Tropical Diseases from the universities in Holland to go to Batavia as post-graduate workers, just as post-graduate Javanese students go to Holland for studies which can best be aided there It requires no great stretch of imagination to extend such a relationship to other fields, and on no other terms can colonial universities reach a basis of real equality and mutual respect with the universities of Europe

W. BRYANT MUMFORD.

PART III

Problems of Educational Policy

SECTION I

The "C" Child

CHAPTER ONE

Introductory Survey

THE purpose of this series of articles is to discuss, in a broad and comprehensive manner, the psychological characteristics of mentally subnormal children and to suggest methods of education suited to their needs The present article attempts to survey the subject in non-technical language for the benefit of those who wish to gain a general view of the whole problem The chapters which follow it deal with the cognitive and effective aspects of the problem and are intended as a summary of our present-day knowledge of the topics with which they deal

Definition of Terms

We shall begin by defining our terms The word "subnormal" is admittedly a vague term, it indicates a mental condition below the normal—but between the normal and the subnormal who can draw the line? The word "subnormal" is also a wide term, for it embraces all that lies below the normal—and between the normal and the lowest many variations are to be found In these chapters we shall confine our attention to that class of mentally subnormal children commonly described as "dull," "backward" or "retarded" We shall not concern ourselves with the lower subnormal or mental defective Until comparatively recently no clear distinction was drawn between the above terms; the distinction, if any, was one of politeness It is one of the many services rendered to psychology by Burt that he has distinguished so clearly between "dullness," which is innate intellectual defect, and "backwardness," which is educational inferiority In recent years psychologists have tended to make a further distinction between "backwardness" and "retardation," the latter term being used to indicate that a child's school attainments are below the level of his natural abilities In general terms, then, we say that the dull child is the child who is well below the intellectual level of children of his own age, that the backward child is he who is below the educational level of children of his own age and that the retarded child is the child

whose educational attainments do not correspond with his intellectual abilities It is worth noting that a child may be dull *or* backward ; or he may be both dull *and* backward A backward child is not necessarily dull, nor is a retarded child necessarily backward

We must now define our terms more precisely All three terms that we have used are, of course, comparative terms Briefly stated, we may say that we compare the dull and backward with other children of the same age , we compare the retarded with themselves Since backwardness is usually manifested as a child's inability to keep pace with the normal work of the school, Burt has suggested the following definition [1] " By ' backward ' I understand all those who, without being mentally defective, would, in the middle of their school career, be unable to do the work even of the class below that which is normal for their age " This is a useful definition, but it is scarcely precise enough for diagnostic or remedial work Since, then, dullness is a quality of intelligence and backwardness one of education, we may define dullness in terms of the child's " mental age " and backwardness in terms of his " educational age " A child is usually described as " dull," when his mental age is between 70 and 85 per cent of his chronological age , in other words, when his mental ratio or intelligence quotient lies between 70 and 85 Similarly, a child is described as " backward " when his educational age is between 70 and 85 per cent of his chronological age, or, again, when his educational quotient lies between 70 and 85 Retardation is defined in terms of the child's accomplishment, or the ratio of his educational age (or educational ratio) to his mental age (or mental ratio) So we may say that a child is " retarded " when his educational age is appreciably less than his mental age, when he is not living up to his true mental ability [2] It will be obvious, at once, that these definitions of subnormal mental qualities are purely arbitrary We need, therefore, constantly to bear in mind, firstly, that between normality and subnormality there is no sharp line of cleavage and, secondly, that no test of intelligence or attainment carries with it the guarantee of perfect reliability Caution and sympathy are essential if arbitrary classifications are not to become hard-and-fast divisions

[1] Burt, C L *The Subnormal Mind*, page 116 (London, 1935)

[2] The above distinctions are seen in the following formula

Estimated in percentages—

the mental ratio or intelligence quotient

$$= \frac{\text{mental age}}{\text{chronological age}} \times 100 \quad \frac{\text{M A}}{\text{C A}} 100,$$

the educational ratio or quotient

$$= \frac{\text{educational age}}{\text{chronological age}} \times 100 = \frac{\text{E A}}{\text{C A}} 100,$$

the accomplishment ratio or quotient

$$= \frac{\text{educational age}}{\text{mental age}} \times 100 \quad \frac{\text{E A}}{\text{M A}} 100$$

Causes of Backwardness

Investigations into the causes of backwardness have often been vitiated by the logical fallacy, not confined to psychology, of confusing concomitants with causes It is often assumed that because two phenomena occur together, they must be causally related. It is well known, for example, that poverty and backwardness are frequently found together Yet to conclude that poverty is a potent cause of dullness or backwardness would obviously be wrong As Burt has said . " The slums of London contain many a youthful genius, some of whom win, many of whom merit but fail to win, scholarships to a secondary school or college Stupidity, then, is not the inevitable result of poverty, though poverty is its commonest concomitant " [1] Nevertheless, it must be admitted that poverty may indirectly affect a child's capacity to learn, by lowering his physical vitality and by depriving him of cultural stimulus Among physical handicaps there is little doubt that lack of sleep may have as adverse an effect on learning as lack of food. Observation has shown, and controlled experiment has confirmed it, that inadequate sleep is a frequent cause of retardation in school work Parents do not seem to realise that children of all ages require more sleep than they do themselves An even greater handicap than either of the above is the bad emotional atmosphere of many homes An atmosphere of disharmony, anxiety or discouragement may not only have an adverse effect upon school work, but may also lead to serious nervous disturbances

Relation between Physical and Mental Defects

Another illustration of the confusion between concomitants and causes is to be found in the stress that is sometimes laid on physical defects Many investigations have been made, in this country and in America, to determine whether physical defects are more prevalent among the dull and backward than among normal children of the same social surroundings Contrary to popular opinion, the conclusion is that there is a slight, but a very slight, difference in favour of the normal child Dayton,[2] in a report on 14,000 retarded children in Massachusetts, states that among retarded children " a somewhat closer relation exists between physical and mental defect than in a normal sample " Mallory,[3] in an extensive study of defective children in Tennessee, has shown that the most important physical defects producing mental retardation are nasal obstruction, defective teeth, diseased tonsils, defective hearing and vision Most observant teachers would concur with this statement Strange to say, very few investigators have reported any marked

[1] Burt, C L *loc cit*, page 122

[2] Dayton, N A " The Relation between Physical Defects and Intelligence," *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics*, 1928–9

[3] Mallory, J N " Physical Defects Their Relation to Achievement Scores and to Each Other," *Peabody Journal*, 1924

improvement in mentality consequent upon medical treatment for physical defects

Other causes of mental disability, accidental as well as constitutional, are given in the articles by Dr Schonell and Dr Fildes The former has devoted himself mainly to the cognitive aspect of the subject, while the latter has confined her attention to the emotional precedents and causes of subnormality It is with the emotional condition and development of the subnormal child that the present chapter is largely concerned.

The Sense of "Inferiority"

From the many emotional accompaniments of mental disability we have selected one for special consideration, because it is, on the whole, the most important We are all familiar with the so-called "inferiority complex," which is usually manifested as excessive self-consciousness or lack of confidence or, in some cases, as compensating self-assertion The fact that the term is so frequently used, and abused, in ordinary speech indicates that it represents something easily recognisable Since, however, the term "inferiority complex" has been excluded by some psychologists from their glossary of respectable terms, we shall use the expression "sense of inferiority" instead [1] The subnormal child carries with him a sense of inferiority Not only is he inferior, but he knows himself to be inferior Day by day the truth is forced upon him through the tasks and tests of life, and through the gibes and sneers of his teachers and classmates, that he is "different," that he is, indeed, a failure Burt [2] has given a vivid description of this "sense of inferiority" in the subnormal child in his *Young Delinquent* "The dim, half-realised sense of their inborn inferiority, an inferiority which they cannot help, but for which they are incessantly blamed, may act as a rankling grudge against the world in general, or against their luckier relatives or schoolmates"

Characteristics of "Inferiority"

Now, a sense of inferiority carries with it a sense of frustration and helplessness Inferiority is never fully realised until effort is frustrated The subnormal child finds himself checked and thwarted in his effort to acquire the fundamentals of mental life which are the common possessions of his fellows Most of us have experienced this feeling when, either through absence from school or lack of attention—or of understanding—we have failed to make a new section of a subject our own We do not wonder that the child, whose everyday experience is one of intellectual frustration, becomes

[1] Adler uses the term "feeling of inferiority," while Allers favours "experience of inferiority" The expression we have used suggests, rather better than these, that the inferiority is unconsciously, as well as consciously, accepted

[2] Burt, C L *The Young Delinquent*, Chapter VIII, page 255 (London, 1931.)

either hopeless or desperate He finds himself involved in a vicious circle Frustration of effort brings a sense of inferiority, and a sense of inferiority leads to further frustration of effort Hence the supreme importance of efficient teaching in the early stages Moodie, who as Director of the London Child Guidance Clinic has had unrivalled opportunities of studying the subnormal child, has asserted that " Early and efficient teaching in the fundamental subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic is the corner-stone of mental hygiene in children " [1] If this is true of the normal child, it is certainly true of the subnormal

Let us now ask ourselves how a child is likely to respond when he realises that, measured against the stature of his fellows, he falls so far short In all probability he will do one of three things He may, if he is wisely and sympathetically guided, face the situation squarely and learn to compensate for his deficiencies, perhaps through some satisfying hobby or pursuit He may, on the other hand, shrink within himself and retire from the real world into the realm of fantasy and day-dream He then creates for himself what Vaihinger has termed " a directive fiction " and becomes, when faced with the normal business of life, purposeless and apologetic He may, again, over-compensate for his defects and satisfy his natural craving for superiority in anti-social acts and delinquencies Many studies have been made in this country and in America on the relation of intelligence and scholarship to delinquency Burt has estimated that 80 per cent of juvenile delinquents are below the average in intelligence [2] This estimate has been confirmed by investigators in other countries In America, the work of Healy and Bronner on the subject of delinquency has been outstanding Healy has maintained that " mental deficiency forms the largest single cause of delinquency " [3]

It must not be inferred, however, that, because inferiority so often expresses itself in a social and anti-social conduct, all day-dreaming and all delinquency have their origin in mental defect History would hardly support such an assertion Nevertheless, few psychologists, when faced with the task of diagnosing a case of abnormal conduct, would omit to look for inferiority of some kind Adler has made this urge for superiority and retreat from inferiority one of the basic ideas of his *Individual Psychology* [4] He maintains

[1] Moodie, William " Mental Hygiene Preventive Measures in Childhood," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, March 1935

[2] Burt, C L *The Young Delinquent*, Chapter VIII, page 355 (London, 1931)

[3] Healy, W *The Individual Delinquent*, page 447 (New York, 1924) See also Healy, W , and Fronner, A F *Delinquents and Criminals, their Making and Unmaking* (New York, 1926) , Healy, W , and others *Reconstructing Behaviour in Youth* (New York, 1929) This is an authoritative work for the non-specialist

[4] Adler, A *Individual Psychology* (London, 1930)

Adler, A *Understanding Human Nature* (London, 1932), presents the main findings of individual psychology and discusses its educational applications

that all life-goals have in common the idea or imagination of superiority and the intolerance or dread of inferiority " This feeling of inferiority is the driving force, the starting-point from which every childish striving originates " [1] Most psychologists, whether they agree fully with Adler's analysis of human nature or not, would be prepared to grant that a sense of inferiority is one of the main determiners of a social and anti-social conduct in children, Our problem, then, is complicated by the fact that we have to deal not only with inferiority, but also with a sense of inferiority In other words, we have to deal not only with abilities, but also with attitudes and emotions

" *Inferiority* " *in the Classroom*

Coming now to the life and work of the school, let us ask the class teacher what he considers to be the main characteristics of dull and backward children He replies that the dull and backward are generally lazy, that they are seldom interested in their work, that they show an unwillingness to co-operate with others, that they are lacking in public spirit and that they are difficult to manage, being either apathetic or excitable, sullen or unduly aggressive [2] We may object that such imperfections of character are not by any means confined to the dull and backward, but we have to admit that, on the whole, the subnormal child is prone to indolence, laziness, restlessness and unsociability, not because he is so by nature, but because he has so seldom been inspired to be anything else If this description is true to life, then the backward child is on his way to becoming a poor citizen, unable or unwilling to make his contribution to the world's work, unable or unwilling to co-operate with his fellow-citizens

Education for the Sub-normal

Our next question is, then How are we to set about the task of educating the subnormal child for citizenship ? Obviously we must not spend our strength in a vain endeavour to teach the subnormal all that the normal child is expected to know What, then, is the alternative ? Some will answer that we must reform the curriculum and make the education of the subnormal child more practical, more useful, more concrete They will probably support their contention by citing the splendid results that have, in so many cases, followed a change from an abstract to a concrete type of education Of the value of concrete material in the education of the dull and backward there can be no question As Kennedy-Fraser has remarked, in his thoughtful and sympathetic study, *The Education of the Backward Child* . " Since the backward child is usually better able to handle concrete material, it must be

[1] Adler, A *Understanding Human Nature*, page 70

[2] This statement is a summary of answers given by teachers to a questionnaire on the temperamental characteristics of subnormal children

used at all stages of his training, and one of the main reasons for emphasising manual work throughout the course is for the mental stimulus it will give to the mind that is not at first open to more abstract studies "[1] While it is quite unnecessary to stress the importance of practical work in the education of the dull and backward, it is necessary to remind ourselves that practical work in school will not of itself ensure good citizenship If we are to make of the dull and backward good citizens, we must train them in the qualities that good citizens reveal; we must train them in the art of individual and social living. To do this we must change the emphasis from learning to living, from knowledge and skill to citizenship Our main objective will be, therefore, not practical education as such, but practical education as a means of training the child in individual and social living It does not greatly matter, except for a few fundamentals, whether the backward child carries away with him this or that item of knowledge or whether he has acquired this or that technical skill, but it does matter whether he has learned to work and play as an individual and as a member of society, it does matter whether he has acquired healthy ideals and enthusiasms "The curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored "[2] In the Introduction to the *Report on the Education of the Adolescent*, the following statement occurs "We feel strongly the importance of ensuring that the organisation is sufficiently fluid to permit of a happy mixture of individual work and group activity with classwork and of an easy transition from one to the other In the school, as in life, what is most to be desired is a combination of individual responsibility and initiative with the co-operative spirit "[3] This is, from the point of view of the dull and backward, the most significant passage in the report But whereas the Consultative Committee, in conformity with its terms of reference, seem to place the emphasis on courses of study rather than upon methods of organisation, we are inclined to reverse the process and place the emphasis on methods of organisation rather than on courses of study Therefore, our first consideration should be to provide facilities for individual work and group activity, and our second to prescribe the subjects through which these activities are to be secured

Stress has already been laid on the *training* that the subnormal

[1] Kennedy-Fraser, D *The Education of the Backward Child*, page 16 (London, 1932)

The statement that "the backward child is usually better able to handle concrete material" should not be completed by the words "than the normal child" It is a common fallacy that the normal child compensates for his inferiority in abstract studies by his superiority in manual work and handicraft On the whole, the superior child is superior all round, he is superior in concrete as well as in abstract ability

[2] Board of Education *Report on the Primary School*, page 93. (London, 1931)

[3] Board of Education *The Education of the Adolescent*. Introduction. (London, 1926.)

child should receive This has been emphasised by Kennedy-Fraser, who has shown how the dull and backward may be trained to work in the spirit of the scientist, with understanding and with zest : " This emphasis on doing with thinking, as opposed to knowing without thinking, is the basis of the so-called work or activity schools, which seem to be most promising for backward children The activity of the child is not aimed at the production of saleable goods, and the spirit which is engendered by the activity is rather that of play, as indicated by its keenness It is really more like the work spirit of the scientist, keenly in search of new facts or explanations, which has the zest most frequently associated with play The Scots word ' ploy ' has this double sense " [1] This reference to " training " is missing from an otherwise admirable study of backwardness by Inskeep, an American specialist on the teaching of " atypical children " [2]

It is true, as Kennedy-Fraser has maintained, that there is work that has most of the qualities usually associated with play, but it is true that there is work that has most of the qualities usually associated with work While, therefore, the teacher of backward children may and should proceed with the intention of turning work into play, he should not forget that this is not always possible, that there is some work which will remain for ever work The backward child, in fact every child, should be helped to realise that there are some lessons that have to be learned and some tasks that have to be faced, and that to evade them or ignore them is not the best way of mastering them Perhaps the hardest lesson that the backward child has to learn is to face the sterner realities of life In this endeavour he can be helped by the teacher, not by evasion or spur, but by wise counsel and encouragement

Individual Work and Group Activity

It is obvious that the principle of " individual work and group activity " is one of general application, for it applies to the infant as well as to the adolescent, to the backward as well as to the normal This is not to assume, however, that the principle will always have the same aim At one stage it may be accepted as a means to an end, and at another stage as the end itself In the education of the dull and backward, as in the education of the very young child, individual work and group activity may be regarded almost as ends in themselves [3]

Such methods of class organisation as are implied in the principle

[1] Kennedy-Fraser, D *The Education of the Backward Child,* pages 18 19 (London, 1932)

[2] Inskeep, Annie D . *Teaching Dull and Retarded Children* (New York, 1932.)

[3] Board of Education *Infant and Nursery Schools,* page 105. (London, 1933) " Training in right personal and social behaviour " is here set down as one of the three main aims of the nursery school This aspect of the subject is fully discussed in the report

of individual work and group activity are, of course, not new They are to be found in the Dalton Plan and the Project Method The Dalton Plan is, in its main essential, an individual plan [1] and the Project Method a social or co-operative plan [2] Under the one the child learns to initiate his own work and carry it to completion unaided , under the other he learns to plan a work and carry it out in association with others [3] But, while the methods implied in the principle of individual work and group activity are not new, the combination of these methods is new in the sense that it is rarely found in schools other than infants schools And yet, training in right personal and social behaviour is as important to the adolescent as it is to the infant

In the principle of individual work and group activity we have an attempt to relate education to life, not by making it a preparation for life, but by making it part of life itself Since the subnormal child is, as a general rule, deficient in power of adaptation, it is essential that we make the relation between his education and his life explicit Like the life that is worth living, such education should have purpose, significance and spontaneity Its purpose will be found, not in the material of instruction nor in the examination that lies ahead, but in the process itself Its significance will be seen, not in the teacher's estimate of its usefulness, but in the child's appreciation of its values Its spontaneity will be manifested in the way it unfolds itself and evolves as it progresses Such education will be like life, always uncertain, but always attractive It will be, in a real sense, an evolution, a continuous creation

Types of Individual Work

We come, now, to more practical considerations, taking our ideas from schools that have successfully met the needs of backward children Our aim will be, as we have already indicated, to provide opportunities for individual work and group activity

Individual work may be conveniently divided into two types one, formal and routine tasks embracing the knowledge and skill which every child must acquire, if he is to play his part in our modern world , and the other, work of a more creative kind which is the product of the child's personal enthusiasm To the former belong the elements of reading and writing and the fundamentals of

[1] Lynch, A J *Individual Work and the Dalton Plan,* Chapter II. (London, 1925)

[2] Kilpatrick, W H " The Project Method," *Teachers' College Bulletin,* October 1918 Kilpatrick defines the project as " whole-hearted purposeful activity proceeding in a social environment "

[3] The distinction here drawn between the main characteristics of the Dalton and Project Methods should not be made too rigid A very good case has been made by Miss Helen Parkhurst in her *Education on the Dalton Plan* (London, 1922) for the social values of that method , an equally strong case has been made by Kilpatrick for the personal values of the Project Method

arithmetic,[1] while to the latter belongs any task which the child accepts for its own interest and attraction Group work, again, may be divided into two types one, work in the ordinary subjects of the curriculum carried out in groups of two, three or four , and the other, larger projects involving the whole class Experience alone will enable the teacher to decide which part of the work is best suited to one method and which to another

Each of these methods has its own technique, which must be fairly strictly followed if confusion is to be avoided Suggestions for conducting classes by the individual method will be found in the pamphlets of the Dalton Association and in the books already cited [2]

Group work has its own technique, which is not, however, difficult to acquire Young teachers readily grasp the idea and seem to be more at ease conducting work of this kind than an ordinary class lesson Group work requires its own equipment, for under this method the schoolroom becomes a laboratory or general activity room Tables are to be preferred to desks, although it is not impossible to work with the latter [3] Light blackboards, plain on one side, square-ruled on the other, and a liberal supply of paper, cardboard, clay and coloured chalk are a necessary part of the equipment of the activity room

The normal procedure of the group lesson is to divide the class into groups of two, three or four children with a "captain," "chairman" or "foreman," elected by the group, in charge of each The discipline of the group is the responsibility of the group leader The teacher begins his lesson by outlining the work to be done and assigns definite tasks to each group Blackboards [4] and other materials required for the work are then placed on the tables and the work is carried on, if possible, without interruption, until it is completed It is essential, for the smooth working of the lesson,

[1] Much greater use could be made, in classes for backward children, of "progress cards" in reading, composition and arithmetic The acquisition of these fundamental skills is an individual matter Class instruction in them may be very largely wasted Half an hour's individual instruction at the right time may be worth more to the backward child than hours of class teaching

[2] See also Fleming, C M *Individual Work in Primary Schools* (London, 1934), an excellent handbook for young teachers , it includes methods that could be described as social rather than individual , Kimmins, C W , and Rennie, B *The Triumph of the Dalton Plan* (London, 1927) , Dewey, E *The Dalton Laboratory Plan* (London, 1924) , Washburne, C (author of the Winnetka Plan) *Adjusting the School to the Child* (New York, 1932) , National Society for the Study of Education *Data on Ability-Grouping Twenty-Fourth Yearbook* (Illinois, 1925) , Wyndham, H S *Ability Grouping* (Melbourne, 1934) Probably the most scholarly discussion of methods of [illegible] to be found in educational literature Issued by the Australian Council for Educational Research

[3] It is strange that schools still continue to use desks, despite their many disadvantages In this, as in other ways, the nursery school has led the way towards a much-needed reform

[4] The blackboards may also be fixed by clip devices to the walls, if desired The present writer has never found this as convenient as the above method

that the teacher should be definite in his instructions and strict in his attention to preliminaries It has been objected, by critics of this method, that the very dull child and the slacker may have an easy escape from serious work This, of course, is possible, but much depends on the vigilance of the teacher The experience of most teachers who have tried the method is that evasion of work is far less frequent than under ordinary class methods

The Time-table

It is evident that the ordinary school time-table does not possess the elasticity that spontaneous activity of the project-type demands Some advocates of activity programmes obviate this difficulty by the simple expedient of doing away with the time-table altogether This is a great mistake One of the most important lessons that the backward child can learn is that the school, like life, has its regularities, conventions and disciplines [1] But, while life has its regularities, it also has its uncertainties One of the virtues of the method of individual and group activity is that it adds to convention a touch of creation, to security and regularity a touch of adventure Security and adventure are both essential to the development of healthy minds

The time-table should, therefore, indicate the activity to be pursued at different times of the day, rather than the subjects through which the activity is to be expressed Part of the day should be definitely set aside for group work (including ordinary class teaching) and part of the day for individual work

The first draft of the time-table would appear somewhat as follows

MORNING				AFTERNOON		
9 15	9 40	11 15	11 30	12 15	2 0	4 0
Assembly Religious Exercises	Group work	R e c e s s	Individual work	Midday recess	Group work or individual work as desired Games	

Having set out the general plan of the time-table, we next proceed to specify the subjects through which the two main activities are to be motivated The main " subjects " of the ordinary school time-table will, of course, appear, but not in the conventional form They will be grouped under four heads, corresponding to the four

[1] Most children, whether normal or subnormal, work better when following a not-too-rigid routine In matters of discipline they prefer uniformity of treatment to uncertain changes between strictness and laxity. This is particularly true of the dull and backward.

main educational activities narration, heurism, skill and appreciation [1]

It will be noted that the subjects of this list may be put in cyclic arrangement, for each subject appearing in the list has certain affinities with the subject on either side of it Geography, for example, is related to the Sciences, while Drama, which ends the list, could equally well have headed the list under Humanities The subjects, so enumerated, certainly seem to suggest a " crowded curriculum," but they are set out in this form merely to indicate the range of subject-matter possible in each section In actual practice there will be but four subjects · Humanities, Sciences, Crafts and Arts Again, whenever possible, these four subjects will be correlated into a major project [3] For example, a project in geography may evoke activity in the arts or crafts, or a class anthology may find its completion in a well-bound book

We are now in a position to complete our time-table, which will appear as follows

	MORNING				AFTERNOON	
		(GROUP)		(INDIVIDUAL)		(GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL)
	9 15	9 15	11 15	11 30	12 15	2 0 4 0
Monday	Assembly,	Section I	R	Section II	Midday	Section IV
Tuesday	Religious	Section II	e	Section I	recess	Section III
Wednesday	Exercises,	Section I	c	Section II		SectionIIIorIV
Thursday	Music,	Section II	e	Section I		Section III
Friday	etc	Section III	s	Section I or II		Section IV
			s			

This time-table may appear to some as scarcely less rigid than the subject time-table which it is designed to replace It should be emphasised, however, that it is to be regarded as a framework into which the activities of the class are to be fitted The teacher

[1] These activities are not, of course, mutually exclusive A subject of the school curriculum may embrace all four of them

Section I The Humanities (mother-tongue, history, civics,[2] geography)
Section II The Sciences (nature study, elementary general science, arithmetic, geometrical drawing)
Section III The Crafts (woodwork, metalwork, bookbinding, weaving, needlework, modelling, etc)
Section IV The Arts (drawing, painting, music, eurythmics, drama)

[2] By civics we mean a study of the social services of the district Under this head would come discussions on hospitals, banks, insurance, thrift, etc It is suggested that, for the dull and backward, the work in arithmetic should be informational rather than computational

[3] The term " major project " is used when a number of subjects are subsumed under one comprehensive topic The term " minor project " is used when only one subject is treated

should be given freedom to alter the time-table or to change his procedure to suit his own needs He should not be prevented, for example, from dividing the 9 45 to 11 15 period into two ordinary class lessons if the occasion seems to demand it The time-table recognises the importance of individual and group work, but does not prescribe work of either kind at any particular time

We shall now attempt to relate this programme to the principles set forth in the earlier part of this discussion In the first place, it should be noted that the method aims at definite training in individual and social living in the expectation that such training can be carried over into life This raises the whole problem of " formal training," whether training gained in one medium and under one set of conditions will avail in another medium or under another set of conditions The traditional view, which was accepted without question until quite recently, assumed that the effects of mental exercise are general, that by exercising a mental capacity on a particular subject we strengthen that capacity as a whole It was claimed, for example, that the study of mathematics trains the powers of reasoning and the study of science the powers of accurate observation and inference This doctrine was severely shaken by Thorndike and Woodworth in 1901,[1] who announced, as a result of experiments carried out on a variety of subjects, that " improvement in any single mental function need not improve the ability in functions commonly called by the same name It may injure it " Thorndike further maintained that transfer of training occurs only when there are common or identical elements in the training and test situations The experimental studies on this subject have been numerous, most of them confirming Thorndike's contention that transfer is possible only when there are common elements in the two activities [2] The modern position is that transfer of training may be expected when the common elements are usable elements, and when they are consciously recognised as such by the subject [3] " A common element is more likely to be usable if the learner becomes clearly conscious of its nature and of its general applicability , active or deliberate transfer is far more effective and frequent than passive, automatic or unintentional transfer This seems specially true where the common element is an element of method rather than of material, an ideal rather than a piece of information " [4] In other words, consciousness of methods and procedures and the conscious acceptance of ideals are the modern keys to the problem

[1] Thorndike, E L , and Woodworth, R S " The Influence of Improvement upon the Efficiency of other Functions," *Psychological Review*, 1901, pages 247–61, 384–95, 553–64

[2] Whipple, G M *Twenty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, pages 186–97 Gives a summary of experimental studies up to 1928

[3] Orata, P D *The Theory of Identical Elements* (Ohio, 1928) Contains a searching criticism of Thorndike's theory.

[4] Burt, C L *Formal Training The Psychological Aspect*, page 3 Report of a Committee of the British Association (Bristol, 1930)

of transfer [1] The modern contention, then, is that transfer of training is not a myth , it is a responsibility

The bearing of these conclusions on our present problem will be obvious when we remember that our aim in educating the dull and backward is not to inculcate facts nor to perfect skills, but to train the child in methods of work and ways of living When we train the child to live, we prepare the child for life

It should be noted, in the second place, that throughout this discussion our concern has been for the individual rather than for the group Even when we have stressed the importance of group activity we have had in mind, not the group itself, but the individuals composing the group Of the importance of individual attention in the education of subnormal children there can be no question It could be maintained, with some reason, that the child's need of individual attention is inversely proportional to his intelligence This must not be taken to imply, however, that the subnormal child should be more definitely tutored or more firmly disciplined or controlled The rights of personal effort and free development are as vital to the subnormal child as they are to the normal As Kennedy-Fraser has expressed it " If the teacher can think less of directly controlling the child and more of indirectly controlling the conditions under which he is working and living from day to day in the class, the more effective is her work likely to prove If she can so arrange matters that her class can carry on of itself, and she only needs to step in as an adviser in cases of need, then she may feel sure that she is providing her backward pupils with the best conditions for developing generally, and more especially in their particularly weak aspect of initiative " [2]

The method that has been outlined was designed in the first place to give the child abundant opportunity for his personal and social development, but it has also been designed to give the teacher the opportunity of helping the child when individual help is needed

As we have already indicated, one of our objectives in recommending the method of individual work and group activity is to provide a suitable medium for the child's emotional development Under this method emotional strain of school work is reduced to a minimum for individual effort and friendly co-operation takes the place of invidious comparisons and rivalries The average child does not feel the strain of effort until he begins to compare his own achievements with those of others He does not become distressed by his own weak effort until he realises that he has failed where others have

[1] Meredith, G P " Consciousness of Method as a Means of Transfer of Training," *Forum of Education*, February 1927 (London) , Woodrow, H " The Effect of the Type of Training upon Transference," *Journal Educ Psych* , March 1927 (New York) , Johnson, E P " Teaching Pupils the Conscious Use of the Technique of Thinking," *Mathematics Teacher*, April 1927 (New York)

These three papers are of outstanding importance in the recent literature on this subject.

[2] Kennedy-Fraser, D. *Education of the Backward Child*, page 244

succeeded Repeated failure brings a sense of inferiority, and a sense of inferiority makes further failure inevitable When a child is allowed to work at his own rate and to follow his own enthusiasms, when he is encouraged to beat his own record rather than the records of others and to render service to the community rather than expect service from it, he is on the way to self-respect, and self-respect is the first step, perhaps the most important step, towards intellectual and emotional balance The method of individual and social living increases the child's opportunities for success, it also increases his opportunities for service. Service and success are both essential to a healthy mental outlook.

H R HAMLEY.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKWARD CHILD SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

FROM the point of view of these comments backwardness is essentially a school problem It is used simply to describe the condition of a child who has fallen behind his peers in some one or more of the subjects of school study, whatever the cause of his failure, and whatever the subject or subjects failed, though it is evident that failure in the instrumental subjects of learning and expression will tend to be the more important, as they are the more far-reaching in effect

Regarded in this way, some degree of backwardness is inevitable in any ordinary school system If we take a number of unselected individuals, and set them to the accomplishment of any apparently reasonable task, their results in achievement will necessarily differ according to their capacities, attitudes and interests Some will do well, most will do moderately, and some will do badly Presentation of a similar but more advanced task to the same individuals will produce results of a like nature, with this exception—that failure in the first task will, by reducing capacity, tend towards greater failure in the second This is exactly what must happen in group or class teaching Subjects of instruction are necessarily presented in logical sequence, which means that initial lack of grasp and understanding is reflected in later more serious failure The advanced task is no longer a reasonable one for the individual concerned

The Psychological Effects of School Failure

These facts are self-evident ; but unfortunately, owing to the difficulties inherent in testing the results of group teaching, they are too often neglected until backwardness is firmly established—in other words, until the child himself has had the experience of failure over a fairly long period It is this experience of failure, even more than the lack of knowledge involved, which is the serious matter psychologically Education in school is concerned with preparing the child for adequate living—the establishment of attitudes and interests are its vital concern even more perhaps than the imparting of knowledge But what attitudes come from backwardness ? That effort and struggle are desirable things we know . we recognise the dangers inherent in too easy achievement, but too great difficulty breeds hopelessness and apathy followed by retreat, or at the best a turning of the mind into new channels of endeavour. There is no satisfaction except in proceeding, in going on, in achieving, and without satisfaction, effort must gradually cease In the matter of school work the issue is further complicated by the

inevitableness of the situation for the child, and by the fact that it provides an open and constant field for criticism both from his elders—teachers and parents—and from his fellows In ordinary life situations, if we fail, we can turn to something else in school this is impossible, our incapacity is constantly being brought before us —again, success in school work is rightly or wrongly regarded by adults as desirable, and failure is apt therefore to lead to blame, anxiety, worry or annoyance on their part, adding the stress of guilt or resentment to the child's burden of incapacity

Backwardness and Delinquency

Lest this brief outline of the distorting and crippling effect of backwardness on mental growth be considered exaggerated or untrue, it may be well to review the situation from another, more practical, angle Recent examination of four thousand young delinquents reveals the fact that about 40 per cent of them are seriously retarded in mechanical reading ability an even higher percentage are very backward in the fundamentals of arithmetic Investigation of the school work of about two thousand children who have behaviour disorders, not necessarily delinquent in type, gives similar results At least 40 to 50 per cent of them are backward in school work, even though not more than about 15 per cent are retarded in ability

What do the children themselves think or feel about the matter? " I was never no use at school it didn't seem worth trying," says a boy of 15 who has already given up as many jobs as the number of his years " I don't like school, the boys say I'm silly," says another—a constant truant, wanderer and petty thief The same pattern of retreat is clearly indicated in the response of two intelligent adolescent girls, both extraordinarily backward " What did you do at school? " they were asked " I sat," said one " Generally, when it was sums, I had a headache," replied the other, who, though physically healthy, was finding herself " not strong enough " for any work

Equally destructive to life adjustment are the attitudes of boastfulness, evasion, aggression and self-excuse which so many of these children reveal " They don't teach me at our school I only go errands," was the bitter remark of one boy who was trying to assert his manhood by knocking down his smaller but more knowledgable companions " I can run," boasts another—for many months the leader of a gang in serious misdemeanours, though making no headway in any school subject.

Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but these are enough to indicate quite clearly the influence which educational failure may have

The Necessity for Prevention

The problem of backwardness, then, faces us with two issues. Because of individual differences in children, and because of the

nature of the school situation, inability to learn is at times inevitable Yet such failure, especially if it be widespread or long continued, is detrimental to the development of personality and character What can be done ? To this question our answer is definite—the first and most valuable line of attack is prevention

May we here digress for a moment ? The stress laid earlier on the close inter-relationship between backwardness and maladjustment in behaviour is in no sense intended to imply that backwardness is in itself the main cause of undesirable conduct Occasionally it may be so But more usually it is no more than one symptom of poor adjustment due in general to other causes The point is, that whatever be its cause, the existence of backwardness is apt to be an inhibiting force, acting as an additional brake on wheels too often already clogged

Accepting this point, it may well be asked how is it possible to prevent something which is inevitable ? The paradox is not so great as it seems We cannot, it is true, make all children learn at the same rate or in the same way, yet it is possible by recognition of the early signs of failure, by the understanding of individual needs, and by the modification of methods and schemes to meet those needs, to prevent most of the troubles which follow lack of achievement For it is not the actual absence of knowledge that is so deplorable in its results, but the attitude of mind which comes from the recognition of unmerited blame and unrewarded effort

Causes of School Difficulty

Psychologically, the actual causes of school difficulty are to be found mainly in the inherent make-up of the child—intellectual and temperamental—in some circumstance of his early environment , or more generally in the results of the interconnection between these two factors, which is, as a rule, already operating even before he enters school They may be summarised briefly under the following heads

(1) *Reduction in General Intelligence*

This is undoubtedly the most important single cause In itself it means slow learning and relative incapacity for all work Expected to compete with his normal or supernormal fellows, the dull child is foredoomed to failure He cannot, and never will, achieve as much as they do The only reasonable treatment for such a child is that he be allowed to work at a slower rate from the start, with a reduction of curriculum to what is possible and desirable for him. We cannot make him more intelligent than he is. We can, by suitable employment and teaching, encourage effort and build up self-respect In this connection, it is interesting to note, that of the four thousand delinquent children previously referred to, at least 30 per cent were definitely dull The intellectual limitations which affect their school work operate in their behaviour outside the school. Attention is wandering and ill directed : they act without plans or

foresight, not realising the implications of what they do Because of lack of understanding, self-control is poor, while suggestions from others and temptations from external things are yielded to with a childishness not in accordance with their actual years Yet from the majority of these children one gets the definite impression that inadequacy in school has added to their natural limitations Early recognition of the problem, followed by consistent handling and teaching suited to their needs, seems the only real line of help.

(2) *Lack of Verbal Ability*

Two people of approximately the same degree of intelligence may differ markedly in verbal ability and, other things being equal, the one with poor verbal power will find most school work relatively difficult because of its nature He may, in consequence, be wrongly judged as stupid or dull Changes in the type of work and more practical methods will often bring out capacity previously hidden

(3) *Specific Disabilities*

Specific disabilities, especially in the realm of perception and memory These operate adversely with children of all grades of intelligence The clearest example is found in the cases of reading failures, which so often occur where ability for other work is normal or well above normal An appreciation of the nature of the difficulty, slower and more prolonged teaching of fundamentals, and possibly the use of special methods, are in such cases essential Failure in reading is apt to be the one most keenly felt by children because of the widespread use of this subject " Yes, but reading is the cleverest," was the sad response of a little girl who was finding its mastery supremely difficult, and whose teacher pointed out for her encouragement the many things she could do " No, I can't read," said an intelligent boy of 14 with achievement in reading barely reaching normal 5-year level, adding quickly " My brother, who is sixteen, can't read either, and he's got a job Father can read, and he's been out of work for years "

(4) *Temperamental and Emotional Disturbances*

Work with maladjusted children leaves no room for doubt as to the serious effect certain temperamental attitudes and emotional disturbances have on school achievement With such children, failure in school is only one symptom in this general inefficiency The unstable child, with wandering attention, rapid swing of mood and fleeting interest, is ill fitted for routine learning · undue sensitiveness inhibits thought and application under the stress of any adverse criticism ; impetuosity breeds failure by its very zest for achievement.

Anxiety, fear, deprivation of normal emotional outlets are in themselves too absorbing to leave the mind free to grow and learn The child whose early experience has led him to get satisfaction

only in fantasy is not easily wooed to the conquest of external realities Problems such as these demand investigation and treatment which, as a rule, the school itself cannot give Competence can only result from increasing stability and security One thing, however, it is necessary to realise increasing security does not teach a child what he has failed to learn during his periods of stress When his mind is free, the opportunity for making up what has been lost in basic knowledge should be supplied " I always did mean to listen in arithmetic," said a bright little girl whose mind was absorbed in fantasy, " but then the end of the lesson came and I hadn't heard anything " Release from her need for fantasy did not teach her the arithmetic she had lost

(5) *External Factors*

The influence of such conditions as absence over a period, school changes, differences in methods of instruction and physical incapacity are too self-evident to need more than passing comment they all add their quota to the total sum of incapacity Here, too, the great need lies in the giving of opportunity to make good what has been missed

Conclusion

In view of these facts it is clear that an attempt to deal with backwardness in school is far-reaching in its demands Wise administration, the understanding of the individual child, elasticity in methods of teaching, some freedom in classification and opportunity for individual work—all these and more are involved Surely the outcome in the better adjustment and greater happiness of large numbers of children is worth such effort

LUCY FILDES

CHAPTER THREE

The Education of Backward Children

Nature and Amount of Backwardness

THE scope of the present chapters, as originally planned, was the diagnosis and treatment of the backward or " C " children in senior schools A preliminary review of the entire problem, however, soon revealed that any discussion of backward pupils would be inadequate without a consideration of backwardness in the junior school [1] It is becoming more apparent that the backwardness of " C " and " D " children in senior and unselective central schools can by no means be universally ascribed to innate mental dullness ; the possibility of faulty treatment in the junior school must be extensively investigated " There is some danger," says Lord Eustace Percy, " in considering the problem as a specifically senior school problem. It is noticeable that the Consultative Committee only really came up against the ' C ' child when it turned to consider the primary school after it had reported on the education of the adolescent "

These are significant remarks, for they indicate that, whereas the Hadow organisation aims at making proper provision for the education of all dull children over the age of 11, the treatment of backward pupils in the junior schools presents a problem demanding careful consideration

Personal researches reveal that it is in the junior school where the problem of scholastic backwardness is most accentuated and least adequately treated One finds in some junior departments, particularly small ones, backward pupils lagging behind the bulk of the class in competition with more normal and supernormal colleagues than they would meet in the " C " class of a senior school or the " C " and " D " classes of an unselective central school The greater spread of intellectual capacities amongst members of such junior school classes, the attention to scholarship requirements which not infrequently pervades the whole school, and the varying attitudes towards backwardness make the entire problem one of supreme importance.

Attitudes towards Backwardness

The varying attitudes towards backwardness in the junior school appear to arise from one or other of four different conditions

[1] Here used in the more limited sense as laid down by the Hadow Report and meant to refer to those departments containing pupils between the ages of 7 + and 11 +.

Need for Earlier Detection

The first is a continuance of the old idea that backward pupils are merely slow developers, and hence it is maintained that it is inadvisable to attempt differential treatment at the age of 7 or 8 Consequently, these children are left neglected until their backwardness develops into compensatory behaviour problems, or until it has assumed such grave proportions—amounting to as much as four mental years in some cases—that they are speedily transferred to a special class or set down as mentally defective No doubt there are some shortcomings that children grow out of, but general backwardness is not one of these Intrinsic slowness of mental development accounts for only 3 per cent of the cases of scholastic retardation, and the newer and more scientific attitude towards backwardness in school is for diagnosis and treatment to begin at the earliest possible time Educational authorities are realising that the sooner the backward child is detected and dealt with the better. Mention might be made of the excellent attempts in some infant schools to cope with the already ascertainable section of backward pupils

Prejudice against Special Classes

The second common attitude precluding efficient treatment of backward children is the prejudice that prevails in some schools against the special class The head teacher, disagreeing with any segregation, either temporary or permanent, leaves these children to drag along at the bottom of a class, in a vain attempt to follow the same curriculum and methods as the more progressive pupils. In extenuation of this policy, the arguments of the stigma attaching to the special class and the incentive offered by contact with brighter members of a normal class are advanced as reasons for failure to make special provision for backward children.

The Problem in Poor Areas

In other instances, we find the pessimistic viewpoint that pertains in some schools in poor areas, that as so many of their pupils are dull or backward, or both, then there is no need for special consideration of backward children It is believed that the scholastic standards of the school are two or more years below normal levels, and this state, accepted as characteristic of most of the pupils, is regarded as irremediable But the application of intelligence and standardised scholastic tests does not reveal such a hopeless position. In one junior mixed school where this pessimistic outlook prevailed, tests of general intelligence and of academic achievement were given From the mental test (a non-verbal one) the intelligence quotients [1] were calculated and distributed into four categories.

[1] The intelligence quotient is a ratio, reckoned in terms of 100 units, between mental age (as determined by Score in a standardised intelligence test) and chronological age

$$\text{i e } IQ = \frac{\text{mental age}}{\text{chronological age}} \times 100$$

From results of both scholastic and intelligence tests the achievement quotients [1] were derived and cast into four similar categories The actual figures from 272 children are given in Tables 1 and 2.

[1] The achievement quotient is a ratio, reckoned in terms of 100 units, between mental age for general intelligence and mental age for scholastic achievement, called educational age, and determined from standardised scholastic tests

$$\text{i e } \text{A Q} = \frac{\text{educational age}}{\text{mental age}} \times 100$$

As a measure the A Q has serious deficiencies, which, unless counteracted, will discount its value as an indication of learning effort

This is not the place in which to give full details of all points implicated, but reference to the main facts will reveal the validity of the A Q calculations referred to in the above paragraphs

The A Q of 100 is meant to indicate that a pupil with, say, M A of 9 should have an E A of 9—this is irrespective of chronological age An A Q above 100 is meant to indicate acceleration, while one below indicates retardation The fallacy of such a viewpoint is revealed when we consider the case of three different pupils all M A 9, but one with a C A 12, another with C A 9 and a third with C A 7 All three pupils are expected to achieve the same A Q because mental age is considered as the sole determinant in school progress In actual fact we sometimes find the duller pupils, with an A Q normal or above and the brighter ones with A Q below 100, i e retarded Too high a standard is set for brighter pupils and too low a one set for duller pupils The inaccuracies arise from two defects

(*a*) Neglect of years of schooling and in consequence of the increased opportunity and practice In the cases cited above the child of C A 12, though of M A 9, has had three more years' schooling than the second pupil and five more than the third

(*b*) Insufficient evidence of the relative rates of educational progress of children of different I Q s

These deficiencies in the calculation of A Q can to some extent be remedied by either of two procedures firstly, by making provision for factors other than general intelligence that enter into school progress , and secondly, by taking into consideration the norms of progress for children of different I Q s The latter have not been definitely established for the various periods of school life, but we can minimise the anomalies of the other method of assessing A Q by providing for the effects of chronological age

In this respect I have followed the device adopted by Sleight (see Sleight, G F *The Diagnosis and Treatment of the Dull and Backward Child*, unpublished Ph D Thesis in the University of London Library) This investigator bases his correction on the assumption that " for the average test in school subjects which involve a certain amount of ' g ' we should expect the denominator (i e in the calculation of A Q s) to lie between C A and M A according to the saturation of the test with ' g ' " Thus if tests of English and arithmetic used for calculations of an educational age have a correlation of 65 with " g," then the A Q would be

$$\frac{\text{E A}}{\text{at a point}} \quad 65 \text{ distance between M A and C A}$$

i e. with the pupil of C A 11, M A 9, E A 10,

the denominator for calculation of A Q would be 9 7, not 9 0 By the corrected method this boy's A.Q would be 103 not 111, as derived from the uncorrected method.

Naturally, such a procedure assumes that other contributory factors in school progress remain relatively constant

Probably the method is only an approximation to the correct figure, and what we require for a finer assessment of achievement in relation to intelligence is a carefully compiled set of learning norms for the various I Q groups

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS IN PERCENTAGES

CATEGORY	RANGE I Q	PERCENTAGE
Above normal	111 and over	10 1
Normal	90–110	59 2
Dull	70–89	27 3
Possible M D	50–69	4 4

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ACHIEVEMENT QUOTIENTS IN PERCENTAGES

CATEGORY	RANGE A Q	PERCENTAGE
Above normal	111 and over	11 3
Normal	90–110	66 2
Retarded	70–89	21 4
Greatly retarded	50–69	1 1

These figures show that although there are over 30 per cent of dull children in the school, yet there are sufficient normal and supernormal scholars to warrant differential treatment by some means, such as the special class or cross-classification for arithmetic and English The results also reveal that there are 22 5 per cent of the pupils not working up to their intellectual capacity No doubt better organisation and more suitable teaching methods for duller pupils would decrease this margin of unrealised intellectual power.

Tendency to Lower Standards

Finally, one not infrequently finds schools where standards are so low that few cases of backwardness are suspected Working with poor material for a number of years causes the teachers unconsciously to lower their standards and their conception of normality Obviously such cases would benefit from the application of standardised tests, the results of which would clearly reveal the retardation that exists in normal and dull pupils alike.

This preliminary survey of prevalent attitudes with regard to backward children naturally leads to a consideration of two important questions .

What is meant by backwardness, dullness and retardation ?

What is the frequency of dullness, backwardness and retardation in the ordinary elementary schools ?

It will be apparent that the different attitudes previously discussed arise, in part, from the conflicting and inaccurate knowledge of the exact nature of scholastic backwardness and of its frequency in the school population

What is Backwardness?

It is a commonplace to say that backwardness is merely a matter of degree and that backward children are not essentially different from normal children What is not realised, however, is that backwardness is a natural phenomenon and that there will always be, in every school, pupils who are below average attainment level We can focus too much attention on average achievements and set our educational machine, whether it be a class, a school or a county, into a feverish state of activity in which efforts are being made to bring everyone up to average attainment It is more important to enable each child to realise, in a sound, sane manner, his intellectual potentialities than to push him beyond his natural mental level in a medium very much concerned with efficiency in the three R's Thus we can clearly define the different aspects of the problem of backwardness On the one hand, there will be *dull* pupils, who have limited intellectual powers and who will necessarily be backward in their school work, but, provided they reach an academic level commensurate with their limited intellectual capacities, little more should be expected of them On the other hand, there will be pupils whose general backwardness is not due to dullness, but to extraneous remediable causes These pupils should, with additional effective instruction, be brought up to normal standards

In addition, there are pupils who, though neither dull nor backward, are not working up to the academic level that their innate intellectual power would warrant These are bright children whose teaching does not make provision for their supernormal intelligence the material presented to them, while catering for normal progress, does not extend them Their educational age is below their mental age for general intelligence Obviously, neither of the terms " backward " nor " dull " can be applied to them, and it would seem logical to reserve the term *retarded* for all cases where academic achievements are below mental capacities In this sense, retardation can characterise dull and normal pupils as well as supernormal Reference to concrete cases will clarify the use of the terms A pupil of C A 10·6, M A 8 4 and E A. 8 2 would be *dull*, and compared with the bulk of his school colleagues and with normal standards, *backward*. Should his educational age have been 7 2, then he would have been *retarded* as well

A pupil of C A. 9·9, M A 10 7 and E A 9 0 would be *backward* and at the same time *retarded*, but certainly not *dull* Based on the foregoing usage of the terms, *dullness* is synonymous with *innate intellectual deficiency*, while *backwardness* means *educational defici-*

ency, and *retardation* indicates a disparity between *intellectual level* and *educational achievement* which need not necessarily be accompanied by *backwardness*. Thus a dull child may be both backward and retarded, he will always be backward but need not always be retarded. Further, a dull child is always backward, but a backward child is not necessarily dull.

Some research workers have used the terms real and relative backwardness [1] to indicate backwardness and retardation respectively. The latter terms are more universally used, and convey, I think, a clearer conception of scholastic disability in general.

Frequency of Dullness, Backwardness and Retardation

Doubtless there is a danger in hard-and-fast classifications, but to determine the degree and distribution of mental and scholastic standards amongst the school population there must be some agreed lines of demarcation between the various groups which should be differentiated on the basis of results from tests, scientifically constructed and standardised.

Particularly in the measurement of intelligence is it necessary to have objective standards of comparison between school and school, area and area. Useful as teachers' estimates are, and indicative as progress in school proves in estimating intelligence, there is evidence that subjective factors and environmental experiences exert too great an influence on these means of measurement. It is now universally agreed that carefully constructed tests of general intelligence are the best-known methods of measuring general mental level. Naturally, absolute reliability is not attained, nor are we certain that intelligence tests fully measure all we mean by intelligence.[2] Spearman rightly prefers to believe that they measure the performance controlled by a general mental power which enters into all our cognitive operations and which he denotes by the symbol "g".

Thorndike believes that the intelligence test simply measures abstract intelligence and that it fails to provide an assessment of what he calls social intelligence and mechanical intelligence. Some would deny that there are these two types of intelligence, that social intelligence, for example, is a matter of temperament and acquired attitudes. Be this as it may, it cannot be denied that assessments of dull and backward children solely by intelligence tests not infrequently overlook the mechanical and, particularly, the social aspects of the whole problem of backwardness. Classification in terms of I.Q. is scientific and suggestive, but by no means comprehensive. A single intelligence test result should be cautiously accepted and carefully supplemented.

[1] See particularly *Backwardness in Arithmetic in London Elementary Schools* (Unpublished M.A. thesis by Elizabeth Wheeler, in the University of London Library).

[2] For a clear and comprehensive discussion of intelligence, its nature and measurement, see "The Testing of Intelligence," Chapters One and Two, H. R. Hamley. (Reprints from THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935.)

Even more than in the measurement of intelligence, standardised tests are needed for surveys of scholastic abilities Here, too, assessments of average standards and degrees of deviation from the average are still liable to error if based solely on teachers' estimates or class results What is a fair educational level in one school may be poor in another ; what constitutes scholastic backwardness in one district may be synonymous with average performances elsewhere The most reliable estimate of backwardness in school comes from a survey of the results of pupils who fail to make average scores in standardised tests in the basic school subjects.

Amount of Backwardness

Too often backwardness is discussed in terms of intelligence quotients or mental age Such an interpretation has two defects It neglects the fundamental concept of backwardness, namely educational deficiency, and it tends to obscure the fact that numerous backward children are not dull The constant association of the terms " dull " and " backward " has been unfortunate, a more profitable nomenclature would be " dull " *or* " backward "

In general, teachers, guided by daily class work and test results, can select with a small margin of error the backward pupils in their class Where there are inaccuracies, they arise from schools where generally low standards are accepted, or from classrooms where good conduct or compensating efficiency in oral lessons or in handwork is given undue weight

Personal results, based on standardised tests, applied in single schools in different parts of London, reveal a wide variation in the amount of backwardness In poor areas, as many as 32 per cent of the pupils fall below average standard in composite tests of arithmetic and English (including reading, spelling and composition), while in the best areas this is as low as 4 2 per cent The criterion adopted was that a child was termed backward if his educational age was less than 85 per cent of his chronological age In classroom terms, backward children are those for whom some special organisation or special teaching methods are necessary, they are more than one class or grade behind that which their chronological age suggests they should maintain Wider surveys indicate that an average figure of 10 to 12 per cent holds for the mass of the school population [1]

Amount of Dullness

An assessment of backwardness includes cases of pupils who are dull and backward, and those who are merely backward It is profitable to ask what is the proportion of these two groups of scholars On this, as yet, insufficient work has been done. In the surveys undertaken, either backwardness or dullness has been

[1] Burt, C *The Distribution and Relations of Educational Abilities* (L C C Report, 1917.)

measured, few studies give estimates of both from the same population, and hence an indication of the proportion of innately dull to the remediably backward pupils is lacking Assuming dullness to be represented by an I Q range of 70–85, we see that Burt finds 10 or 11 per cent of the London school population are dull and backward It is unfortunate that different limits were adopted in recent surveys In a recent report [1] we note that of the " more retarded " children (I Q s 50–69) there are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent ; of the " less retarded " (I Q s 70–80) there are 10 per cent

The recent examination of 100,000 Scottish children [2] between the age of 10 and 11 years reveals that the percentage of children whose I Q s range from 70 to 90 is 24

Of the amount of dullness in proportion to normality amongst backward pupils, perhaps the most reliable research is that of Sleight, whose test results of 739 backward children, 400 boys and 339 girls, showed that 28 per cent were normal or supernormal, while 72 per cent were dull My own figures, from both junior and senior departments, based on tests of children in special classes, are practically identical, namely 27 per cent normal or supernormal and 73 per cent dull For the teacher, these are more important figures than those relating to distributions of backwardness, for they indicate that almost three out of every ten backward children can be helped and redrafted to normal sections or classes, while seven out of ten will always require special teaching methods

Amount of Retardation amongst Backward Children

Of 653 cases for whom complete arithmetic and English test results could be obtained, Sleight found that approximately 50 per cent were working up to the level of their intellectual powers, 16 per cent were retarded in both English and arithmetic, while 17 per cent were working below standard in arithmetic but not in English, and a similar percentage were retarded in English but not in arithmetic

F J SCHONELL

[1] *Report on Mental Deficiency* (H M S O , 1929) Note the rather confusing use of the term " retarded "

[2] *The Intelligence of Scottish School Children* (University of London Press, 1933)

CHAPTER FOUR

Causes of Backwardness

FOR convenience of discussion we might profitably group the causes of backwardness under four headings A, intellectual , B, emotional ; C, physical and D, environmental It should be remembered, however, that such divisions are entirely arbitrary, and that backwardness, as well as normal school progress, is conditioned by a set of interdependent forces, intellectual and emotional, physical and environmental A physical handicap has its accompanying intellectual and emotional repercussions, while an emotional barrier naturally influences physical states and intellectual output

An additional fact that needs to be borne in mind when considering causes of backwardness in children is the relative frequency with which adverse environmental conditions are found amongst normal and backward samples of the school population Because condition A is associated with condition B it is not necessarily a cause of B, and the best check on such spurious inferences is the use of control groups

Intellectual Causes of Backwardness

The most marked causal condition to be found under this heading is innate dullness In this category we would include children whose intelligence quotients (determined preferably on a non-verbal test) were less than 85 Strictly speaking, the accepted lower borderline for the dull is I Q 70, but in all special classes that I have tested I have invariably found pupils with I Q s as low as 55 or 66, while I Q s between 60 and 70 were not infrequent Two special classes recently tested gave this range.

I Q.s	*Boys* *No*	*Girls* *No*
Over 110	1	—
85–110	5	6
70–84	14	19
60–9	4	4
50–9	3	1

As previously stated, subnormality in intelligence characterises slightly over 70 per cent of backward pupils in junior or senior departments. This figure includes those with I Q s below 70 , if we exclude those who, in the strict sense of the term, are mentally defective (i e I Q below 70) and who should be in special schools, we obtain a figure of 58 per cent

As deficiency in general intelligence characterises so many backward children, it is apparent that greater provision should be made for special teaching In large schools, and in poor areas, the special

class or similar organisation is a more urgent need than is sometimes realised Naturally, innate dullness is not the only causal factor in the backward educational condition of these dull children. My own records show, that in over 80 per cent of the cases their backwardness is accentuated by one or more contributory factors, such as absence from school, ill health, poor home conditions, emotional instability The primary factor is, however, a weakness in intellectual power, and this, a permanent condition, should be clearly recognised from the outset [1] They will not " grow out " of it , in fact, in three-quarters of subnormal children an average annual decline of about 1½ points in I Q is observed between the years 9 and 15 They cannot and should not be forced educationally They should simply be allowed to realise to the maximum their potential intellectual capacity through a special curriculum with special teaching methods—a provision that should not mean isolation from any of the activities of school life in general

Specific Intellectual Defects

Specific intellectual disabilities are usually secondary causes of backwardness, but they may be the primary factor in general scholastic weakness Cases of normally intelligent pupils,[2] whose general school progress has been handicapped and impeded by specific defect, are not uncommon Of such disabilities, the most potent and far-reaching is that of weak visual and auditory perception in the realm of language This inaccuracy in recognising, analysing and synthesising patterns and units in the verbal field produces marked backwardness in reading and spelling For many pupils, this condition does not transfer to school work in general , their other subjects are satisfactory, and they remain cases of specific backwardness But there are some children in the junior school in whom the condition, through ignorance and neglect, becomes so intense, that it produces, as well, complicating emotional barriers, and colours the whole of their school work These children fail to learn to read in the infant department and are promoted to the junior school, where no one gives them the adequate scientific aid they require Thus neglected, the condition, like a snowball, gathers force as it grows Pronounced weakness in reading and spelling means poor written English Deprived of the means of self-expression, that all young children like so much, namely oral and silent reading, they lose confidence in themselves and develop an inferiority attitude towards school work in general Unable to read, they are deprived of a source of knowledge and new ideas. As they progress in school, their arithmetic suffers through inaccuracies in reading In consequence, at the age of 10 or 11, these

[1] I have already drawn attention to the fact that the result of a single intelligence testing should be accepted with caution

[2] Such specific disabilities may also characterise the dull See " The Testing of Intelligence," Chapter Seven, F J Schonell (Reprint from THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935)

children present typical pictures of general backwardness, at times, so pronounced, that it is difficult on first acquaintance not to suspect dullness From my records I cite this concrete case—Boy C.A 10, M A. 9·6, Spelling 7·1, Reading 6 5, Composition 7·5, Arithmetic 8 The nature of his retardation can be judged from a sample of his written English, in this case a composition on " School "

" The scool his a beg once Weh go to scool The doys haf a Holdde The girls haf no Holdde I had for hadwork me some boy in the cass ronn to doy our cass roon noit In hadwork we mad a book for Bakbook " We do conpsmon and Engls and I hum in blue ten "

Weakness in auditory and visual perception is apparent from the errors, a condition which also mars his reading Past history shows that he had had good health and little absence from school He had simply drifted along, receiving little effective help with his disability, which, in time, has coloured his whole attitude towards school work Yet an intelligence test, supplemented by observation, shows he is a normally intelligent lad

Such a case, of which there are some, different only in degree, in every junior school, amply demonstrates the fact, that one of the major *scholastic* objectives of the junior school should be the development of intelligent reading habits Any form of reading retardation should be regarded with concern Backward readers are relatively easy to help at 7, 8 or even 9 years of age, but much more difficult at 10 or 11 Early assistance will prevent the possibility of later general backwardness based on what was at first only a specific disability. My own researches show, that no less than 7·6 per cent [1] of the backward children in the senior school are of this type—intelligent enough, but apathetic and linguistically backward to a pronounced degree

The organisation adopted by one headmaster of a junior mixed school is admirable in this respect All cases of reading retardation are placed in one class under an efficient and sympathetic teacher Here the main objective is to bring their reading up to normal standards Much individual assistance is given, and the curriculum of the whole class centres round reading As their reading is brought up to normal, sometimes only after twelve months' hard work, so they are drafted out to other classes The method is sound, pedagogically and psychologically. What use is it, if a child knows about the Wars of the Roses or can reduce £12 13*s*. 8½*d* to halfpennies, but cannot read ? In after life reading is by far the most important activity.

Close contact with such a class has shown me, that with improvement in reading comes a decided improvement in development of personality, particularly in self-esteem and self-confidence, and an improvement in other subjects

[1] It should be remembered that this represents a quarter of the curable backward types in the senior school Early figures showed that over 70 per cent. were innately dull.

To other specific disabilities which contribute towards general backwardness, passing reference need be made only to weakness in long-distance memory and to high-frequency deafness Poor delayed memory arises from poor immediate memory, which, in turn, is dependent upon normal imagery and powers of attention Attention is as much an emotional as an intellectual activity, and one finds that some of the backward children, whose powers of attention are weak, are of a nervous, unstable disposition

High-frequency deafness, which reveals itself as an inability to discriminate between similar sounds in the realm of speech, and hence produces marked speech defects and reading retardation, is the sole causal factor in the backwardness of a few children [1]

Emotional Factors in Backwardness

Amongst the backward one finds a disproportionate number of unstable children, three times as many as amongst those making satisfactory progress It is not that intellectual dullness has as its correlative emotional instability, for it is amongst the normal section of backward pupils, not the dull, that most of the deviates from emotional stability are found It is not so much their inability to control their emotional responses that produces their backwardness, for, in fact, this often causes them to show up to advantage in oral lessons and in dramatic representations, but it is the defects in character formation that have resulted It is their lack of persistence in applying themselves that produces such paucity of result Both reading and number demand a certain amount of continuous concentration and persistence of motive, and these children are unable, either through innate causes or early home training, to give that sustained attention necessary for progress from step to step They are continually failing to finish tasks, they seek to absent themselves on the slightest pretext and are ever drawn aside by chance distractions In short, they are always following the path of least resistance New and novel projects are entered upon with enthusiasm, only to be thrown over before a technique has been acquired or a result obtained

At times, this flighty, procrastinating, pleasure-seeking attitude is a defence mechanism arising from ill health, particularly of a nervous type In other cases, there are no symptoms of ill health, and the condition appears to be due to an innate state of general emotional instability In still further instances, my records reveal that the school attitudes are virtually defects in character formation based on over-indulgence in the home One case may be quoted, that of a boy, aged 10, who, constantly pampered and petted, given way to in all whims and wishes, has failed to build up for himself any drive or persistence of purpose He vacillates from one activity to another, touches this and tinkers with that, but is quite unable

[1] For details of a case of this kind, see " The Relation between Defective Speech and Disability in Spelling," F J Schonell, *British. J. of Educ. Psychology*, vol. IV, part II, June 1934

to apply himself in school. He is an intelligent boy, who has not been helped to build up habits of work. With such children, a certain amount of routine work, carried out in co-operation with the home, helps to relieve their backward condition Interesting devices, associated with their out-of-school activities, have proved successful in encouraging them to make headway in number and reading

Recent work in educational research has revealed that emotional factors are almost as important as intellectual factors in school progress This is strikingly apparent when we discover some of the emotional barriers of backward children At least 8 per cent of them are labouring under an emotional effect of dismay, doubt or dissatisfaction Some have never been shown the right way to approach their difficulties, and like the reading cases cited above, continue to develop a feeling of depreciation of their own powers Others have been introduced to tasks too difficult, too abstract, or too academic They have started reading or number before they were mentally ready for such operations What is so important to children in the early years is not so much what they learn, but their attitude towards tasks, towards other people and towards their own capabilities Easy tasks and encouragement are two important approaches in the re-education of backward pupils

Occasionally one finds these pupils setting out on compensatory activities—they become behaviour problems, or they regress and reveal an infantile dependency, characterised by day-dreaming and babyish reactions In a few instances this compensation has taken the form of a superiority attitude—all their work and their ways have been overlaid by a blustering, bluffing " know all " attitude intended to distract attention from their deficiencies One of my cases carried this to extreme, his reading age was only 6 7 mental years, yet he glibly extemporised with expression, he wrote pages of almost unreadable composition, and would be equally confident about the hardest arithmetic problem and the simplest sum

In some backward pupils apathy seems to stultify all intellectual effort and to baffle the most ingenious attempts to interest them Typical of this group was Albert E , aged 9½, I.Q 85, all of whose work was on a level with the following sample, his total product in half an hour .

Reproduction of the story " The Marble Statue "

" Wuns pon tin threr was mcpl thabthspootel gel man made up hees min of clef hu "

(Once upon a time there was marble statue beautiful girl man made up his mind to love her)

This by no means represented his true ability, yet he made little effort to overcome his backwardness

Finally, there are a few children whose inability to progress normally in school is influenced to a marked degree by emotional conflicts They are so taken up with thinking about and worrying

over happenings in the home, shortcomings in school or unwholesome sexual practices, that they are almost completely unable to concentrate and to devote their true intellectual powers to the tasks in hand In many cases these personal conflicts arise from the child's temperamental equipment and are merely precipitated by the extraneous factors which other children experience but are able to surmount. Sometimes, the precipitating causes take the form of parental anxiety At home, scholastic attainment is stressed to the exclusion of all else, test results are emphasised and progress in school is a continuous source of anxious discussion Conflict over failure complicates the child's attitude towards school work and, not very bright under the most favourable conditions, he begins to fall further behind as a result of this feverish concern at home

In other cases, the brooding which saps the child's vitality may arise from feelings of guilt over masturbation It is not the drain on physical energy, but on emotional energy that causes the pupil to show such weakness of persistence and lack of concentration These children require sympathetic consideration and careful handling. A study of their case, and the offer of assistance, particularly on the emotional side, often has the effect of improving their scholastic condition

Physical Conditions

In the main, adverse physical conditions are minor rather than major factors in backwardness Provided they do not cause undue absence from school, physical handicaps do not produce the lowering in intellectual power that is sometimes attributed to them [1] It is true that there are somewhat more physical deficiencies amongst the backward than amongst normals, and we do find groups of backward pupils where the proportion of physical defects is abnormally high, but there are hundreds of pupils suffering from minor ailments who are making excellent progress in school

The most important physical deficiency associated with backwardness is lowered vitality There are some children who start life with a weak constitution Not infrequently they come from poor stock and are further handicapped by poor home conditions. They take cold easily, are subject to sore throats, have headaches, and in addition, are frequent victims to the commoner infectious diseases. Even when they are well they become fatigued easily and are unable to make that continued effort needed for acquiring the fundamental skills, so necessary in later school life

Akin to these cases of lowered vitality are those nervous children whose nervous systems seem to suffer from recurrent bouts of depression My own records show that no less than 16 per cent of every backward group could be classed as highly strung cases showing flightiness of attention, motor inco-ordination and general

[1] See for interesting evidence, *Intelligence and Disease.* (Medical Research Council pamphlet.)

inequality in intellectual output and emotional control Some are of a definitely choreic type, who need careful specific treatment of a scientific kind

Others present a picture of mild neurasthenia, the symptoms of which flare up and die down according to the abnormality or normality of such influencing factors as diet, fatigue and unhappiness [1] Defects of vision and of hearing are commoner among backward than normal pupils and to some extent account for the former's poor powers of reading and spelling

The following figures reveal the amount of comparative visual and auditory defects found amongst groups of backward and normal scholars

Defects	*Backwards*	*Normals*
Vision	19 2	9 1
Hearing	9 6	4 5
Speech	7 8	2 6

Defects of vision are of major importance, for they not infrequently handicap a child in the early stages of learning to read and spell Defects of hearing are associated with defects of speech, so common amongst dull and backward children Stammering is not a causal factor in scholastic retardation

Adverse Environmental Influences

Under this heading we might include eight important contributory causal factors in scholastic backwardness They are continued absence from school, frequent change of school, discontinuity between the infant department and the junior department, failure to make adequate provision for slow learners, particularly between the ages of 7 + and 9 +, too rapid promotion, unsuitable methods of teaching particular children to read, poor home conditions, and incorrect parental attitudes towards the child We might have referred to these in a more concise form as causal conditions within the school and within the home.

Absence from School

Continued absence from school, which may be due to illness, accident or lack of proper parental guidance, and frequent change of school, exert their maximum influence during the early years when the foundations of number and reading are being laid During periods of absence the child misses vital steps in a new aspect of a subject, or fails to get sufficient practice on fundamental techniques—gaps which might continue to handicap him for several years There are numerous cases in my records where reading has long

[1] For useful information on nervous children see *The Nervous Child* and *The Nervous Child in School*, by H C Cameron (Oxford Medical Publications) The author has in mind mainly the intelligent nervous child, but much of his material applies equally well to dull and backward children.

been held up by absence at a vital stage, or where number has suffered by change of school, involving not infrequently change of method Not only do such children miss the actual teaching and practice periods, but they miss the play-way methods or the carefully graded repetition which characterise the normal presentation of the material Subsequent instruction is rarely as well graded, as attractive or as systematic Moreover, children are quick to sense a feeling of inferiority with regard to that which their colleagues have done and they have missed It is necessary to give these backward pupils careful and sympathetic consideration if they are to overcome the handicap they have sustained As members of a backward section, or a special class, their work needs detailed examinations to discover just where the gaps in their knowledge exist and how they can be repaired

Lack of Continuity

Discontinuity between infant and junior departments, though decreasing, is still a contributory causal condition in the backwardness of some children Backward in reading or in number, sometimes in both, these children are promoted before they have attained the minimum level needed for work in the junior school Six months longer with infant teachers, using infant methods, would in all probability give them that extra facility in recognising word forms and handling numerical symbols When they come to the class of a teacher who is sympathetic and, what is perhaps more important, conversant with infant methods, they frequently overcome their backwardness, but when, unluckily, they happen to be placed with a teacher who is ignorant and perhaps impatient of infant methods, they are neglected The teacher feels that he or she must hurry along with the work set down for the class, and further work, built on insecure foundations, tends to confuse the unfortunate child, whose backwardness increases rather than diminishes

It would be to the advantage of all children promoted from the infant department if they went into classes the teachers of which had taken courses in methods of teaching, reading and number to infants

Unsuitable methods of teaching reading refers only to that small section of backward children whose generally poor scholastic standards have primarily resulted from an original handicap in learning to read and spell Most children learn to read and to spell by any method, needing only careful guidance and plenty of suitable material from the teacher There are, however, some pupils whose powers of either visual or auditory perception produce weakness in analysing and synthesising word forms Certain methods intensify this weakness, others aid in discounting it For example, the child whose powers of auditory analysis and discrimination are weak obtains most help from a method where great emphasis is placed on word wholes and phrase forms and their meaning The

extremely poor reading attainments of one group of children recently examined was without doubt due to the method used in teaching them These pupils, ten in number, were all dull or borderline dull, their I Q s ranged from 68 to 86 They had been learning, not very efficiently, by the sentence method ,[1] for them the units were too large, their memory powers were not adequate for the task They made very definite progress with a method involving smaller units

Home Conditions

Poor home conditions may be a minor force in the backwardness of some children A word of warning is, however, needed in this respect There are three times as many cases where poor home conditions have no detrimental intellectual effects as where they exert an adverse influence In general, poverty of home conditions interferes with a child's progress in school in two ways—by lowering his vitality and by limiting his linguistic opportunities and his circle of general knowledge Various provisions made by the School Medical Service can be invoked to combat the first, while the second must be remedied by definite social activities on the part of the school

Influence of Parents

Unhelpful parental attitudes are numerous and varied In not a few cases they hamper normal school progress To deal with them is doubly difficult—the child is helpless, while the teacher often comes in contact with a barrier of defiance or indifference There are homes where harshness of discipline antagonises the child towards all in authority , he becomes suspicious and resentful, responds neither to praise nor to encouragement and makes little effort at genuine co-operation At other times, harshness robs the child of independence and initiative , his opinion of himself has been so depreciated by unkind incidents and disparaging remarks that he is uncertain of his powers whenever he is confronted with a new task Success and praise are the nutritives for such children Although one rarely finds these emotional factors of major importance in backwardness, yet they are always of vital minor concern, and it is therefore advantageous for the teacher of backward children to make contact with their parents.

Value of Diagnosis

Sufficient consideration has now been given to causes of backwardness in the junior school Along such lines teachers should endeavour to trace the main causal factors in each child's backwardness With most backward pupils, to make the correct diagnosis of their impoverished scholastic state is to take the first step in their correct treatment It is by no means a solution of the problem, but it aids considerably in selection of appropriate methods A know-

[1] An excellent method for normal and bright children, but, in my experience, not suited to dull children, unless very skilfully taught.

ledge of causes of backwardness in school work has an additional value for all teachers It should contribute towards the prevention of retardation and the treatment of backwardness, general and specific, remediable and irremediable The first aspect, namely prevention, will be briefly considered in the next paragraph , the second aspect, treatment, will form the basis of the next chapter.

Prevention of Backwardness in the Junior School

Knowledge of causes of scholastic backwardness should enable us, not only to avoid negative issues, that is, not to do this and not to do that, but to take positive steps which will, to some extent, prevent pupils from becoming backward For as it has been pointed out in earlier sections, there are at least 30 per cent of backward children for whom the school could have done much to prevent their backwardness Naturally, there are absolutely irremediable causes, such as inborn intellectual, emotional and physical deficiencies There are, too, home conditions and parental attitudes where the teacher's influence is limited In these directions something can be achieved by the social work of the school, by co-operation with the School Medical Service and by fostering closer contact between home and school

Prevention within the school should be a more easily attainable objective It will be related to school organisation and curriculum requirements Although we have here in mind the junior school, prevention of backwardness should be a major objective even in the infants school Without doubt infant departments, where extra aid is given to children below average in reading and number, where every effort is made to encourage independence and initiative, where correct work habits and social attitudes are fostered, make the task of preventing backwardness in the junior school an easier one With children who obviously appear dull, an extension of play-way methods, the use of concrete material and a postponement of some of the formal work, help considerably in the prevention of backwardness There are not a few instances where the backwardness of some children has been made worse by initial failures with tasks much beyond their intellectual powers It is in the infant department that correct attitudes towards scholastic tasks—a vital aspect of school life—can be formed. In the junior school skilful organisation and a carefully balanced curriculum can do much towards minimising backwardness Organisation which makes provision, either within the class or by means of cross-classification, for those requiring special help with reading and with arithmetic, will prevent minor degrees of backwardness from developing into major cases of general backwardness

A cheerful, optimistic tone throughout the school aids children in applying themselves to scholastic tasks Above all, the routine of the community should be such that it helps pupils to surmount difficulties with a minimum of outside assistance, and that it insists on the completion of tasks.

Opportunity for self-expression and for activity, two vital needs in the junior school, contribute towards maintaining self-esteem and self-confidence These are of extreme value with the duller children, for whom the prevention of emotional barriers means so much in their school progress Self-expression should and can take into consideration children's interests—handwork, drawing and painting, rhythmic work, and oral and written English can all be based to some extent on the interests of the pupils

Teaching methods must make for mastery of fundamental techniques Junior school children like repetition and are even ready to endure drudgery to acquire skills Incidental learning methods often rob duller class members of the opportunity of learning fundamental facts that they need for later progress Definite spelling lessons, memorisation of tables, repetition with carefully graded examples are all psychologically sound at this stage and help materially in preventing backwardness amongst slower pupils

Teaching methods that pay particular attention to individual differences and to specific handicaps lessen the possibility of retardation and of remediable backwardness

F J SCHONELL

CHAPTER FIVE

Methods of Diagnosis and Organisation

A Methods of Diagnosis

DIAGNOSIS of backwardness may seem a relatively simple matter, but contact with backward children speedily shows that accurate diagnosis requires both knowledge and understanding In the first place, a useful diagnostic procedure should be positive as well as negative , to determine that a child is backward may be useful, but to know why he is backward and how he can be helped, is of supreme importance This additional diagnostic knowledge cannot be obtained solely by mechanical means, nor can it be gathered in a short time Supplementary diagnostic aids often help us more with remedial treatment than do objective measures It should always be remembered that potentially backward children need studying and observing as well as testing, if we are to arrive at a correct estimate of their mental condition

Application of an Intelligence Test

An initial step in diagnosis, and a most suggestive one, is the application of an intelligence test In this we should realise that, as backward children are often handicapped in writing and reading, a verbal group test may not yield the best result My own procedure has been to apply a non-verbal group [1] test, i e one in which the media consist of pictures, diagrams, etc , and in which the instructions are given orally In doubtful cases, the London form of the Stanford-Binet Revision is given, while with older backwards, a supplementary verbal group test is useful [2] Results from an intelligence test indicate the general level of intelligence attained by the child They do not assess with absolute accuracy to a point of I Q , in fact, five points on the I Q scale may have little significance Qualified educational psychologists would not be prepared to say that the child with I Q 90 was less intelligent than the child with I Q 95, but they would be prepared to accept the finding that the backwardness of a pupil with I Q 80 was due to innate intellectual deficiency Intelligence test results give us a guide for further observation and consequent organisation The backward child with I Q 110 is with little doubt one whom we can help

[1] By far the most useful test of this nature is the *Sleight's Non-Verbal Intelligence Test,* prepared by G F Sleight (Harrap & Co) This was prepared for use with backward children and was carefully standardised for London schools See also *Oxton Group Intelligence Test,* prepared by Perrie Williams (Harrap & Co)

[2] For this the *Simplex Junior Intelligence Scale* is a carefully compiled and standardised measure prepared by Richardson. (Harrap & Co.)

considerably His backwardness is, in all probability, of a curable nature, due, perhaps, to a combination of extraneous circumstances

Standardised Attainment Tests

In addition to a general intelligence test, it is useful to apply standardised attainment tests to discover the amount of backwardness in the various subjects A careful examination of these results also provides information on the nature of the backwardness Where standardised attainment tests have this diagnostic value in addition to their measuring value, so much the better The teacher of backward children will, however, find it extremely beneficial to apply specific diagnostic tests in arithmetic, reading, spelling and composition [1] He can thus determine the levels reached by the different pupils in these fundamental subjects, and can plan more effectively general and individual teaching procedures

Estimates of Emotional Reactions

Just as important as the assessments made of intellectual equipment and academic standards is the information gathered concerning emotional characteristics of backward children Here we have no reliable objective measures, but must rely on subjective estimates We must observe the pupils intelligently and analytically in school work, in oral tests, in play and in social situations We must note their responses and endeavour to obtain a reliable judgment of qualities such as persistence, self-confidence, attention to details, conscientiousness, sociability, and general emotional stability Estimates on a three- or, better, a five-point scale, provide a practical way of recording such subjective ratings Thus the scale is considered as follows ·

	(*a*) *Much above average* Per cent	(*b*) *Above average* Per cent	(*c*) *Average* Per cent	(*d*) *Below average* Per cent	(*e*) *Much below average* Per cent
Normal samples	5	25	40	25	5

Here, greater reliability is ensured if actual normal samples of children within the school are used as a basis for comparison, and if the collective judgments of a number of teachers are obtained, for they represent the pooled estimates of a pupil's reactions in a variety of situations In this respect, pupils' records prove of use to the teacher of the backward class They enable him to differentiate permanent temperamental qualities from passing phases in the development of personality They form a convenient record of past achievements and past failures in relation to emotional characteristics and intellectual powers To be useful, school records should

[1] For a complete survey of the practical diagnostic measures available in the basic subjects see *The Testing of Intelligence*, Ed H R. Hamley Chapters VIII, IX, X, Fred. J Schonell. (Evans Bros., 1935.)

not be too detailed, should be clear and comprehensive and should be continuous A note of caution might be made here Unless the testing, recording and labelling lead to positive teaching measures, they are useless Merely keeping a notebook in which are entered the test results and characteristics of each backward child is an easy way of avoiding the issue Systematic diagnostic knowledge is valuable only if it is the basis of individual consideration, sympathetic treatment and scientific teaching methods

Diagnostic Procedure

In general, a comprehensive diagnostic procedure for backward pupils should help with seven important questions which should be asked about each child. These basic queries are ·

(*a*) Is the pupil innately dull or merely generally backward ?
(*b*) If the pupil is intelligent, is his backwardness such that it can be remedied, or is it largely due to intense temperamental handicaps ?
(*c*) In addition to an assessment of general intelligence, what are the pupil's intellectual characteristics, i e his power of concentration, memory, reasoning, etc ?
(*d*) What are the pupil's major temperamental characteristics that will have a bearing on school progress ?
(*e*) What stage has the pupil reached in the basic school subjects what are his outstanding weaknesses ?
(*f*) What are the pupil's dominant interests ?
(*g*) What are the most effective lines along which remedial teaching can be planned ?

A complete inventory of this information regarding each pupil will indicate the nature of class organisation, the general teaching methods to be adopted, the amount of individual work to be given, the curriculum requirements and the sections to be adopted in the various subjects To this aspect of backwardness, namely, organisation within the class, and to the larger problem of organisation within the school, we now turn

B School Organisation

The nature of organisation within the school for backward pupils depends upon the number of children in the school In large schools, the problem of backwardness is made easier, for the provision of " C " and even " D " classes is possible In " C " and " D " classes one finds a fairly homogeneous group with regard to academic achievements, and to a lesser extent, depending upon the tests used for classification, uniformity in general intelligence This grouping, so applicable in large senior schools, makes excellent provision for dull pupils It is, however, only the first step in their treatment ; organisation helps but does not solve the problem of backwardness To obtain maximum benefit for backward pupils from a " three- or four-stream " classification, there should be for the " C " and " D " classes a different curriculum, which should not make for rigidity or isolation from other school activities. At

the same time, teachers should realise, that although members of such classes are backward, they are not all dull There will be a few normally intelligent children who, after the correct individual assistance, should be redrafted to other classes

A two-class classification throughout the school does not permit of quite the same satisfactory grouping The " A " and " B " classes will contain pupils with a larger spread of intellectual capacities, so that sections are necessary for really effective teaching in the more formal subjects In a " B " class, particularly, will be found scholars who are normally intelligent alongside those who are of a low grade, dull, or even mentally defective level Thus it is practically necessary, except in the best areas, to treat the lower section of a " B " class as a dull group, and make differentiation in the curriculum for such subjects as arithmetic and written English

Two Types of Organisation

Two methods of organisation sometimes used to cater for duller pupils are those of the special class and cross-classification, i e different " sets " or classes for arithmetic and English, irrespective of register classes

(*a*) *The Special Class*

Consider the first and more prevalent procedure, the special class Sometimes organisation is definitely planned to place the backward pupils in one or two special classes In other cases, numbers in a senior or an " all-standard " school just permit of an additional class outside a " two-stream " promotion Into this class are placed the backward children, and the group is variously known as " the shell," " the remove," " the transition class," or when it is at the top of the school, " the leaving class " Whatever its name, it is an attempt to provide for the more backward pupils within the school Perhaps no other aspect of organisation has had such vigorous opponents and such enthusiastic supporters as the special class What are its advantages and its disadvantages ?

Those who advocate the use of the special class as one step in the treatment of backward pupils have a strong case They rightly maintain, that by such grouping, the teacher is better able to adapt matter and methods to the mental calibre of his pupils Simple material, presented with concrete aids and by frequent repetition, suits dull pupils but fails to stimulate older normals

Rightly organised, the emotional values of the special class are greater than the intellectual advantages it offers to its members Easier tasks, performed through increased doing and seeing, bring success that maintains self-esteem and fosters self-confidence Emotional values associated with failure and fear of consequences are removed, and there is less cheating. Happiness, and a measure of success, banish the indifference and compensatory behaviour problems that naturally arise when the child is endeavouring to carry out tasks beyond his intellectual powers

Opponents of the special class urge that a stigma attaches to children placed in such classes They maintain that normal colleagues of dull pupils soon know they are intellectually inferior and make deprecatory references to them Secondly, they urge, that by leaving dull pupils in an ordinary class group they are stimulated by the efforts of better members of the group, that in a special class they become bored with the work, which tends to be of a "childish" nature Thirdly, those not in favour of special classes emphasise the segregation or isolation that characterises such groups

Summary of Arguments

First-hand experience as a teacher of backward children in a special class, and a careful psychological survey of special classes on a broad basis, do not substantiate the claims of these opponents The questions of stigmatisation, deterioration and segregation only arise in badly organised schools, where the special class is special in nothing but name The defects are not intrinsic to the special class system Where such occur we find backward children grouped together irrespective of age, so that the task of suiting material to mental level is almost impossible It is doubtful if classes of normal children, with a wide age spread necessitating four sections, would make much greater progress Older backwards should be kept as far as possible with older backwards, and younger backwards with younger backwards

In these schools, too, one finds instances where the teachers are not suited to the work , sometimes they are the most inexperienced teachers, sometimes the most decrepit, sometimes the most inefficient Teachers of backward children must be active, efficient, experienced and ingenious in their teaching methods

Furthermore, where the special class is a failure, we invariably find that the curriculum has not been suited to the mental powers and needs of the backward scholars A few unimportant alterations have been made, but the curriculum is still considered in terms of normal standards and normal achievements, whereas, it should not be simply a diluted version of what the normal child is expected to do To force dull children through the usual academic course at a slower pace is little better than forcing them along at the bottom of an ordinary class The curriculum should contain nothing that is neither useful nor cultural , some of the traditional material with its alleged training value should be excluded The curriculum should allow maximum activity and should give maximum opportunity for self-expression Unless this is done, and the teaching methods are conditioned by the mental characteristics of dull children, the special class pupil will not make any more efforts than he makes in a normal class

The charge that special classes lead to segregation or isolation is unfounded if the school is run on progressive lines. The special class can, and should, take full part in all school activities. Its

members should make contributions at school assemblies, at school functions and in school sports It should always be included in school tests and exhibitions For subjects other than the three R's, staff members who have special gifts or qualifications should take courses with the backward group. By these and other means the special class can, if staff and head teacher have sufficient vision, be made an integral part of the school, and the possibility of segregation thereby disappears

(*b*) *Cross-classification*

As a means of catering for children backward in arithmetic and English, cross-classification, or subject sets, is a useful measure To initiate organisation for it, the entire school is tested in various aspects of arithmetic and English Thus the arithmetic tests recently given in a large senior school included five papers on mental, mechanical and problem arithmetic, and the standardised arithmetic tests for mental ages 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 from Burt's *Handbook of Tests*—a thorough and comprehensive testing programme [1] The possible total was 700 marks Similarly in English, tests including English composition, English exercises, simple grammar, vocabulary studies and spelling were given Two lists were then compiled from the aggregate marks in each subject, pupils being arranged in decreasing order of attainment for arithmetic and for English From the lists, eleven sets of pupils, irrespective of age or register class, were made up for arithmetic and for English Thus arithmetic set 3A 1 contained 40 boys whose marks ranged from 700 to 600, while the lowest set 1B 2 contained 35 boys with marks from 140 to 20 The gain in homogeneity can be judged when it is realised, that before classification, the original pupils in groups 3A 1 and 1B 2 ranged in marks from 700 to 290 and from 590 to 20 respectively. The latter range is most astonishing and represents difference of attainments in arithmetic between the best and worst pupils of no less than 7 8 mental years Naturally, the teachers were better able to suit material and methods to the really good group and to the very backward one With intermediate groups, homogeneity had similarly improved, sections were unnecessary and more rapid progress was possible.

Attractive as cross-classification appears, it is by no means easy to organise It appears to be best suited to " all standard " schools in poor areas In senior schools it throws a heavy burden on the headmaster. The greatest difficulty arises through pupils being taken in register classes for domestic science or woodwork and half classes for handwork, so that such arrangements invariably cut across the groups as organised for arithmetic and English The class teacher always has several pupils absent from his arithmetic or English group as the case may be. This work can be made up at

[1] The actual composition of the tests and their weighted values should differ with the department and the needs of the pupils.

a clear time during the week The organisation is most effective when there is an extra member on the staff—a requirement that senior schools need if Hadow principles are to be properly applied

The Clinic Method

Reference should here be made to the use of the " clinic " method of treating backward children, that is, sending them to be helped elsewhere, or allowing a visiting teacher to attend and help them on certain days during the week. This may be effective with cases of intelligent children who are specifically or generally backward and who require individual help on scientific lines, but for pupils whose backwardness is due to intellectual inferiority it is generally quite useless School authorities should realise, that for dull children, " clinical " or " visiting teacher " methods are likely to increase rather than decrease backwardness Dull children require stability and continued sympathetic treatment from a teacher who knows them intimately and will go over and over again the material presented to them

Organisation within the Class

The most vital point of class organisation with regard to backward pupils is to differentiate clearly and accurately between those who are backward but not dull, and those who are both dull and backward Methods of doing this have already been discussed Usually there will be, in a class of thirty to thirty-five backward children, between eight and twelve pupils of normal or supernormal intelligence whose school career has been handicapped by one or more adverse environmental influences, further complicated in some cases by temperamental difficulties These children should receive a maximum of careful attention, for after about twelve months' coaching, most of them can be promoted to higher grades [1] After diagnostic work has revealed the causes of their backwardness and the levels reached in the fundamental subjects, these pupils should be given carefully graded material with a fair measure of individual attention and assignment work Effective assistance, backed by constant encouragement, usually enables the teacher to push on much faster with this section A useful measure is to encourage them to take books home and to do additional out-of-school work, a project which can be greatly facilitated by co-operation with the parents

The remainder of the " C," " D " or special class, usually between 60 and 70 per cent , will be dull children for whom subject-matter and teaching methods are wholly dependent upon their mental characteristics

F. J. SCHONELL.

[1] From one special class of backward boys, aged 12 and 13, with whom I did intensive work, three boys went to " A " classes, five to " B " classes and eight to " C " classes at the end of twelve months.

CHAPTER SIX

Mental Characteristics of and Teaching Methods for Dull Children

A Mental Characteristics

In the following section the mental characteristics of those children whose I Q s range between 55 and 84 will be briefly considered, for a clear conception of their general intellectual and emotional traits naturally indicates the lines along which teaching should proceed Strictly speaking, the dull child is one whose I Q falls between 70 and 84, but in every backward class there are invariably cases with I Q s between 55 and 64

Slowness of Perception

The most outstanding mental characteristic of the dull child is his slowness in perceiving relations and in making inferences Naturally they are slower in abstract realms than in the social or the concrete, but even in these latter we find evidence of their intellectual weakness In everyday situations they not infrequently display slowness in understanding simple instructions or carrying out commissions Some of them, when asked a question, automatically reply with " what " or " pardon," a reaction which gives them time to understand what has been said In the formation of character, too, we find that they profit less effectively from influences and situations that enable normal children to build up an acceptable body of moral and social attitudes

Failure to perceive Relationships

This weakness in perceiving relations means that dull children have a poor idea of a situation as a whole Where there are a number of relationships, or where the situation becomes at all complex, they fail to understand it In all pieces of learning presented to them, the single items must be taken specifically and given concrete setting and individual application Explanations must be made in slow simple speech

Visual and Auditory Weaknesses

In the perceptual fields their visual and auditory powers are not infrequently weak They display poor analytic and synthetic abilities in the field of language, and as a result their reading and spelling are often below normal They require actual aid in analysing and synthesising sound values in word forms, aid which is best given through building, increased repetitive work and emphasising supplementary means of ingress, particularly the kinæsthetic.

In not a few cases their attention is short and fluctuating, and as attention is the basis of immediate memory, their memory consequently suffers Particularly with academic tasks they are lacking in concentration, a weakness which is not lessened by forcing them to continue with tasks that are abstract and uninteresting to them Their concentration is only improved when interest is increased

Defects in Motor Co-ordination and Lack of Confidence

The motor co-ordination of dull children is often defective Their speech, their writing and their motor activities reveal lack of precision, poise and judgment On the emotional side, dull children are noticeably deficient in initiative and independence This may be due to feelings of inferiority, based on intellectual or physical shortcomings, or to past failures, but more often it is evidence of their general lack of drive or life force They are unable to take steps by themselves and constantly look round for guidance or assistance No doubt, the accumulated effects of educational experiences that have placed an emphasis on success in the three R's has robbed many of them of vitality in this direction Their confidence and self-esteem have often been impaired, so that re-education in these aspects of mental life, namely initiative, independence, self-confidence and self-esteem, is a curriculum objective, equally important as intellectual ones

Tendency to Fatigue

Finally, dull children are apt to show fatigue sooner than normal pupils This is partly the outcome of lowered vitality, both physical and intellectual, but is also due to emotional factors of lessened persistence and weakness of will power They start with a flourish, but soon give up

B Principles in Teaching Dull Pupils

From the outset we have to be guided in our work with dull children, particularly those in senior schools, by four fundamentals Material should be suited to their limited intellectual powers, the curriculum should contain a minimum amount of academic material with maximum value for purposes of life and leisure, activities should be consciously planned for direct development of personality and character, and lastly, there should be definite preparations for citizenship With these fundamentals in mind the formulation of the curriculum becomes of paramount importance We have already indicated that dull children should not be forced through any traditional curriculum If this is done, their sense of inferiority is only increased and they are thereby robbed of opportunities of discovering what they can do and what will be useful to them as leisure pursuits This does not mean that their school work should be made either " childish " or merely amusing A practical every-day standard in the three R's should be aimed at and achieved above

everything else. The backward pupil should be able to read simple material intelligently, and he should be taught to spell the 3,500 common words [1] that form 85 per cent of the matter in ordinary printed material; he should be able to do sums involving the four rules with numbers up to 100, fractions with denominators not greater than eight, simple sums in money, measures and simple percentages He should be able to write a simple letter legibly The essential point is that dull children should be taken through a curriculum that will function in life. None of them will want to multiply £356 18*s* 9½*d* by 89 after leaving school, but most of them will require to do such calculations as 1*s* 10½*d* from 2*s*. 6*d* or ¼ lb. at 2*s*. 6*d* per lb

Development of Personality and Provision for Leisure

The curriculum should make provision for those occupations and interests that aid in the development of personality and employment of leisure In profitable employment of leisure time, dull children are almost invariably less efficient than normal children. The nature of their mental equipment—their inability to help themselves, their weakness in persistence and concentration—and the nature of their home life, handicaps them in building up stable out-of-school interests The well-planned backward class introduces its pupils to a variety of these occupations, and in so doing contributes towards their preparation as individuals, employees and citizens

Foremost amongst these extra academic activities is the lecturette club, an invaluable aid with older dull children. The pupils elect a chairman, and secretary whose duty it is to arrange short five- to ten-minute talks by members of the class on any topics they like to select Usually topics related to interests and hobbies are chosen The teacher takes an active and interested part from the back of the classroom, occasionally asking questions, at other times praising a good talk, or indicating in a friendly way how a lecturette might have been improved The talks provide for self-expression, act as an incentive to reading and are a source of general knowledge Incidentally, they help with language; by subtle means the teacher shows how points can be organised in logical sequence, and how vocabulary and speech can be improved Procedure is varied at times by the introduction of a debate arising from a talk, or by the presentation of a short play Experience has shown, that two such periods per week with dull children can do more to arouse genuine class spirit, promote co-operation and foster self-expression and interests than any other part of the curriculum One dull boy aged 13, whose scholastic achievements were poor, gave such an excellent talk for ten minutes on "Aeroplanes" that his own self-respect and the attitude of class members towards him improved immensely.

[1] For such a list, which has proved useful with backward children of all ages, see *The Essential Spelling List* 3,500 common words scientifically selected and graded. F J Schonell (Macmillan & Co)

OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES (BOYS) IN PERCENTAGES

ACTIVITY	AGE 11 +	AGE 12 +	AGE 13 +
Painting and Drawing	14 1	6 8	6 6
Woodwork and Fretwork	15 0	14 1	13 6
Other forms of Handwork	9 8	3 1	7 1
Meccano, etc	18 1	14 6	4 5
Scouts, Boys' Brigade, etc	8 5	16 2	16 1
Music	5 3	5 3	5 1
Gardening	0 7	5 2	6 1
Keeping Pets	0 7	3 1	6 6
Puzzles and Crosswords	7 5	1 5	0 5
Science (sets, experiments)	0 7	2 6	6 6
Stamp Collecting	2 0	2 6	6 6
Trains	8 0	0 5	0 0
Remainder of Isolated Activities			
Work	0 7	1 5	5 6
Housework	2 2	8 3	14 2

OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES (GIRLS) IN PERCENTAGES

ACTIVITY	AGE 11 +	AGE 12 +	AGE 13 +
Painting and Drawing	5 0	11 8	8 3
Knitting, Sewing, etc	22 0	26 0	26 4
Other forms of Handwork	4 4	3 4	3 1
Shopping	7 1	9 8	9 3
Girls' Clubs, etc	6 4	13 7	16 6
Music	5 7	4 4	1 6
Gardening	0 7	1 0	1 0
Keeping Pets	0 7	0 5	0 5
Puzzles, etc	0 5	0 5	0 5
Collecting (including wrappers, etc)	22 0	19 8	17 6
Remainder of Isolated Activities			
Work	1 4	1 5	0 5
Housework	22 9	20 6	14 5

Allied with this is what one might loosely term " thesis " work. The pupils select a subject and then write all they can find about it, supplementing the written part with illustrations. Topics such as " The Making of Morris Cars," " Croydon Aerodrome," " The Production of Films," " Keeping Bees," " Submarines " lead to reading and to the accumulation of valuable general knowledge that becomes the property of class members through the medium of the lecturette club

Another useful plan is to select six common hobbies, some of a semi-handwork type, and allow pupils to have two or three months' experience of each in the hope that one or two activities will make a lasting appeal for out-of-school purposes.

Links between School and Home Life

Handwork, reading, general knowledge, elementary science, elementary physiology and hygiene should all take into consideration, to a certain extent, children's interests If this is done a direct link is made between school life and home life There is far too much material presented, not only to dull children, but to all children, that has little transfer value outside the school The pupil looks on the lessons and material as pertaining only to the school and is not enabled to incorporate it in after-life. It is helpful to teachers in senior schools if they know the chief out-of-school occupations of the pupils My own researches in several poor senior schools yielded the tables on the previous page

Analysis of Out-of-school Reading

In reading, too, there is need for cultivation of more useful interests and for more effective correlation with other school subjects The need for increased opportunities for reading interesting material, suited to the intellectual powers of the dull senior school child, is apparent to all teachers, who are handicapped by limited material—frequently, where vocabulary is suitable, topics are unrelated to older children's interests, and where topics are suitable, material is far too difficult for all but the best readers

Rapid reference to the nature of senior school children's out-of-school reading interests [1] shows the necessity for making reading a more interesting and profitable activity within the school

Chief Reading Interests of Girls (11 + *to* 13 +), *in Percentages*

Girls' School Stories (e g *School Girls' Own, School Girl Weekly*)	28 1
Non-educational Fiction (cheap novels, etc)	17 6
Newspapers, Fictional Magazines, Weekly Papers (e g Film Papers (*Film Pictorial*, *Picture Post*, *Women's Weekly*, boys' papers)	16 7
Comic Papers	16 1
Educational Fiction (Dickens, Henty, etc)	11 1
Educational Non-fiction (books on gardening, cooking, travel, etc)	6 6
Fairy Tales	3 8

Chief Reading Interests of Boys (11 + *to* 13 +), *in Percentages* ·

Newspapers, Fictional Magazines, Papers (of which 2*d* boys' books, *Rover, Wizard, Skipper*, etc , form 44 7 per cent)	51 8
Non-educational Fiction	7 8
Comic Papers	15 9
Educational Fiction	6 9
Boys' School Stories	3 8
Educational Non-fiction	3 3
Fairy Tales	0 5

[1] These are based solely on my own research in a number of poor senior schools in South-East London Space precludes differentiation for age-groups, figures which reveal in a few instances some very interesting differences between 11-year-old and 13-year-old interests

Sufficient has been said of those extra school activities so useful in the education of dull children They provide a means of self-expression so vital to pupils who obtain little chance of true expression in more academic fields They enable dull children to make choices of their own, to give voice to their opinions and to discuss matters in a natural way with both teachers and colleagues In this respect, they have a socialising effect, for they foster a sense of usefulness and happiness in children who need some sort of cathartic activities to rid them of the inferiority, resentment and emotional barriers they often develop

Physical Activity

Next in importance in the education of dull scholars is the emphasis that must be placed upon physical activity, which does not simply mean drill or activities to absorb physical energy Physical education has intellectual and emotional values for all children, but particularly for dull ones Singing games, rhythmic work, dramatic work, folk dancing, organised games, excursions, lessons in the open air and sunshine, and gardening, all aid in improving mental alertness and in producing emotional stability In addition, gardening, and more active forms of handwork, will provide practical material for formal subjects Boxing for boys helps to engender confidence and promotes a healthy school spirit Rhythmic work is very valuable for all dull children Movement through music brings about co-ordination and purpose that are not so effectively attained by other forms of physical activity

Social Aspects

Because many dull and backward children come from poor homes, the work of the " C " class or special class must assume an important social aspect We should take into consideration the intellectual deficiencies of these pupils and the shortcomings of their environment We have to remember that they are all potential parents, citizens, and employees, and we should prepare them for these later responsibilities by specific school measures

Enlarging Environment

In the first place, we can remedy the paucity of their experiences and the meagreness of their general knowledge by visits, excursions, week-end camps and summer camps It is amazing how little some of the dull pupils in poor areas have assimilated of everyday affairs In not a few large towns their life is lived almost exclusively within an area of a square mile or two Few have been to the country or the seaside, few know anything of the methods of conducting business in the city—their thoughts and experiences are almost wholly concerned with the limited life in the neighbourhood. Much can be accomplished by short projects which combine excursions with reading and other pursuits within the classroom. Without doubt,

the most effective dull classes and special schools are those where excursions and week-end camps are extensively used The children develop an interest and confidence in life's activities that a merely scholastic curriculum fails to produce

Health Records

Supplementary to the values that accrue from preparations and routine in week-end and summer camps is a comprehensive health programme and, where possible, the school meal Health work is best carried out by actual activities , dull children do not respond very well to hygiene lessons, but they profit from the keeping of health records One group of backward boys whom I have in mind improved considerably, both in appearance and physique, through keeping health progress charts Periodic measurements of height, weight, chest expansion, grip, strength of pull were entered, together with progress in games—for example, swimming twenty yards, walking a mile or running 440 yards in a certain time were non-competitive achievements of note Older backward children often exhibit an interest in the human body and, provided the material presented is simple and adequately illustrated with diagrams, experiments and everyday applications, it serves a useful social purpose Senior girls of limited intellectual powers enjoy definite mothercraft lessons and talks on common emergencies in the home

School Meals

An invaluable social influence for dull children is the school meal, for it serves as an excellent opportunity to teach co-operation, manners, the values of foods and a balanced diet In addition, seniors can be prepared for immediate life tasks by talks on costs of foods and the ways in which maximum food values can be obtained at minimum cost Related to this is the general topic of thrift and wise spending Amongst the poorer sections of the community there are some whose proximity to the poverty line is due to injudicious spending, a state of affairs which is particularly applicable to many dull adults Here again, practical methods can be adopted to help dull pupils to gain correct ideas of the value of money

Æsthetic Appreciation

It is sometimes considered that the curriculum for the dull and backward should be largely composed of mechanical work, which appeals to many of them, and to handwork which they do tolerably well. Such a viewpoint overlooks the fact that, apart from intellectual differences, the dull child is not markedly different from the normal in his desire for, and the pleasure he obtains from, studies with an æsthetic value Dull children should be given their full share of music, singing, drawing, painting and poetry lessons Naturally, at times, we shall have to vary normal methods of approach and suit material to intellectual standards ; thus, whereas older

boys profit little from a course of sonnets and descriptive poetry, they immensely enjoy a wisely selected group of ballads The joyous participation in singing songs, that characterises dull pupils, soon convinces one of the wholesome values of the fine arts Music, apart from its æsthetic values, has useful physical and emotional accompaniments With dull pupils it brings adjustment in movement and poise, postpones premature fatigue and produces tranquillity All æsthetic studies should have, however, positive values, mere passive receptivity should be avoided

Linked with the various forms of handwork there should be training in beauty of line, colour and form Simple decorative work, harmonising of colours and an introduction to practical ways of beautifying home and school surroundings are all within the scope of dull senior children

Summary

In conclusion, before proceeding to specific teaching procedures, we might summarise the general principles of teaching and of curriculum formation as follows We must awaken the pupils' interests in school work, not by trying to teach traditional academic material more successfully, but by selecting the material so that it suits their powers We must make use of any special abilities they possess, using these to build up confidence in school work generally We must generously provide for success, at the same time grounding them in the basic skills they will need for everyday activities We must not teach them techniques or material that they cannot use, and we must not let any faulty faculty psychology influence subject-matter

C Specific Teaching Procedures [1]

Attention has already been drawn to the weakness of dull pupils in perceiving relations, i e in reasoning, and their diminished powers of concentration and memory It is therefore necessary to introduce into their teaching, methods that will emphasise imitation and repetition Older dull children react to dull methods better than normals, through repetition they are enabled to understand material thoroughly and to familiarise themselves with it But even with these pupils, repetition should not continue past assimilation, after which natural application of the knowledge will sustain interest in the activity

To enable them to understand academic material there should be more steps and easier gradation We should not take for granted that they know the meaning of common concepts, terms and expressions that we would expect normal children of the same age to know This is quickly evidenced in history and geography lessons

[1] For devices useful in teaching particular subjects the reader might consult Inskeep, A *Teaching Dull and Retarded Children* (Macmillan & Co, 1932) Kennedy, Fraser D *Education of the Dull Child* (University of London Press, 1932) Descoeudres, A *The Education of Mentally Defective Children.*" (Harrap & Co, 1928.)

Inexperienced teachers will assume that the dull class understands what is meant by " Parliament " or by " temperature " and go on to talk of an " Act of Parliament " or a " change in temperature," only to find that many of the pupils do not possess the vaguest notion of the concepts implied We cannot be too simple, precise and practical in the language we employ with dull and backward children We might here urge the necessity for shorter units of work with dull children, short lessons are more effective with them, as their powers of attention and application are limited

Learning by Doing

Of all the aids to learning that benefit dull pupils, learning by doing must be accounted the most important Knowledge presented through making, handling and experimenting is better understood, and in consequence, longer retained For example, older dull children should have a correct conception of square inches, but often many of them fail to grasp the idea of extent for which this unit stands Abstract references to square inches or square feet mean little to these pupils, they only understand $6 \times 4 = 24$ square inches if they cover a sheet 6×4 inches with twenty-four pieces of paper each 1 square inch Similarly with fractions, ideas of halves, quarters and eighths must be based on actual operations in which material is cut into those portions But not only in arithmetic is learning by doing necessary, it should as far as possible pervade the whole curriculum Common principles in hygiene and elementary science should be put to the test History and geography should deal with topics of human interest which can be centred round models, collections and excursions

Value of Associated Activity

The vital factor of learning by doing is the activity associated with it, the child has to keep his mind on the project in hand and must understand what he is doing if he is to proceed with the next step An explanation in the abstract can proceed steps ahead of the pupil's understanding without the teacher ever realising it It is for this reason, and others as well, that handwork is such a suitable subject for dull children Apart from physical or emotional values, it provides a concrete basis for thought, the pupil realises that to obtain a certain result he must carry out a certain operation It should be possible to teach older children much of their arithmetic, science and art through a carefully selected course of handwork, and, at the same time, to motivate some of their reading, history and geography through the activities involved Courses that combine a number of aspects of the curriculum are preferable to those with a narrow basis Some handwork projects extend naturally into a number of subjects and combine teaching, practical and cultural values Others appear to be of doubtful value, of which some bookbinding, weaving, bead work and paper cutting are examples; the

only justification that teachers of them can make are the faulty faculty values of teaching accuracy, concentration and measurement These can be taught in more interesting and effective ways In some schools there is need to introduce into the handwork syllabus more odd jobbing, handicraft hobby work—occupations that function in life in the employment of leisure and the maintenance of a home

The Use of the Concrete

Allied to learning by doing is the corollary teaching principle of use of the concrete Dull children often fail to understand material involving simple reasoning when it is told them or when they read it, but if it is presented in concrete form they are able to perceive the relationships existing among the fundaments It is therefore advisable to illustrate lessons to the dull and backward by means of pictures, models, diagrams, sketches and posters Often, the dull child who is unable to calculate a bill correctly in school can do the same operations in actual practice, when he cannot explain the working of a piece of mechanism on an abstract basis, he can often adequately demonstrate its function from a diagram, when he fails to understand geographical facts through the medium of exposition and atlas, he will grasp them from a sand and clay model Illustrative of the last point is the case of a class of dull boys in Rotherhithe who made excellent use of a large sand and clay playground model of England, they learnt more about position, distance, cause and effect in this way than they did from ordinary classroom lessons and maps Concrete material in the form of samples, posters, diagrams and pictures is not difficult to obtain There are numerous firms, railway companies and shipping companies who will supply much useful teaching material Naturally, such material needs to be wisely selected and carefully presented

A further manifestation of concrete direct teaching methods for dull children is the use that can be made of everyday examples Much of the arithmetic, general science, civics and geography should be based on problems of the immediate neighbourhood In addition to making lessons more interesting, and hence, more easily understood, such material has a citizenship value It also provides purpose in the work presented to dull children Too often in normal classes pupils have been faced with what they regard as purposeless tasks, mere mental gymnastics They must understand why they are doing the work and what they are doing if we wish them to make proper effort.

The Need for Variety

Variety of presentation should characterise the class teaching of dull children Valuable aid can be derived from the lantern, the epidiascope, games, dramatisation and wireless talks It is sometimes supposed, that because dull children benefit so much from concrete and visual methods, there is no need occasionally to employ

other methods Variety and novelty are just as necessary, perhaps more so, for the dull as for the normal For example, those who omit wireless talks from the curriculum of the dull and backward, unknowingly deprive them of a valuable stimulus to expressing themselves orally and on paper Provided material is suited to their interests, that the vocabulary is appropriate and that effective use is made of preparation and pictures, I have found that dull children profit considerably from travel talks, regional geography broadcasts and nature study discussions [1] Enjoyment and accommodating themselves to a new situation are no less useful than the intellectual aspects of the broadcast talk

Independent Work Methods

Finally, we might refer to the variety of method that might well be used with dull children Serviceable as class instruction is, we should not lose sight of the fact that children need helping as individuals, and training as citizens, as well as scholars Ordinary class methods do not make sufficient contribution towards the development of initiative and independence The dull pupil is likely to become over-dependent in an atmosphere where class teaching predominates It is as well to allow them scope for doing jobs and completing assignments entirely alone, otherwise the constant " How do you ? " or " What do I ? " prevents them from ever planning for themselves or making decisions It is a useful aid to character training amongst older children, to set aside three or four periods a week, during which they work at their own rate and in their own way, at seven or eight short assignments Material is placed at the disposal of the class, and, where the work demands it, they make their own choice and proceed according to simply worded instructions No questions are asked and the teacher gives a minimum of help Such a practice is a useful guide to the teacher, for it reveals difficulties and misunderstandings absolutely unsuspected Pupils who constantly ask their colleagues, or question their teacher, fare badly at this independent method of work The subject selected for individual work can be varied from week to week. There are some teachers who organise a certain amount of their arithmetic lessons on these lines, while in one or two schools some of the handwork programme follows individual lines

In addition to assignments, short periods of keeping practice records and noting improvements in arithmetic tables, spellings and other basic material all contribute a little towards helping the dull child to do something for himself

Training for Citizenship

Healthy co-operation can be fostered by allowing better pupils to assist more backward ones on set occasions The distinction

[1] Based on a report recently made to the British Broadcasting Corporation on experiments in school broadcasting with senior school pupils.

between times when help can be given and when work must be entirely individual does much to eliminate whispering and cheating within the classroom In addition to encouraging self-reliance, we should aim at preparing pupils to be useful citizens—this can only be done if opportunity for co-operation, leadership and airing of grievances is provided for Psychological research shows us that the suspicious, antagonistic, quarrelsome employee is the one who has never had real opportunities for expressing his ideas or for co-operating in a friendly way In this respect group methods make a valuable contribution towards the development of co-operation and initiative The class is organised into groups of five or six boys, each under a leader Each group is responsible for carrying through a piece of work, which is part of a problem or project, upon which the entire class is working As an example of this one might cite the successful effort of dull and backward children to produce a class magazine At the teacher's suggestion, the class was divided into groups, each under a sub-editor , boys selected the group for which they wished to work The six groups had each a particular part of the magazine to edit , one wrote on sport, another on social events, a third on general news, a fourth contributed drawings and humour, a fifth dealt with hobbies and topics of a semi-scientific nature, and a sixth wrote on travel The group members discussed their work with the sub-editors, who had a weekly dinner-hour conference with the editor In two months, a class magazine, with a comparatively high standard of written English, was compiled and cyclostyled

Group methods need not be limited to extra curriculum activities , they are equally applicable to some of the more formal school subjects

In conclusion, methods for dull children should be sufficiently flexible to counteract those undesirable characteristics we see so often in dull adult sections of the community, namely inability to co-operate effectively, and susceptibility to mass suggestion , that is, lack of independence of thought and action Dull children should have an opportunity to work as individuals, as group members, as class members and as school members

Vocational Guidance and After-care

Brief reference might be made to the necessity for helping boys and girls in the selection of jobs at the close of their school careers, and to the need for continuing contact with the school after they have left The first objective cannot be attained effectively—economic conditions and the mental characteristics of the children limit the possibilities—but teachers can help considerably if they are conversant with general methods of vocational guidance The mental qualities needed for some of the skilled and semi-skilled trades have been examined, but, apart from specific industrial analyses, vocational guidance has much to offer with regard to the various environmental, intellectual and emotional factors that make for suitability

and happiness in work [1] This is particularly important when we remember the possibilities of unemployment and delinquency if things do not go tolerably well with these children when they leave school

As school, with its teachers, traditions and activities, is frequently one of the most stable influences in the lives of dull children, it is essential that there should be continued contact with ex-scholars Active and energetic clubs for evening entertainment and intellectual activity are vitally necessary

D Teachers for Dull and Backward Children

No one will doubt that the teaching of dull and backward children is one of the most difficult of school problems It is a task demanding constant tact, consideration and ingenuity In part, the work is made less difficult, if teachers possess temperamental qualities which enable them to make easy, understanding contact with children Foremost in these qualities one would place sympathy, which does not mean sentimentality, but an ability to inspire confidence in the child so that he continues to make efforts and obtain satisfaction from his work, ingredients vital to the development of personality Cheerfulness and patience are necessary for work with dull children, for these qualities enable the teacher to guide pupils through difficulties when orthodox methods fail

The teacher should have active practical interests and should show aptitude in handicraft, music or sport It is as executant in one of these fields that the teacher not infrequently inspires his pupils and obtains that real contact and loyalty so valuable in more formal activities It is my own experience that not a few school problems, particularly amongst boys of 13 and 14 years, are solved outside the classroom.

But, apart from interests and temperamental attributes which aid teachers of backward children, experience and special training are equally important For example, the practice of placing a student straight from Training College with a backward group of pupils is an entirely unsatisfactory way of dealing with the problem, and shows lack of foresight on the part of those in authority There are teachers who possess the requisite personal qualities and who have had experience, but who need assistance with diagnostic procedures, teaching methods and selection of material At present there is no really effective selection and training for teachers of dull and backward children The short courses offered are, in the main, too technical—the clinical aspect is over-emphasised, while the teaching aspects are often pitifully inadequate It is not profitable that a teacher of merely dull and backward pupils should study causes of mental deficiency and types of mental defectives Nor is a course in general psychology very useful Such lectures

[1] In this respect the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, Aldwych House, Aldwych, London, W.C , is only too ready to help

can be too abstract and removed from the problem of the education of backward children What is required is a combined course from educational psychologist and teaching specialist, during which lectures should deal with intellectual and emotional characteristics of dull children in both junior and senior schools, the interests of such children, and the psychological problems they present in learning and in character formation In addition to lectures, visits and demonstrations should be included to help with curriculum formation, diagnostic tests and remedial treatment, detailed work in arts and crafts, and specific aids and methods for the various subjects [1]

E Conclusion

Finally, we should take heart at the hopeful attitude towards the entire problem of the dull and backward Even if progress is slow, we must realise that there is much to learn with regard to the dull child and methods of educating him A definite advance has been made in recent years in considering dull pupils as individuals no less distinct than normal pupils, in assisting them to form helpful habits and in developing their personality rather than attempting to cram them with academic knowledge We should remember that our main aim in the education of dull and backward pupils is to assist them to become balanced individuals, considerate parents and sensible citizens If we achieve this objective, then the contribution of backward pupils to the welfare of the community will be no less valuable than that derived from its intellectually more fortunate members

F. J Schonell

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[1] It is refreshing to notice that some week-end courses on these lines are organised by educational bodies What, however, is badly needed is a deferred year course at a suitable institution The matter has been sympathetically considered by the Training College Association, and it is understood that, subject to satisfactory support, a course of this kind is likely to be provided at Goldsmiths' College, in the University of London, during the session 1936-37.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Administrative Problems and the " C " Child

HADOW reorganisation has given so great an impetus to classification that it has become almost habitual to speak of hildren as " A," " B " or " C " Sometimes, one discovers that arents are not unfamiliar with these technicalities, and it makes ne wonder how far such knowledge penetrates If a child becomes ware that he or she has been graded " C " it is more than likely hat disheartening consequences will ensue One cannot, therefore, oo strongly emphasise the importance of reticence in this matter, nd the desirability of guarding the technical detail of classification vith no less care than a doctor observes in retailing his diagnosis to n anxious patient It is in some such sense that the " C " label is ere employed, and not with any intention of encouraging the use f such a distinctive mark in the ordinary routine of class organisa- ion For it is clearly most desirable that such a labelling device hould be reserved for professional use and that it should not be mployed in school outside the confines of the staff room

Assuming that the mental defectives have been provided with pecial educational treatment in separate schools, then the " C " hildren coming to the senior schools at 11 plus may be grouped oughly as (*a*) naturally dull, and (*b*) retarded The retarded are, s a rule, backward through long absences from school, and often ie " gap " can be effectively bridged They do not necessarily ecover all lost ground, but they can progress even though attain- ients lag behind those of the normal child

The naturally dull, the real " C " children, present a different pro- lem, for their mental age will always be below their chronological ge, and on leaving school they are likely to do work of the unskilled ariety. There seem to be two main types of " C " children .

(*a*) *The lethargic and passive,* who need unremitting stimulus to work at anything They are content to waste time They give little trouble, but they need most detailed instructions individually before being able to do a piece of work They lack reasoning power and their memories are poor

(*b*) *The restless* These have little power of concentration, but are willing and anxious to please They are lovable and easily led, responding to praise and encouragement They lack initiative and the power of reasoning, and are readily satisfied with their own work Sympathetic teaching gives them confidence , they become enthusiastic and often excited, and make progress, though slowly, in routine and mechanical work

Classification for Teaching Purposes

In attempting to find the best way of educating the " C " child, e first essential is to decide upon a method of classification for aching purposes

In most schools, tests given to the entrants during their first

weeks in the senior school are used to grade the children. Intelligence Tests and Attainment Tests in English and arithmetic are widely given The " C " children have low scores in all tests, whereas the retarded may have a normal score in Intelligence Tests and usually have low ones in Attainment Tests

After the children have been classified according to these two types of tests, the results are compared with the estimates of the children received from the contributory junior school, which has sent forward a full record of each individual child, together with a graded list of children Where there is discrepancy, the child's grade is reconsidered after further observation The junior school data is carried on in the senior school, where as complete a record as possible is kept of each child, so that any factors which may supply the reason for his being of the " C " category may be known to the teacher

Effects of Transfer to Senior Schools

Having classified the children, the next thing is to cater for them It is well to remember that the only qualification for admission to a senior school is age Thus pupils are probably at different stages in every subject Because there are wide differences in the attainments and capabilities of the " C " children, it is difficult to find a common starting-ground Here the results of Intelligence and Attainment Tests assist in forming groups in the " C " classes

The transfer to a senior school is a tremendous upheaval for a child A boy coming from a junior school probably changes to a larger school building and comes mainly under the control of men teachers Even in a full-range school, the change of teaching control has a marked effect on the boy, and with a change of building, the effect is increased Moreover, if specialisation is in operation in the senior school, the child must accustom himself to three or four new teachers When new subjects, new books and new routine are added to these changes, it is understandable that the transfer, which is usually a tonic and a stimulus to an intelligent pupil, can cause considerable bewilderment and slowing-up of progress in the less mentally alert

It has been asked whether the " C " child should be taught by specialists On the one hand, he should be able to feel that he is doing the same things as the rest of the school with the same teachers On the other hand, the impact of one personality, that of the class teacher, may be better for the full and harmonious development of the " C " child Such a teacher should be specially selected. He should be dispassionate and objective in his teaching . the type of teacher who becomes over-anxious about the progress of his pupil is quite the wrong person for the " C " child The problem should be tackled by a skilful, sympathetic, experienced teacher from a practical, everyday-life point of view The teacher should be prepared to make a real study of each individual child, his family and medical history, his environment, his educational

record, his out-of-school activities Search should be made for his chief interests and abilities and his progress developed from them Ordinary classroom methods are of little avail with these children—they do not grasp new work readily, and where they are not treated individually, or in small groups, they lag behind and develop a consciousness of being slow and a feeling of hopelessness

The class teacher has much more opportunity for studying and knowing the child than the specialist who only sees him periodically and he can connect the child's efforts and relate them one to another over long periods and in various subjects

Probably the ideal is to have a combination of class teacher and specialists, the former for the " three R's " and allied subjects and the latter for such parts of the curriculum as music, dancing and physical education in which the " C " children may be combined or regraded with other types

The Curriculum

It was once thought that the schemes of work for the " C " child could be the same as for " A " and " B," but more simple in treatment, but it is now recognised that there is need for an entirely different approach

Teachers of experience state that there are big differences between " A " and " B " and " C " children in intellect, in reasoning power, powers of observation and concentration, initiative, temperament and social spirit

It seems clear that the " C " child cannot develop to his fullest extent on a normal course, for long absences from school make him backward, his general intelligence is too low for ordinary classroom work, and he may have physical and mental weaknesses There has been the idea that the " C " child should omit some subjects taken by the normal child and concentrate on handwork and more handwork , there has even been the view that the " C " child does handwork better than the normal child There seems little ground for such a belief It is indeed to be doubted whether the " C " child can do anything better than the normal child It is a fact, however, that " C " children can produce handwork that bears comparison with that of normal children, and that in handwriting their work approximates to a normal level

It is of the greatest importance that the " C " child should be given the opportunity of taking the same subjects as other pupils, partly so that he may be transferred to another grade if fitted for such transfer, and partly because he has to take his place in the world with other types and needs a background in common with them But he cannot be expected to take the same courses in those subjects—that would mean accepting a very low standard of attainment Special courses are needed to suit the child's capabilities The standard of difficulty should be high enough to be a stimulus to effort, but low enough to give the child the chance of having the satisfaction of doing his task well.

Though the same subjects are taken, the allocation of time devoted to them may well be different for the " C " children Where " C " children are taught by specialists, their subject should be fused into a realistic whole, applicable to everyday life and to training for work, leisure and civic responsibilities A well-balanced curriculum is needed for the " C " child just as much as for the " A," and while it may be foolish to concentrate on craftwork at the expense of other subjects, it is desirable to have as practical an approach as possible to all branches of the curriculum

Educational Requirements of " C " Children

To be fitted for adult life, the " C " child needs some measure of attainment in the " three R's," and the senior school sets out to equip him with at least a minimum of knowledge in these " tool " subjects After leaving school, the child will probably rarely use pen or pencil, and his arithmetic will most likely be confined to simple calculations on the saving and spending of his earnings He will, however, need to find his way about, and to do so he must be able to understand street signs, tram and bus direction indicators, and the hundred and one printed notices that are part and parcel of town life and, to a lesser extent, country life He must be able to make enquiries and answer them He must be able to listen and to understand, if he is to get the fullest benefit from contact with his fellows and from such amenities as the wireless and film Thus in the teaching of English to the " C " child, the spoken word and the printed word have the emphasis History and geography illuminating his environment and making him realise something of his heritage and responsibilities, science based on the needs of his home, cookery and handicraft (for boys and girls), art and needlework, these and other subjects just as important, are capable of developing the " C " child as fully in his way as the " A " or " B," provided it is realised that the subject must be fitted to the child and not the child to the subject The method of presenting the subject, the use of colour and illustrative work of all kinds, is the basis for success with this type of pupil

Working at tasks within his range of attainment and planned with careful thought for his all-round development, the " C " child takes a natural place in the life of the senior school Rarely is the term " C " applied to him He is probably one of a group known as " Practical " as distinct from the " Express " and " Normal " groups He takes his place with the rest of the children in religious services, music, dancing, games and school concerts and parties He can be a prefect—he is part of the school

If the senior school helps these children to self-realisation in such ways, it is reasonable to believe that in after-school life the " C " child will fill his particular niche more satisfactorily than ever before, and that he will become a worthy citizen in a happier world.

(*Contributed*)

SECTION II

The International Institute Examinations Enquiry

A SURVEY OF THE REPORT OF THE ENGLISH COMMITTEE

IN May 1931 the Carnegie Corporation, the Carnegie Foundation, and the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, summoned an International Conference on Examinations at Eastbourne, at which there were representatives of England, France, Germany, Scotland, Switzerland and the United States As a result of that Conference, Committees were set up in all the European countries named, and each of them received a grant for three years from the Carnegie Corporation through the International Institute. They reported to a second International Conference, held in June 1935 at Folkestone under the same auspices as the Conference held at Eastbourne The Committees have done their work on independent lines and have reported separately

The English Investigation

The English Committee, consisting of a number of educational experts presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, decided to make an investigation on the comparison of marks allotted to examination scripts by independent examiners and Boards of Examiners,[1] and

[1] In January 1911, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts, I urged the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry on the subject of examinations, to carry out investigations *inter alia* on the subject dealt with here The first investigations on the subject, of which a fairly detailed account is contained in my *Examinations and their Relation to Culture and Efficiency* (Constable & Co , 1918), were made by Prof F Y Edgeworth in 1888 and 1890 Further investigations were made by Starch and Elliot in the United States (D Starch, *Educational Psychology* (1920), p 433, and the Bibliography, also Starch, *Educational Measurements* (1916) p 3 *et seq*) and by M Laugier and Mlle Weinberg in France (Le facteur subjectif dans les notes d'examen, *Année Psychologique*, XXVII (1927) pp 236–44, and XXVIII (1928) pp 229–41), but their results, though striking and interesting, are on a relatively small scale

In what follows I have made free use of the two publications on the subject issued under the auspices of the English branch of the International Institute Examinations Enquiry (1) *An Examination of Examinations* (Macmillan & Co), by Dr E C Rhodes and myself, which is a summary of (2) *The Marks of Examiners* by the same authors The latter book also includes an important memorandum by Prof Cyril Burt on the statistical treatment of the data, in addition to the analysis by Dr Rhodes

I may add that the Committee has also published an *English Bibliography of Examinations* (1910–32) by Mary C. Champneys and a *Volume of Essays* (Macmillan & Co)

in carrying out their investigations observed the following conditions.

(i) The scripts[1] investigated were actual scripts which had been written by candidates in the course of an ordinary examination

(ii) Every mark on the scripts made by the original examiners was completely removed before they were circulated or photographed

(iii) The examiners by whom the papers were marked (men and women) were in every case examiners with experience of the kind of examination investigated In four of the investigations on School Certificate examinations the examiners in the various subjects were chosen in each case from the panel of a single examining body, other than the body which had supplied the scripts

(iv) The time allotted for the correction of the scripts was as a rule the time desired by the individual examiners concerned In all cases the scripts were corrected under less pressure in respect of time than ordinarily prevails at a large public examination, so that the marks may be regarded as expressing the deliberate opinion of the examiners concerned

(v) Every precaution was taken to ensure that no answer was overlooked by an examiner, and in any case of doubt the script was returned to the examiner for reconsideration

(vi) The examiners were all paid either in accordance with the usual scale adopted for the marking of scripts of the same kind, or on a scale slightly higher The Committee regarded the payment of the examiners as an essential feature of the investigation, since the actual task of marking examination scripts is for most examiners wearisome, and the psychological condition of a person who is unpaid for performing such work is likely to be different from the condition of a person who is adequately paid

(vii) The marks were all analysed by Dr E C Rhodes, Reader in Statistics of the University of London

(viii) No mention has been made in the investigations of the marks allotted to the scripts by the original examining bodies, and no indication of these marks was given in any case to the investigators.

Examinations under Review

The following examinations were selected for the purpose of the investigations, as important and typical :

(i) *School Certificate Examinations*, for which there are between 60,000 and 70,000 candidates every year These are the School Leaving Examinations taking place at the age of about 16, the passing of which under certain conditions qualifies for entrance to a university and to a number of professions A School Certificate is also required as a condition of engagement by many business men

(ii) *Special Place Examinations*, held at the age of between 10 and 12, on the results of which children in elementary schools gain admittance to central schools or secondary schools The number of entries every year is estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000

(iii) *A College Scholarship examination* at one of the older universities *in English Essay*

(iv) *A University Honours examination in Mathematics*

(v) *A University Honours examination in History*

The results of the different investigations are briefly summarised in the following sections.

[1] " Script " is the term used in England to designate the answers written by a single candidate in reply to a single question-paper.

School Certificate

1 —*History*

Fifteen scripts were selected which had been awarded exactly th same " middling " mark by the School Certificate authority cor cerned, and these scripts were marked in turn and independentl by fifteen examiners, who were asked to assign to them both mark and awards of Failure, Pass, and Credit After an interval whic varied with the different examiners, but was not less than twelve c more than nineteen months in any instance, the same scripts, afte being renumbered, were marked again by fourteen out of the fiftee original examiners (one examiner being unable to serve again The fourteen examiners stated that they had kept no record of thei previous work, as was indeed obvious from the results

Whereas the scripts had been all allotted the same moderat mark by the original examining body, they were allotted by th fifteen examiners on the first occasion forty-three different mark out of a maximum of ninety-six, varying from 21 to 70 On th second occasion the total number of the different marks was forty four, and the marks varied from 16 to 71

On each occasion the examiners awarded not only numeric marks, but the verdict of Failure, Pass, or Credit In comparin the two sets of awards account is only taken of the fourteen ex aminers who acted on both occasions On each occasion th fourteen examiners awarded a total of 210 verdicts to the fiftee candidates It was found that in ninety-two cases out of the 21 the individual examiners gave a different verdict on the secon occasion from the verdict awarded on the first

In nine cases candidates were moved two classes up or dowr One examiner changed his verdict in regard to eight candidates ou of the fifteen Yet he only varied his average by a unit, and h awarded the same number of Failure marks, one less Pass, and on more Credit Such irregularity of judgment is not only formidable but it is one which would not be detected by any ordinary analysis Statistically his results on the two occasions were almost the same but the fate he allotted to half the candidates was different

In some cases the examiners altered their general standard oi the second occasion One examiner moved eight candidates dowi a class, and one down two classes Another examiner moved sevei candidates down a class Of the fourteen examiners there wa only one who was exceptionally steady and whose numerical mark never varied by more than 7 out of 100.

2 —*Latin*

This investigation dealt with two two-hour papers, of whicl the marks were added together The scripts of fifteen candidate were so selected that the candidates had obtained at the origina examination exactly the same moderate mark for the two paper combined. Fifteen examiners were appointed, of whom two wer

treated as Chief Examiners for the drafting of a marking-scheme The examiners were furnished with examination papers (though not with "trial-scripts" as in later experiments) The marking-scheme was finally settled after correspondence with all the examiners concerned on all points regarded as contentious The correspondence showed that six of the examiners preferred more detailed instructions in respect of unprepared passages than the other seven, and it was decided to adopt two marking-schemes to meet the wishes of the different examiners concerned The examiners were therefore divided into Group I, consisting of six examiners who used Scheme I, and Group II, consisting of seven examiners who used Scheme II The two Schemes differed only by the addition of nineteen more detailed instructions, in respect of unprepared passages from and into Latin, in the one Scheme than the other Of these, ten were allotted to a question which was only selected by a single candidate The maximum for each question and the total maximum were the same in the two Schemes The two Groups cannot strictly be regarded as analogous to two independent Boards, who would no doubt have adopted marking-schemes differing far more widely

Whereas the fifteen couples of scripts had originally been assigned the same moderate mark, under Scheme I they received from the six examiners concerned twenty-four different marks, ranging from 28 to 55, and under Scheme II they received from the seven examiners concerned twenty-eight different marks, ranging from 33 to 61 The total number of different marks allotted under the two schemes was thirty-one, and the total range[1] from 28 to 61 It is quite obvious that in spite of the detailed marking-schemes the individual examiners adopted very different standards

A detailed analysis has been made of the marks for the different questions These questions were originally marked on a higher scale, which was reduced so as to yield a maximum for the two papers of 100 The difference between examiners varied very much with the candidate Thus for one candidate, for a question of which the original maximum was 60 marks (translation from Cæsar), the extreme range of the marks allotted by the thirteen examiners was only 9 marks, whereas for another candidate the extreme difference was 28 marks, or 47 per cent of the maximum In the case of some questions on accidence the difference between the marks was very small

3.—*French*

The scripts investigated were written as answers to two two-hour papers Two independent Boards were set up, each consisting of a Chief Examiner and six other examiners The examining body supplied 150 scripts altogether, chosen so that the marks allotted by the original examiners corresponded to a normal frequency distribution and ranged from the worst to the best. Of these, fifty

[1] The term *range* is used hereafter to describe the greatest difference between the marks assigned by different examiners to the *same* script

were selected, corresponding to the same normal distribution, for final marking, and were reproduced photographically. The others served as trial-scripts

Each Chief Examiner drew up his own marking-scheme, discussed it with his Board and, after settling his scheme, gave each member of his Board a number of trial-scripts to mark, so as to control the methods of marking of every examiner As a result of this process the two Boards quite independently adopted complex schemes, which were obviously the result of a common tradition Board I gave five general directions, and 640 detailed directions for Paper I and 290 detailed directions for Paper II, mainly concerning points of English and French in translation The scheme of Board II included 700 detailed items for Paper I and 300 for Paper II These detailed directions did not require any appreciable effort of memory on the part of the examiners Although the general methods used by the two Boards were the same, the detailed directions were in a number of cases different, and in some fifty cases were actually conflicting Each Board settled its own standard for Failure, Pass, or Credit The Chief Examiner, after seeing samples of the trial markings of each examiner, gave instructions for his marks to be raised or lowered in some particular way.

The returns of the individual examiners showed that the number of Failures varied from 6 to 15, of Passes from 7 to 16, of Credits from 21 to 30, and of Distinctions from 1 to 9 Agreement was reached between the six examiners of Board I on the awards to only twenty-seven candidates out of fifty, and agreement was reached between the examiners of Board II in regard to only thirty out of fifty The average range of marks (see footnote on page 837 above) for Board I was 10 6 and for Board II 7 8 out of 100

The average mark of Board I for a piece of dictation, expressed as a fraction of the maximum, was 14 per cent higher than the corresponding average mark of Board II, while the average mark of Board I for a question involving translation from English into French, expressed as a fraction of the maximum, was about 24 per cent lower than the corresponding average of Board I The maxima were approximately the same for the two Boards

The average marks for the two Boards of the scripts treated as a whole were approximately the same , but the fate of individual candidates depends on these differences which a similarity of general results effectively conceals A candidate who did poorly in dictation would be more leniently treated by the examiners of Board I. A candidate who did poorly in translation from English into French would be more leniently treated by the examiners of Board II. Moreover, the fate of a candidate would depend on the particular member of the Board to whom his script was assigned for marking.

4.—*Chemistry*

The procedure in the case of Chemistry was almost identical with that adopted in the case of French, but the number of final

scripts selected for the final marking was only thirty instead of fifty, as the average length of the scripts was considerable.

Board I in its marking-scheme gave about ninety-five detailed directions to the examiners, and Board II about eighty-five For certain details the two Boards gave the same marks, for others they gave marks appreciably differing The differences between the Boards would no doubt have been greater but for the fact that, as the candidates were instructed to select any six questions out of eight, it was necessary to allot identical or almost identical maxima to the different questions

In the returns of the individual examiners of the two Boards, taken together, the number of awards of Failure varied from 5 to 10, of Passes from 2 to 11, of Credit from 9 to 16, and of Distinction from 0 to 8 No mere adjustment of averages would remove such discrepancies between the distributions of awards by individual examiners The differences between the two Boards in respect of different questions was less than in the case of French, but for one question, dealing with a simple point in chemical theory, the average mark for Board I was 33 per cent of the maximum, while the corresponding average for Board II was 46 It is only in regard to this point that we get anything comparable to the remarkable differences which were found between the two French Boards Nevertheless, it is true that, as in French, the fate of a candidate depends very largely on the personnel of the Board, and on the particular examiner to whom his script is assigned The average range of marks was 10 for Board I and 10 9 for Board II out of one hundred

5 —*English*

The Committee did not carry out an investigation on School Certificate English, but have included in their publications the results of an investigation of the Durham University Examinations Board published by Mr C Roberts and Prof H V A. Briscoe in the *Journal of the Assistant Masters Association* for December 1931 and February 1932 [1] The results of the Durham investigation are analogous to those obtained by the Committee The investigation dealt with the answers of forty-eight candidates to two papers in English which were marked independently by seven experienced examiners, of whom three were ordinarily engaged by one examination authority, two by a second and the remaining two by two other bodies. The examiners all accepted the marking-scheme of the Chief Examiner of the Durham Board. The minimum range of the marks was 7, the maximum 31 and the average 18 5 out of 100 The discrepancies between awards of Failures, Passes, Credits and Special Credits by the individual examiners were striking. The number of Failures varied from 1 to 19, of Passes from 2 to 30, of Credits, from 11 to 37 and of Special Credits from 0 to 12 The difference between the

[1] See also *The A M A* for March, 1932, p. 78, and the *Journal of Education* for April, 1932, p 225

highest and lowest positions assigned to a candidate were 30 or more in five cases, 20 to 29 in nineteen cases, 10 to 19 in eighteen cases and under 10 in only six cases On the first paper dealing with Essay and Précis in three extreme cases the range of marks varied from 44 to 52 per cent In the paper on Literature the variations awarded were less , in three extreme cases the range of marks for this paper varied from 32 to 39 per cent

Special Place Examination (I)

This was the most complex of all the investigations, since it dealt with two subjects The scripts of 150 candidates in Arithmetic and in English were marked by ten examiners in each subject The marking-schemes were settled after correspondence with the examiners, each of whom marked fifty trial-scripts in accordance with a draft marking-scheme before expressing his opinion on the scheme The marking-schemes were modified in such a way as to deal with all the points raised by the individual examiners, and were finally settled only after an assurance had been received from each of the examiners in the subject concerned that the schemes contained no ambiguities

The 150 scripts for the final investigation included a large proportion of the very best sent in for the original examination, as judged by the original examining authority A very high proportion of these scripts were scripts of successful candidates and of those who approached success

Statistical Analysis

For the statistical analysis, from the ten examiners in English and from the ten examiners in Arithmetic couples, consisting of one examiner in English and one in Arithmetic, were chosen at random The average range for all the 150 candidates was 33 marks, the smallest range 12, and the highest 63, out of a maximum of 200 This range must be regarded as considerable, since the examinations were of an elementary character, and all the examiners were experienced in this type of work and were marking according to carefully drawn up marking-schemes. Of the seventy-three candidates who obtained the highest aggregate marks from these couples, thirty-three were returned in the first fifty by all ten couples Of the remaining forty, eight were returned in the first fifty by nine couples, and twelve by only one couple Thus thirty-three candidates would get into the first fifty places whichever couple of examiners marked their scripts, but the fate of the candidates for the other seventeen places would depend upon their chance of being assigned to particular couples, the chance of success being greater for some candidates than for others An elaborate analysis has been made of the marks assigned in Arithmetic and in English For straightforward calculations in Arithmetic the variations were very small, and were mainly due to the illegibility of the writing of certain candidates ; but in spite of the elaborate precautions taken in the marking-scheme there were very great differences between the

examiners in dealing with problem questions For one questio for which the maximum was 15 marks, one candidate received 1 from one examiner, 12 from three examiners, 8 from two, 7 fron two and 4 from two examiners The general agreement wa greater For twenty candidates out of 150 the marks were exactl the same, and for thirty-three the marks only differed by 3 or 4 ou of the 15 maximum, i e about 20–25 per cent The marks fo English in this particular examination do not lend themselves to brief summary Some examiners marked consistently higher some consistently lower, than the majority, others marked some times high and sometimes low

Special Place Examination (II)

English Essay

In this investigation, entirely different from the above, it wa sought to compare the results of marking when such essays ar marked on impression only with the results when they are marke in accordance with a detailed marking-scheme Ten examiner were employed One hundred and fifty scripts were taken, o which Nos 1–75 were marked by impression only, and 76–150 wer marked according to a detailed marking-scheme comprising th following elements

(i) Quantity, Quality and Control of Ideas—50 marks, (ii Vocabulary—15 marks, (iii) Grammar and Punctuation—1 marks, (iv) Structure of Sentences—10 marks, (v) Spelling— 5 marks, (vi) Handwriting—5 marks Total 100 marks

A special investigation was made to ascertain whether there wa any difference in quality between the scripts in Set 1 (Nos 1–75 and those in Set 2 (Nos 76 150) They were marked independ ently (without any marking-scheme) by three independent ex aminers other than those employed on the main investigation Each of these examiners gave the same average and approximatel the same distribution of marks for each of the two sets, though th averages of the different examiners were different

The first and most striking results of the main investigation ar given below

AVERAGE MARKS AWARDED BY THE EXAMINERS

	EXAMINERS										DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIGHEST AND LOWEST AVERAGES
	A	B	C	E	G	K	L	M	N	P	
Set 1— (Impression Marking)	49 0	43 7	59 4	31 8	44 6	47 5	51 2	40 0	46 2	41 7	27 6
Set 2— (Detailed Marking)	60 6	54 6	62 3	58 8	58 5	49 3	53 5	50 5	55 9	54 5	13 0
Difference	11 6	10 9	2 9	27 0	13 9	1 8	2 3	10 5	9 6	12 8	

Thus in every case the average mark awarded to Set 2 for scripts marked by details was greater than the average of marks awarded to Set 1 for scripts marked by impression

Marking by impression shows very great differences between the examiners The greatest difference was shown in the marks of a candidate who received the following marks . 15, 50, 63, 69, 15, 78, 62, 75, 48, 71, 64, showing a range of 63 The lowest range was 13, and the average was 36 5 In the marking by details the highest range was 52, in the case of a candidate who received marks varying from 26 to 78 ; and the lowest range was 14 5 The average range was 28 9

From detailed analysis of the figures it would appear that the greater ranges yielded by the marking by impression are not due to a higher figure for random marking, but to a greater difference between the standards adopted by the different examiners The analysis shows that the element of random marking has roughly speaking the same magnitude in both cases Thus it seems that the use of a detailed marking-scheme does conduce to a closer approximation of the standards of examiners, but that it does nothing to reduce the element of random marking

The difference between the different examiners was very great

College Entrance Scholarship Examination

English Essay

Fifty scripts, including essays on four different subjects, were selected from a larger number Each essay dealt with one out of a choice of four subjects The scripts were marked independently by five different examiners, who were asked to assign numerical marks, with a maximum of 100, and to assign a class to each candidate in accordance with the following scheme Class I, 67 marks and over ; Class II, 50 marks to 66 marks , Class III, 33 marks to 49 marks ; Class IV, under 33 marks

The most striking feature of the results is the general similarity of the marks of the different examiners from a statistical point of view combined with very marked differences in regard to individual candidates The averages of different examiners varied only from 50 6 to 54 8 The number of first classes varied from 2 to 8, of second classes from 23 to 34, of third classes from 12 to 15 and of fourth classes from 1 to 5 The range of marks allotted to individual candidates varied from 7 to 36, and the average range was 19 6 per cent. There were 13 candidates who were respectively placed in three different classes by the different examiners Not a single candidate of the seventeen placed in the first class by any examiner was so placed by more than three examiners altogether. Three candidates each received three votes, four each received two votes, and the other ten had only one vote Thus the consensus of opinion in the cases that really matter in a scholarship examination was extraordinarily small. It is clear that in an examination of

this kind the marks obtained by a candidate are to a very great extent a matter of chance, depending upon the particular examiner by whom the essay is marked

University Mathematical Honours

The investigation dealt with the answers of twenty-three candidates to a paper of twelve questions relating to differential equations and analytical geometry of three dimensions Candidates were allowed to attempt any number of questions, but were informed that full marks could be obtained on about six out of the total number The scripts were first marked independently by the six examiners and then revised independently by the same examiners acting as three pairs The maximum mark was 300 For the individual marking the range varied from 16 to 64, with an average of 34 7 For the pairs of examiners the range varied from 3 to 42, with an average of 18 3 The maximum difference of the averages of the individual examiners was only about 11 marks, and the maximum difference of the averages of the three pairs of examiners only about 9 marks The spread of marks, as measured by the mean deviations, was roughly the same in the case of each examiner and of each pair of examiners The procedure of settling marks on the verdicts of two examiners acting together, though it affected the averages very little and the distributions very little, had a greater effect in reducing the ranges All the examiners agreed in the placing of the first two candidates at the top, and of one other, the thirteenth in order of merit, but in no other case The pairing of the examiners notably diminished the differences in the order in which the candidates were placed, but a substantial difference still subsisted between the pairs of examiners in regard to the order of certain candidates It is clear that the allotment of marks in mathematics by two pairs of examiners acting independently does not mean that the results will be either identical or nearly so

University History Honours

The scripts dealt with were answers to four papers dealing with the following subjects (1) Ancient and Mediæval History; (2) Mediæval and Modern History, (3) an Essay Paper with a choice of subjects; (4) Political Thought (prescribed books).

The total number of scripts varied from 16 to 18 for the different papers Each of the scripts corresponding to Paper 1 was marked independently by five examiners, and each of those corresponding to the other papers by ten examiners The system of marking used was a *literal* system including twenty-four grades, ranging from δ to $\alpha +$ (generally known as the Oxford system) For Paper 1 the range in grades varied from 1 to 17, with an average of 9 1; for Paper 2, from 6 to 16, with an average of 11, for Paper 3 from 7 to 18, with an average of 11 4; for Paper 4 from 6 to 16, with an average of 10 1. If we assume that the candidates might have been

divided into three classes together with a Failure class, it would be legitimate, taking into regard statements of the examiners which cannot be summarised here, to say that there is a whole class difference or thereabouts on the average between the extreme marks awarded by different examiners to the same script In no case did any one script get the same mark from all the examiners

Viva Voce (Interview) Examination

In addition to investigations of scripts the Committee conducted a *viva voce* examination not on a subject, but of a general character, to test alertness, intelligence and general outlook on the pattern of the examinations for the highest posts in the English Civil Service awarded by examination The test was carried out under conditions as nearly as possible identical with those prevailing in Civil Service examinations Each of the candidates was required to be within the age-limits prescribed for the examination of the year for the Junior Grade of the Administrative Class in the Home Civil Service (the highest appointments open to competition), and to be certified by the authorities of the university or college at which he was studying to be suitable in their judgment as a candidate for this examination A prize of £100 was offered on the results of the examination in order to ensure that the candidates would treat it with the seriousness to be expected of candidates competing for an appointment, and sixteen candidates were selected for the investigation, twelve men and four women Two Boards were constituted for the purpose, one of five members, the other of four [1] Each candidate was examined by each Board for not less than a quarter of an hour, and not more than half an hour, on the same day After each interview, each member of the Board recorded his mark in writing before communicating it to any other member, and the Board settled its final mark either by agreement, or, where that was impracticable, by taking an average of the marks allotted by the several examiners The marks awarded by the two Boards to the several candidates, and the order in which the candidates were placed by the two Boards, is shown on the following page

The orders of merit of the two Boards are very different The candidate placed first by Board I is placed thirteenth by Board II, and the candidate placed first by Board II is placed eleventh by Board I

The prize was awarded to Candidate No 4, who was placed second by Board II and bracketed fourth by Board I

There were no cases of complete agreement, the closest were the cases of Candidates Nos 9, 12, 16 with 10, 2 and 5 marks difference respectively On the other hand, there was extreme disagreement, in the cases of Candidates Nos 1, 2, 6 and 7 with 92, 70, 70 and 70 marks difference The average difference

[1] Owing to an accident one person who had consented to serve was unable to appear at the last moment.

CANDIDATE	BOARD I MARKS	BOARD II MARKS	BOARD I ORDER	BOARD II ORDER
1	120	212	15½	11
2	260	190	1	13
3	130	175	14	15½
4	230	255	4[1]	2
5	210	232	8½	7½
6	180	250	12	3
7	200	270	11	1
8	240	224	2	9
9	230	220	4[1]	10
10	210	235	8½	6
11	210	236	8½	5
12	230	232	4[1]	7½
13	120	177	15½	14
14	210	247	8½	4
15	220	193	6	12
16	170	175	13	15½

[1] *The three candidates bracketed as equal after the first two candidates have been marked as "fourth" in order of merit, in accordance with the usual practice in statistical tables*

was 37 marks These extreme differences between the two Boards' estimates of the candidates' merits, amounting to 20 to 30 marks out of 100, and the average difference of about 12 marks out of 100, point to the unreliability of the interview test, and indicate the great influence that this test might have in the final placing of a candidate in a Civil Service examination

The coefficient of correlation between the marks of the two Boards is 0 41 This is comparatively small, and in view of the number of candidates involved cannot be considered significant (in the usual sense) On the other hand, the correlation coefficients of the marks of individual examiners with the final marks of the Board set out below are significant in all cases

Correlation coefficients of the marks of individual examiners with the final marks of their Board

BOARD I

A	B	C	D	E
91	90	63	89	84

BOARD II

F	G	H	I
74	86	82	72

General Conclusions

The Committee express the opinion that the employment of Boards of Examiners instead of individual examiners, though it diminishes, does not remove the element of chance in examinations ; that Boards as well as individuals disagree in their verdicts ; and that the element of chance in examinations still subsists to a

dangerous degree in the subjects investigated The Committee are clearly opposed to the root and branch policy of abolishing examinations, and are of opinion that examinations as a test of efficiency are necessary They are further of opinion that in addition to those examinations which yield identical results when applied by different examiners (e g New Type or Objective examinations), the traditional essay examination should be preserved But they think that it is only by careful and systematic experiment that methods of examination can be devised not liable to the distressing uncertainties of the present system, and that expenditure and experiments with a view to that end would be justified in the public interest

Results of a Parallel Enquiry in France

The French International Institute Examinations Enquiry Committee, who have received every assistance from the French Ministry of Public Instruction, have published a general report on French examinations called an *Atlas de l'enseignement en France* (à la Maison du Livre, Paris) They are also publishing the results of a series of investigations on the *Baccalauréat* examination to be called *La correction des épreuves écrites dans les examens, enquête expérimentale sur le baccalauréat* The French investigations were conducted on lines generally similar to those of the English investigations and show that the differences between examiners in France are not less than the differences between examiners in England The maximum ranges of the marks attributed to one and the same script by six different examiners in each of the subjects enumerated were as follows · Latin translation, 60 per cent of the maximum , French Essay, 65 per cent ; English, 45 per cent ; Mathematics, 45 per cent , Philosophy, 60 per cent ; Physics, 40 per cent

Three French essays were submitted to seventy-six different examiners, who marked them independently The marks for one script varied from 4 to 52 ; for the second script from 12 to 54 ; for the third from 16 to 56 ; all out of a maximum of 80

Ideal Marks

The problem of attempting to deduce from the different marks assigned to a script the " ideal mark," which would be assigned by a " perfect examiner," is by no means simple, and the results depend on the theoretical assumptions made to serve as a basis for the calculations In *An Examination of Examinations*, Dr Rhodes has made certain simple assumptions in order to obtain a first approximation to the ideal marks, together with further assumptions which yield a second approximation. Both methods are explained fully in *The Marks of Examiners* To the latter book Prof Cyril Burt has contributed an important memorandum dealing with the problem from a more general point of view.

P. J. HARTOG.

SECTION III

Juvenile Delinquency in England and Wales

CHAPTER ONE

General Survey

Introductory

UNTIL the passing of the Children's Act in 1908 little special consideration was given to juvenile delinquency It is true that the earliest Industrial and Reformatory Schools came into existence eighty or ninety years ago, and Acts to regulate them were passed as far back as 1854 and 1866, but 1908 can be regarded as the starting-point in the modern treatment of juvenile crime Not only did the Children's Act passed that year re-enact the whole law on the subject of these schools with many amendments, but it brought Juvenile Courts into existence In the previous year there was an Act passed, known as the Probation of Offenders Act, which greatly extended the powers of magistrates in dealing with juvenile offenders Magistrates had had power to release people on recognisances since 1879, but the power was seldom exercised, as, until 1907, there was no provision for ensuring that the individual released on probation observed the conditions imposed on him

The year 1908 also saw the passing of the Prevention of Crime Act which established the system of Borstal training for offenders between 16 and 21 We can therefore quite rightly regard 1907–8 as a turning-point in our treatment of juvenile delinquency

Before, however, we come to consider in any detail the work done by the Juvenile Courts, the Home Office Schools and the Borstal system, and the value of probation in dealing with juvenile delinquents, it would seem desirable to make some general observations on the causes of juvenile crime Dr Cyril Burt, in his book *The Young Delinquent*, deals at great length with the many factors which bring children and young people into trouble. He rightly points out that crime in itself is not inherited, although a child may inherit certain weaknesses or tendencies which may favour a lapse into crime We certainly cannot assign crime itself to any single source, it is nearly always a combination of many factors and influences acting together upon the individual

I have found myself that defective family life or lack of discipline plays a more important part in juvenile delinquency than either poverty or unemployment It would, of course, be an insult to suggest that the many people who suffer, or who have suffered, from poverty or unemployment are all potential criminals, just as it

would be equally incorrect to say that the war had a demoralising influence on those who took part in it, as the prevalence of crime amongst that age-group is below the average The provision of meals for school children and the extension of unemployment benefit have done much to remove the temptation to theft on the ground of hunger Poverty becomes a factor when a child of poor parents finds itself thrown into company with children who have more money to spend, or has a craving for some taste beyond its means Unemployment becomes a factor when the resultant idleness throws young people of high spirits or weak character into bad company Hobbies, clubs and games can do much to eliminate this temptation

Some of the factors which make for crime come more directly to the notice of the medical man, the psychologist, or again to the Probation Officer, the teacher, the magistrate or the social worker visiting the home If, however, the problem of juvenile delinquency is to be attacked successfully, not only must each case be treated as a problem in itself, but the magistrate, the doctor, the teacher and the Probation Officer must work hand in hand, and not in water-tight compartments

There is close co-ordination in the supervision exercised by the Home Office over the work of their schools, the Juvenile Courts and probation work A lesser co-ordination also exists between this group and the work done under the Borstal system The Home Office could still do more than it does at present to provide fuller statistics on the whole subject of juvenile delinquency I know that a mass of statistics may only serve to confuse the issue, but in dealing with juvenile delinquency we are still in the experimental stage We cannot tell the relative efficacy of different methods of treatment unless we have full knowledge of their results This is one of the reasons why after-care plays such an important part in the treatment of the juvenile offender Perhaps the field in which most information is needed is in the results of probation

The Probation System

I have already pointed out that magistrates have had authority to release people on recognisances since 1879, and the Courts were given greater power to place first offenders on probation in 1887 Under the Industrial Schools Acts of 1854 and 1857, the justices could accept a surety from the parents that a child would be of good behaviour for twelve months, as an alternative to sending the offender to a school None of these provisions, however, were of much avail until the passing of the Probation of Offenders Act in 1907 placed probationers under an effective system of supervision This Act enabled Courts to release an offender on probation, without proceeding to a conviction The maximum period of probation was for three years, and power was given to Courts to appoint paid probation officers, and to fix, and vary, the conditions of supervision as was thought necessary in each case. These conditions were en-

larged by the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914 Under a similar Act, passed in 1925, Probation Officers had to be appointed for every Petty Sessional Division, and Probation Committees were established to pay the officers and supervise the work There has been a great increase in the use of probation by the Juvenile Courts

In 1913, out of a total of 32,862 persons found guilty and dealt with by these Courts, 4,465 were placed on probation with supervision In 1928 the figures were 20,370 and 6,321 , in 1932, 22,586 and 7,717 , and in 1933, 24,210 and 8,348 It is less satisfactory to note that in 1932 and 1933 no less than 1,928 and 1,860 children and young persons were bound over in recognisances without the supervision of a probation order

The Advisory Committee on Probation and After-care, appointed by the Secretary of State, has done much to assist the Home Office to establish a pension scheme for Probation Officers, and lay down some standard of training for them The success of the probation system depends on several things First, a probation order should not be made until careful enquiries have been made about the offender to find out if the case is a suitable one for probation Courts themselves must impress on the probationer that he is being placed under very definite obligations, and ensure that the order is properly served Probation Committees must also ensure that the staff of officers in their area is large enough to enable them adequately to supervise their probationers Lastly, it depends on whether the pay and conditions are such as to attract the right type of man and woman to a service in which personality plays such an important part This last condition is one which more directly concerns the Home Office, and, as I have pointed out, it has received a good deal of attention in the last few years

Section 2 (3) of the Probation Act of 1907 says that the Court by which a probation order is made shall furnish to the offender a notice in writing, stating in simple terms the conditions he is required to observe Rule 59 of the Summary Jurisdiction Rules, 1915, says, further, that this notice shall be read over to the offender before he leaves the Court precincts, if practicable by the Probation Officer, in the presence of a third person, with such explanation as may be thought desirable There are, I am afraid, still irregularities in the service of probation orders Cases have occurred in the past where the order has actually been served on the Probation Officer by the probationer, or where the Court has drawn up no order at all I hope that such cases no longer occur now that the procedure is better understood, but I think there are still instances where the order is served by the police or the clerk of the Court. These methods detract from the value of the order and tend to give the probationer the impression that he is being let off easily Some Courts still place juveniles on probation for too short a period. In normal cases I doubt if any period under twelve to eighteen months is an adequate time in which to enable a Probation Officer to establish any lasting change in a lad's character.

Enquiry made into the previous history of certain lads undergoing Borstal detention showed that some of them had been placed on probation for short periods of three or six months, which had obviously proved unsuitable Over 25 per cent of the cases examined had been on probation twice, and about 7 per cent three or more times Whenever a second term of probation is awarded, I think it should be prefaced by a remand in custody, sufficiently long to enforce appreciation of the alternative. Some of these cases were probably unsuitable for probation, and inadequate enquiries had been made about the offender's antecedents and home conditions If the seriousness of a probation order is not explained to a lad at the outset, it is obviously very difficult for a Probation Officer to enforce a discipline which must underlie all successful efforts to reform character. It is impossible to lay down any rule as to the frequency of visits or the terms and conditions of an order Every case must be treated individually, but Probation Officers should be encouraged to bring cases back to Court if the probationer shows signs of becoming slack or out of hand We cannot, however, ensure either adequate discipline or supervision unless a limit is set to the number of cases which each Probation Officer should undertake, and this can only be done if Probation Committees take steps to see that there is an adequate staff of officers in their area There is still a tendency in some cases to overwork the Probation Officer, and it is worth while to remember that many officers carry out after-care work for Home Office Schools, the Borstal Association, the Central Association and Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies

The subject of After-Care deserves a section to itself, but I mention it here because, in its general technique, it bears a resemblance to the normal work which a Probation Officer performs There are several advantages in Probation Officers undertaking such work, and the Home Office raises no objection, provided Probation Committees take care that their officers do not undertake more duties than they can efficiently carry out Such a criterion, of course, also demands an efficient Probation Committee which takes a genuine interest in its officers' work More women Probation Officers are needed, as there are still about 400 Courts in the country without one. It is most undesirable that women and girl offenders of known immoral character should be committed to the care of male Probation Officers, and it is preferable that children and young offenders should be under the care of a woman Probation Officer The raising of the age of young persons from 16 to 17 under the Children's Act of 1932 has increased the number of cases coming before Juvenile Courts, and the number of committals to Home Office Schools. It is too early yet to say whether the unruly type of lad between 16 and 17 is a suitable case for a woman Probation Officer, or even for the milder atmosphere of a Juvenile Court, but I think we must regard this raising of the age limit as in the nature of an experiment.

Juvenile Courts

I do not propose to discuss here the procedure in Juvenile Courts, but only to make some brief reference to their history, and to some of the powers they possess, and problems which confront them Even as far back as 1847 Parliament began to realise that children should not be kept for long periods in prison awaiting trial, and in that year they passed an Act, the preamble of which is worth quoting It reads " Whereas in order to ensure more speedy trial of juvenile offenders, and avoid the evils of their long imprisonment previously to trial, it is expedient to allow such offenders being proceeded against in a more summary manner " The Act allowed two magistrates to try offences of simple larceny by children not over 14, and inflict a maximum sentence of three months' imprisonment, a fine of £3, or whipping in the case of a male It also allowed the magistrates to dismiss the case without punishment, if they thought it expedient to do so This latter provision is important, as it shows that the law had begun to recognise that juvenile offences are not always the result of criminal intentions This special treatment of young persons in the Courts was extended by the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, under which children under 12, with their parents' consent, could be tried summarily for any indictable offence, except homicide The maximum penalty was one month's imprisonment, a fine of forty shillings, or six strokes of the birch rod, if a male The power to commit to an Industrial School or to a Reformatory, of course, remained, but children under 7 were not liable to punishment For certain types of larceny, young persons under 16 could also be dealt with summarily under this Act In these cases, however, the maximum penalty was three months' imprisonment, a fine of £10, or, if a male, under 14, twelve strokes of the birch rod From a modern point of view, these punishments seem severe, but they were a great improvement on the position which existed previously

In 1901 the Youthful Offenders Act enabled Courts to remand a child to the care of a fit person instead of to prison It also made the parent, instead of the child, liable to the fine in cases of negligence, and imposed some limitation as to costs These provisions, however, were but palliatives, and it was not until 1908, when separate Children's Courts were first established, that a direct attack was made upon the problem of juvenile delinquency It was first of all laid down that a Court hearing a juvenile case must sit in some other place than the Police Court, and the public were excluded. The powers of the Courts were clearly laid down—to these I will refer later—and they were given the right to compel the attendance of the child's parent or guardian at the hearing of a case. Except in special cases, all young offenders when apprehended were to be released on bail, unless brought before a Court forthwith. Imprisonment for children was abolished, and only permitted in the case of young persons where they were so unruly or depraved that

it became necessary Custody in a place of detention up to one month was substituted for imprisonment, and every Petty Sessional Division was obliged to provide suitable places of detention or remand homes for this purpose Finally, the age given in the definition of a child in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 was raised from 12 to 14 The Children's Act of 1932 improved the constitution of the Juvenile Courts by providing that they were to be manned by panels of justices especially qualified to deal with juvenile cases The Act also raised the age under which a child could not be convicted from 7 to 8, and raised the age of young persons from 16 to 17 The Juvenile Courts now deal with adoption orders, as well as with children in need of care and protection, and there is no doubt that they are the right Courts for this purpose, but these questions are outside the scope of this article

In dealing with juvenile offenders, a Court has a number of different methods open to it It may dismiss a charge, and, in trivial cases where an offender has a proper understanding of his offence, this is often the best policy The Court may discharge the child or young person either in his own recognisances or by placing him under the supervision of a Probation Officer, or in the care of a relative or fit person Of these three methods supervision by a Probation Officer is by far the most satisfactory There is little use in taking a young person's own recognisances, as he is seldom earning his own livelihood, and anyhow, such a method entails no supervision In cases of this kind it is better to take the recognisances of the parent, as they can be enforced with better success Even this method, however, or the placing of the offender under the charge of a relative, is often unsatisfactory, as the parent or relative may be an unsatisfactory guardian for the child

I have already pointed out that defective family life, or lack of discipline at home, plays a large part in juvenile delinquency, and it is for these reasons that the influence and supervision of someone outside the home, like a Probation Officer, is so important Just as it is so often impracticable to take a young offender's recognisances, so is it often equally difficult to impose a fine, although for offences like betting and gambling a fine is frequently the best penalty To be effective, however, the sacrifice which the fine entails should be borne by the offender himself, and not by his parents For this reason, unless a child is over 14 and earning a reasonable wage, it is almost impossible to inflict a fine Whipping is seldom an effective punishment for a Court to impose, except in cases of cruelty by boys, either to animals or to other children, when it may prove a lasting deterrent. To have a salutary effect, however, the whipping should be administered by the parent, and not by a police constable who is a complete stranger The bully is often the offspring of weak or indulgent parents, and what is required to bring him to his senses is an assertion of parental authority If detention is to be used as a punishment, then it is best employed by remanding a case in custody pending final disposal. This often has a most salutary

effect when the young offender does not know what the final outcome of his offence may be Remand to a remand home, rather than on bail, is, of course, often necessary in the child's own interests, rather than as a punishment There is, however, still a shortage of suitable remand homes and probation hostels in the country, and Courts sometimes have difficulty in making a probation order, with a condition as to residence, owing to lack of suitable or available hostel accommodation Where a case is too serious for a probation order, or where probation has failed, a Home Office School is nearly always the best alternative There is no doubt that many Courts have only recently become fully alive to the necessity for sending certain types of young offenders to these schools in the children's own interests

The Juvenile Courts are still in a stage of development If they are to fulfil their purpose, it is essential they should be manned by magistrates who have made a special study of juvenile delinquency, and have a natural aptitude for dealing with children Although the offences with which these Courts have to deal may on the whole be far more trivial than the average type of case dealt with in the adult Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, more time is often required for an adequate understanding of the juvenile case A right treatment of a case in a Juvenile Court may save a child from a life of crime, and the responsibility resting on the Juvenile Court magistrates is, on this account, a heavy one

Home Office Schools

The earliest Industrial and Reformatory Schools were founded by voluntary managers interested in the welfare of destitute and delinquent children, and their example was afterwards followed by various local authorities To regularise the position, an Industrial Schools Act, which applied only to Scotland, was passed in 1854, and similar Acts for Industrial Schools were passed for England in 1857 and 1861 Provision was made for some State assistance for those schools which applied for, and received, a certificate on a satisfactory report from a State inspector The schools were intended for orphans or vagrant children under 14, who could not be detained after 15, except with their own consent As an alternative to sending the children to a school, the justices were permitted to accept a surety from the parents that the children would be of good behaviour for twelve months The school managers were also allowed to arrange for children attending a school to sleep out in suitable cases Here we see the beginnings of a system of juvenile probation, and the practice of boarding out

By the Industrial Schools Act of 1861, a child under 12 could be sent to a school for committing an offence punishable by imprisonment, and, on the representation of the parents, any child under 14 could be sent to a school on the ground that it was out of control, if the parents gave some undertaking to meet the expenditure. The

Secretary of State was also empowered, under this Act, to move children from one school to another, a provision which is still found very useful, and has always been re-enacted. The Guardians were also permitted to contract with school managers for the education of a pauper child.

Children who absconded were sent back to their school or to a Reformatory In 1854 a Reformatory Schools Act was also passed for Great Britain Similar provision was made for certificates and State grants, subject to inspection Any child under 16 convicted of an offence for which a minimum sentence of fourteen days' imprisonment was awarded could, on completion of the sentence, be it noted, be sent to a Reformatory The committal order was for not less than two years and not more than five years The penalty for misconduct at the school, or for absconding, was up to three months' imprisonment

In 1866 the scope of the Industrial Schools was widened Children could now be sent there if found keeping company with thieves, or if a surviving parent was undergoing penal servitude The age up to which they could be detained was raised to 16, and the school managers were empowered to place children out on licence after eighteen months at a school Reformatory School managers had been given this power in 1854 Whilst enquiries or arrangements for the child's reception were being made, the magistrates also had power to detain a child in a workhouse up to seven days, and here we see the genesis of our remand home

Between 1866 and 1908 various amending measures were passed, but few of them are of sufficient importance to call for any comment By an Act passed in 1880 justices were empowered to commit a child to a school if it was found living with prostitutes The Act of 1891 gave the school managers power to apprentice a child at any time Day Industrial Schools were established in Scotland in 1898, and the minimum period for committal to a Reformatory was increased from two to three years. The period of detention during enquiries was also increased from seven to fourteen days In 1899 the power to sentence a child to imprisonment in addition to committal to a Reformatory was abolished, and a step forward was taken in removing children from prison surroundings, although it must be remembered that the earlier régime in the schools was much more penal than reformative in character

Now we come to the Act of 1908, which repealed all the earlier legislation and re-enacted it in a more modern form. It was made clear that, with certain exceptions, Industrial Schools were intended for the reception of children up to 14, and Reformatories for young offenders over 12 and under 16. Drunkenness of the parents was included as a ground for the removal of the child, a failure to attend school as a ground for committal. The managers were allowed to board out any child under 8 years of age until, in normal cases, it became 10. The period of detention at both types of school remained the same, the maximum age in the case of Reformatories

being fixed at 19 years. The system of licensing after eighteen months was continued.

In 1894 the Industrial School managers had been given power to supervise children, discharged on licence, up to the age of 18. This extended system of after-care had proved most successful, and in 1908 the Reformatory School managers were given similar powers of supervision up to the age of 19 in all cases where a licence was granted before that age I believe the great success which has attended the work of the Home Office Schools in the last twenty-five years is mainly due to this extended system of after-care It means the maintenance of a friendly and sympathetic supervision long enough to ensure that the boy or girl can be firmly established in the world outside

The Day Industrial School in England has now disappeared, and I do not regret its passing Established in one or two of our larger cities, these schools did not achieve the same success as the residential schools, because the school influence was so often counteracted by a bad home influence, and the buildings, being old, were often in most unsatisfactory surroundings

The Act of 1932, which has now been embodied in the consolidated Act of 1933, made three important alterations in the powers of the Courts and the school managers It laid it down that a child should not normally be sent to a school under 10 years of age It reduced the minimum period after which a child might be licensed from eighteen months to twelve months, and it altered and extended the period of supervision after licence Now every child whose period of detention expires before he is 15 remains under supervision until he is 18, whilst if over 15 when his detention expires, he remains under supervision until 21, or for three years, whichever is the shorter period Any child or young person under 19, on licence, may be recalled to the school for three or six months if it is considered in his interest to do so

I have already pointed out that this Act raised the age of young persons from 16 to 17 A child sent to an Approved School, as the Home Office Schools are now called, may now be detained for three years, or until he is 15 if the three years should expire before he reaches that age In the case of a young person, if he is under 16 on committal, he may be detained for three years, or if over 16 until he becomes 19 The Court does not actually specify a period of detention, because experience has shown that the actual training required by each child depends on the circumstances of each case, and can only be judged by those responsible for the supervision of the schools.

Under the First Schedule to the Act the Secretary of State was given wide powers to reclassify the schools, and this has now been done The new classification is based primarily on age-groups—the boys' schools are placed in three groups, and the girls' schools in two, as there are far fewer girls in the schools. Taking the boys' schools first, the Junior Group I is intended for boys of 10 years

and under 13 years of age on admission This type of school is really a residential elementary school, but makes use of available facilities, such as gardens or workshops, for a more practical type of education The Intermediate Group II is for boys between 13 and 15 In these schools the first year's training is largely in the schoolroom, but subsequently it is intended to be mainly vocational The Senior Group III school is intended for boys over 15 Here the training is almost wholly vocational, both theoretical and practical, with the intention of teaching the boys a trade The boys do a short refresher course of six months in the schoolroom when first admitted

The girls' schools are grouped into Junior and Senior Schools The Junior Schools take girls under 15, and combine the system of education and training given in the first two groups of boys' schools. This is not entirely satisfactory, but in view of the much smaller numbers involved, it cannot be avoided In fact, even under this arrangement, it is sometimes necessary to send girls committed to the Senior Schools some distance from their homes Where facilities are available, the girls in the Junior Schools attend the local elementary schools, while those in the Senior Schools usually go out to evening classes In most parts of the country there is a boys' school for each age-group, and it is seldom necessary to send a boy far away There are now 71 approved schools in England and Wales, of which 55 are under voluntary management Twenty-one of these schools are for girls, the remainder for boys On September 30th, 1934, there were 6,816 children in the schools, and the number is increasing In 1932 1,850 children were committed to schools, of whom 391 were over 15 In 1933 the number had risen to 1,938, including 377 who were over 15, and 62 over 16, due to the passing of the new Children's Act In 1934 the number had again increased to 2,810, including 511 children over 15, and no less than 539 over 16 years of age Owing to this increase in admissions, arrangements are being made to open three or four additional schools

The vocational training in the Senior and Intermediate boys' schools, Groups II and III, consists of gardening, farming, carpentry, cabinet making, bakery, tailoring, metal-work and engineering There are also four nautical schools where various branches of seamanship are taught The girls receive an all-round domestic training, and there is one Junior School for the commercial and technical education of girls selected by scholarship examination from the other schools One of the Senior girls' schools is for girls requiring special moral training, and some of the schools are, of course, confined to Roman Catholics or Jews

The size of the schools varies considerably from about 40 up to about 200. It has been found more satisfactory to have only two or three main types of vocational training in any one school There is, of course, always scope for some general training in maintenance work in the larger Intermediate and Senior schools, and a good

deal of useful knowledge can be gained in this way Before the war too much time was spent by the occupants of the schools in maintenance and domestic work at the expense of their educational and vocational training, often, I am afraid, owing to lack of available funds Since the recommendations of the Departmental Committee of 1919 were put into force, schools have maintained an adequate maintenance and domestic staff, and instruction in maintenance or domestic work is only given under proper supervision as part of the children's general training As many of the children come from neglected homes, special attention is paid to health and physical training, and nearly every school has on its staff a physical training instructor and a woman with nursing experience Most schools hold an annual camp holiday, and in suitable cases children are allowed to go home for short periods, privileges which are very seldom abused

The work of the Home Office Schools is co-ordinated by an efficient staff of Home Office inspectors There are also three representative committees, a committee representing the headmasters and mistresses, a committee representing the school managers, and an Advisory Home Office Committee, on which both headmasters and school managers sit I will refer later to the after-care work of the schools which contributes so much to their success, but before leaving this section of my subject, I must refer to the question of the short-term school Many Juvenile Courts have cases before them where they feel that the boy or girl would probably benefit by six or nine months' residence at a school, but does not require a long term of training It would not, of course, be desirable to deal with children in this way, as a short committal would interfere with their education, but for young persons over 14 there is no doubt that such a course would often be helpful The 1933 Act has been so framed that short-term schools can be provided if required The London County Council are now opening a school for senior girls connected with a hostel to which the girls will be sent after a short time at the school While at the hostel they will go out to employment during the day, but be under supervision in the evenings A similar scheme for boys is being worked out at Birmingham, where a hostel will be run in connection with a short-term school These experiments will be watched with great interest If successful they will help to solve one of the problems facing Juvenile Court magistrates at the present time

The Borstal System

What is called the Borstal System was first placed on a statutory basis by the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908. About 1902 the experiment of segregating young recidivists, serving longer sentences, in Leeds and Bedford prisons, was tried A year or two later they were moved to the old convict prison at Rochester, and the system takes its name from the village of Borstal near Rochester.

Until after the war the scheme was mainly run on prison lines In 1919 it was remodelled on a military basis, and the governor's assistants were given somewhat ' ' ' ' military titles About 1922 the system was again remodelled, and the lads were grouped in houses under housemasters, and the officers were taken out of uniform

The Act of 1908 has been amended in certain particulars by the Criminal Justice Acts of 1914 and 1925 As the law now stands, any person between 16 and 21 may receive a Borstal sentence if convicted, on indictment, of an offence for which he is liable to penal servitude or imprisonment He may also receive a Borstal sentence if convicted summarily of an offence for which he is liable to imprisonment for one month or more, without the option of a fine, provided he has been previously convicted, or has been discharged on probation and failed to observe a condition of his recognisance In both cases the Court must be satisfied that the offender is of criminal habits and tendencies, or has been associating with bad characters, and that it is expedient he should be subject to detention, under instruction and discipline In a case of summary conviction the actual sentence must be passed by the next Assizes or Quarter Sessions, whichever is more convenient Before sentence is passed, the Court is required to consider a report from the Prison Commissioners as to whether the offender is suitable for Borstal training A sentence of Borstal detention is for not less than two and not more than three years Fortunately the longer sentence is generally given, and it would be better if the shorter sentence could be repealed by statute The type of lad who is sentenced to Borstal training is seldom fit for discharge on licence under two years' training Actually a lad who receives a Borstal sentence may be licensed after six months, and a girl after three months, so that provision is already made for special cases If, however, a lad knows he is bound to be licensed after two years anyhow, there is less incentive to learn, and less incentive to good behaviour A Borstal sentence carries with it a further period of twelve months' supervision by the Borstal Association, after the expiration of the sentence Unfortunately many Courts, when imposing a Borstal sentence, do not explain this fact to the offender, in fact I am not sure that all Courts are aware of it The result is that when lads arrive at Wormwood Scrubs and learn this fact they have a feeling of injustice which it is not always easy to eradicate A lad is licensed under certain conditions, and in case of misconduct, his licence may be revoked If the Prison Commissioners revoke a licence, the offender is liable to additional training or detention in a Borstal Institution for a further period of twelve months from the date of revocation, even if the original sentence and period of supervision expires during that time. In dealing with after-care, I will explain the work of the Borstal Association, and the methods employed for dealing with lads whose licences are revoked.

All lads receiving a Borstal sentence are now collected in a wing

of Wormwood Scrubs prison Here efforts are made to classify the lads, both according to their physical and mental condition Information is obtained as to their history, if necessary from police, parents, their schools, employers or any Probation Officer who has had charge of them This procedure is somewhat similar to that adopted by the Juvenile Courts, but it is more detailed Attached to the prison is a band of trained voluntary women workers, who visit the homes of these lads living in or near London, interview the lads themselves, and draw up reports on their history These reports, which may be made on all youths who are now remanded in custody in the London area, to Wormwood Scrubs prison, are not only of great help to the Courts in dealing with cases, but provide valuable statistical information, and are a guide to the Commissioners in deciding to which institution a lad should be sent. Apart from the Girls' Borstal at Aylesbury, which deals with its own after-care work, there are now seven Borstals in England

Lowdham, near Nottingham, which is being built by the lads themselves, takes the most promising cases Feltham, in Middlesex, takes any surplus of promising cases, and those requiring special medical attention or observation Sherwood, which is the old Nottingham Prison, takes older lads between 20 and 21 Borstal, at Rochester, and Camp Hill, in the Isle of Wight, take average cases, and Portland takes the most difficult lads In May 1935 there were just over 1,700 lads undergoing training in Borstal Institutions The numbers have dropped during the past two years, but it is probable they will increase again in about two years' time, owing to the big increase in the birth-rate just after the war The Commissioners opened a new Borstal Institution on the Wash, near Boston, in the summer of 1935 The lads will be engaged on land reclamation, and will be specially selected, as at Lowdham, for physical fitness and reliability Accommodation for about sixty will eventually be provided in hutments

When a lad arrives at a Borstal Institution from Wormwood Scrubs, he is seen by the Governor and assigned to one of the houses into which the Institution is divided The housemaster allots him to a group, which consists of about a dozen lads under a group leader Groups have joint duties and responsibilities in their houses They dine together, and the dishes made by the cookery class go, in turn, to the group in each house which has the best record during the week During his first months in an Institution a lad is employed on cleaning and domestic work, and drafted into an outdoor labouring party This gives the housemaster and officers an opportunity of estimating a lad's capabilities and discovering his weaknesses Later on, as vacancies occur, a lad joins a trade party in a workshop, or goes on to the farm, or into the kitchen to learn cookery or baking There is a laundry attached to every Institution, and each house has a matron, who can often be of great help to a lad A Borstal lad's day begins at 6 a.m , with physical training. After breakfast he does eight hours' work in a trade party,

on a farm, or in a labouring party, with an interval for dinner. After tea the time is spent in school, at lectures, or at private study Lights out is at 9 p m Saturday afternoon is spent at games, and there are house shields, for which the competition is keen Most Institutions have a swimming bath, and a certain number of lads in the special grade go into camp every year There are a number of grades, and if a lad does well he should reach his special grade after twelve months' training Whilst the higher grades carry increased privileges with them, they also, quite rightly, demand increased responsibilities

There are farms at Rochester, Feltham, Lowdham, Portland and Aylesbury All Institutions teach the mending of clothes, some gardening to likely pupils, cooking and baking At present all Institutions teach boot repairing It has been found, however, that there are too many small shoe-making shops, and this work will probably be concentrated in one or two Institutions on a more economic basis There are carpenters' shops at four Institutions, and a new one is to be opened at Sherwood Three Institutions, Feltham, Rochester and Portland, have smithies Dressmaking is taught at Aylesbury

I have already mentioned that land reclamation is to be undertaken at the new Institution on the Wash Land is also being brought into cultivation at Rochester, Portland and Camp Hill, mainly for the purpose of growing vegetables and potatoes for consumption in the Institution, or in prisons which it can supply This heavy land work is excellent training physically and often mentally, and fits a lad to take up navvying work outside The lads who have been building the Institution at Lowdham, under trained instructors, have, of course, gained valuable experience, but this opportunity is exceptional, although some minor building work or alterations are often needed in an Institution

The greatest incentive to good work and conduct is, of course, the prospect of early discharge Most lads realise this, and there are few escapes from Borstal Institutions, although gates stand open all day long, and the lads at Lowdham lived for a long time in tents or in hutments, as they will do on the Wash Early discharge, however, is not the only encouragement to good work Lads are able to earn, by good conduct and efficiency at their work, a small amount of money known as badge money The sum paid ranges from threepence up to about a shilling a week Different Institutions have different schemes, and payment may begin at any time from three to twelve months after admission In most Institutions the amount paid depends on the grade the lad has reached and his general conduct, but at Portland and Lowdham payment is now definitely related to output and work in the trade and labouring parties If these latter schemes prove successful, I hope they may be extended to other Institutions, as they are more akin to the conditions under which a lad will have to earn his living outside. The lads spend their money at the Institution canteen, mostly on tobacco,

for, under certain conditions, they are allowed to smoke when off duty Anyone, however, who wishes to obtain his discharge before serving his full sentence must save a minimum amount of three shillings These savings are put into National Savings Stamps, which a lad takes out with him on discharge, and, in some cases, I am glad to say, this encourages him to try to go on saving outside.

With a view to giving lads greater encouragement to stand on their own feet, and organise their spare time properly, the Institution at Camp Hill has what is known as a Discharge House Here everyone is sent as soon as he is placed on the discharge list For purposes of discipline the house is under a senior officer, but every lad is expected to look after himself, and arrange his own amusements He sees little of his former housemaster, joins his working party independently, and wears his discharge clothes on Sundays He has to observe certain rules and maintain a high standard of conduct, and if he fails, his discharge is postponed It is too early as yet to say whether this scheme is likely to be a helpful form of training

The Home Secretary appoints Visiting Committees for each Institution, and a proportion of the members must be magistrates It is their business to co-operate with the prison authorities in the working of the Institutions They have to enquire into complaints, give judgment on serious offences, see the buildings are kept in good order, and regularly visit the Institution, like the Visiting Committees of Prisons Every year a Conference is held at the Home Office, when the members of the Visiting Committees meet the Prison Commissioners and discuss their work together

The Young Prisoner

In 1933, 2,380 young persons under 21 were sentenced to imprisonment, a decrease of some 400 on the previous year Thirty-four per cent of these youths, and 40 per cent of the girls, had no previous proved offences, and, unless the circumstances were exceptional, it would appear that probation would have been a more suitable method of dealing with these cases On the other hand, 458 lads, and nineteen of the 127 girls, had three or more previous convictions, and a sentence of Borstal detention would seem to have been more appropriate than what must have been in many cases a short term of imprisonment No less than 1,880 of these young offenders received a short sentence, not exceeding three months Larceny and housebreaking constituted half the offences I think many magistrates are beginning to realise that short sentences of imprisonment should be avoided whenever possible, especially in the case of young offenders Some people maintain that a short prison sentence given to a lad who has no previous acquaintance with prison conditions may shock him into the path of rectitude I maintain that in most cases it will merely teach a lad that prison is not such a bad place as he has been led to expect, particularly if he

has been out of employment, and short of adequate nourishment If a youthful offender between 17 and 21 is unfit for probation, then, in most cases, he requires more prolonged training and discipline than three months' imprisonment. A Borstal sentence may be too severe in many cases, but the sentence should be sufficiently long to enable him to receive some training

The Prison Commissioners have now set aside wings in six prisons for the reception of young male prisoners who receive sentences of three months or longer Wormwood Scrubs is used for the London district, Winchester and Bristol for the South-western area, Durham and Liverpool for the North, and Bedford for the Midlands Lads sent to these prisons have their meals together, and are taught some prison industry, in so far as it is possible to do so in the comparatively short time available If necessary they also receive school instruction, and they all attend lectures, and take part in hard physical training and organised games These young offenders constitute one of the most difficult problems facing both Prison Commissioners and magistrates If their numbers should increase it might seem desirable to evolve some modified form of Borstal sentence of from six to twelve months' duration

After-care

This account of juvenile delinquency would be incomplete without some reference to the after-care work of the Home Office Approved Schools and the Borstal Association

The schools claim some 90 per cent of successes, and this achievement, while no doubt in part due to the fact that children are sent to them at an impressionable age, is also largely due to the long period of supervision which headmasters are allowed to exercise over their former pupils Each child's future career is carefully considered by the headmaster, in the light of his progress and training, and, if possible, his parents are consulted Nearly every child is found employment on leaving, and members of the school staff, apart from their other work, are employed to find suitable openings While a boy or girl remains under supervision they receive a visit from their headmaster, or another officer of the school, at least once every six months, and in many cases oftener. If during this time they fall out of employment, and show signs of getting out of hand, the managers can, and do, exercise their powers of temporary recall Each school also has a number of Associates, whose business it is to keep in touch with the school, and with any young people placed under their care. This is especially necessary in the case of schools which draw their pupils from a very wide area, as in these cases it is often physically impossible for the school staff to carry out all the after-care work Some schools do not take as much advantage of the use of Associates as they might do Many of the school Associates are Probation Officers, who may, of course, have had some of these young people under supervision before they

were sent away to a school Parents are often very helpful to the school and the Associates, but occasionally you do find parents whose only interest is the amount of money their child can bring into the home It must be remembered also that many of these children are sent to a school, not because they are offenders, but because they are in need of care and protection This often means that they have to be placed out in lodgings on leaving school, but it also means that they come to regard their school as a real home, turning to their old headmaster for advice and guidance, and going back regularly on Old Boys' Day, which every school holds annually

The Borstal Association, whose headquarters are in Victoria Street, is not responsible for the actual administration of the Borstal Institutions, but is entrusted by the Secretary of State with the supervision and after-care of all lads on discharge, and for this purpose is represented on each Borstal Visiting Committee The after-care work for Borstal girls is carried out direct from Aylesbury. The office in Victoria Street is under the control of a Director, with a staff under him The work is to a small extent paid for by voluntary funds, but is mainly financed by the State A small voluntary committee helps to raise funds, and considers general questions of policy. Most of the members of the Committee are members of one or other of the Borstal Visiting Committees The Borstal Association has a permanent office in Liverpool, and it also has an Associate in every town or district

Some weeks before a lad is due for discharge, his record, containing reports from his housemaster, his trade instructor, the medical officer and the Governor, is sent to the Head Office He is then interviewed by the representative of the Association on the local Visiting Committee, and arrangements are made to find him suitable employment, and for his return home, or to lodgings He is told how to get in touch with the local Associate, who is warned of his coming, and the lad is also told how to keep in touch with the Head Office, particularly if he requires help at any time The terms of his licence are explained to him, and this licence he has to sign In it he undertakes not to leave his employment or place of abode of his own accord without permission, and not to mix with known bad characters This last undertaking is often difficult for lads to observe, as they meet other ex-Borstal lads on discharge, whom they knew in their Institution, and if two of them find themselves out of employment, the temptation to have an escapade is often irresistible. Now that employment is improving, work is easier to find, and the long periods of idleness and accompanying temptation are decreasing

If a lad begins to keep late or irregular hours, or is slack at turning up for work, he is warned by his local Associate, and if necessary by the Head Office itself Many employers are very helpful in giving employment to ex-Borstal lads, and in trying to keep them up to the mark. An employer seldom gives away a lad's previous record,

but the lad himself often does so unwittingly, with the result that his fellow-workers sometimes make things unpleasant for him It is always more easy for a group of people to be cruel than to be kind, and the baser instincts seem to come to the surface more readily in a crowd Sometimes, on the other hand, a lad will make no effort to work or keep his job His training has failed to cure his idleness, vicious habits or extreme vanity, and his employer, exasperated, dismisses him, and, what is more unfortunate, often refuses to take another Borstal lad It is estimated that about 60 per cent of Borstal lads make good afterwards, and, considering the type of lad with which the Institutions have to deal, this is a very fair record

When a lad ignores warnings sent to him, breaks the terms of his licence, or commits a fresh offence, his licence is revoked by the Prison Commissioners, and he is brought back to the wing of Wandsworth Prison set aside for such cases, which is in the charge of a Borstal housemaster Here he is interviewed by the Investigation Committee, which consists of a representative of the Prison Commission, a representative of the Borstal Association and an independent chairman The Committee not only consider each lad's record, and any reports from the local Associate or the police, but they examine each lad in person, and make him state his case The Committee have then to decide how much further training each lad requires, up to the maximum of twelve months, and whether that training should be served at Wandsworth or in the lad's former Institution If, however, a lad has committed a fresh offence and received a sentence of imprisonment, that sentence must be served at Wandsworth The Governors of the Borstal Institutions take it in turns to attend the Committee, so that they may keep in touch with this side of after-care work, and see failures from other Institutions besides their own

It has been suggested that each Institution should have its own Investigation Committee, but this is not a practical proposition. The Committee sitting at Wandsworth is able to review the whole field of failures, to compare the results of one Institution with another, and obtain experience which may prove very helpful to both the Prison Commissioners and the Borstal Association in formulating any change in policy or training

Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavoured briefly to review the history of legislation affecting juvenile delinquency during the past hundred years, and to show how progress has been more rapid since 1908. Much, however, remains to be done. We require more information and statistics on which to base conclusions, we require more magistrates who are prepared to make a special study of this question, more Probation Officers, so that adequate supervision may be given to each case, and some form of short-term training There are also two dangers to avoid. The present zeal for psychology is

apt to make some enthusiastic amateurs think that all crime is a disease, and that most criminals are suffering from some malady over which they have no control The trained psychologist can often be of great assistance to magistrates, and it is doubtful if some Courts take full advantage of the services of these specialists Amateur psychology, however, is not to be encouraged, and it is very dangerous to put into the heads of juvenile delinquents the idea that their faults are due to some malady over which they have no control A child's medical condition should never be discussed in his presence, if it is likely to affect his future outlook

The other danger is the tendency of modern legislation to substitute the State for the parent as the child's moral guide Civilisation largely rests on the twin obligations of parental responsibility and citizenship It is the duty of the State to safeguard the community and protect the child, but the protection and training given should also serve as an example and guide to the parent If parents are merely going to regard the help which is given by the State as an excuse for avoiding their own responsibilities, then the value of all the work which I have tried to describe here will be largely lost

VIVIAN L HENDERSON

CHAPTER TWO

Psychological Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency

MANY precedents can be cited in support of the view that we may learn a great deal about the normal child from studies of the maladjusted The chief aim of this chapter is to indicate some of the ways in which knowledge gained in the study and treatment of delinquents can be of use in the wider fields of education

In the schools and in the community at large the proportion of markedly delinquent individuals is small While teachers and enlightened parents are impressed with the danger of a life being wasted when a boy shows signs of drifting into habitual stealing or other serious forms of delinquency, they are inclined to underestimate the significance of a number of faults of character and of emotional development which find expression in less overt ways It seems probable that, in the aggregate, the greatest moral and social waste occurs, not through major forms of delinquency, but through faults of a less marked kind

Statistics

In England and Wales during 1933, the latest year for which official statistics [1] are available, more than 29,000 children under 16 years of age appeared before the courts ; of this number 9,188 boys and 555 girls under 14 years and 4,336 boys and 333 girls between 14 and 16 were proved guilty of indictable offences Taking the population as a whole, the report shows, that out of every 1,000 boys between 10 and 14 years, six were found guilty of indictable offences and that of boys between 14 and 16, eight out of every 1,000 were found guilty of such offences A large number of these young people will subsequently make good The fact remains, however, that the majority of those who become persistent offenders in later years make a beginning in crime during childhood and early adolescence. Investigation of the antecedents of a large group of practised offenders showed that about 60 per cent had been actually arraigned for their first offence before the age of 16 [2] While there are a great number of minor offences which are not brought to the attention of the police, it is reasonably certain, that with the stable and orderly social conditions prevailing in this country, the great majority of those who persistently and flagrantly break the law come to official notice While one or two offences sometimes prove to be mere episodes which do not involve per-

[1] *Criminal Statistics England and Wales*, 1933 (H.M. Stationery Office, 1935).

[2] Hewart, Lord Chief Justice : " The Treatment of the Young Offender " Second Clarke-Hall Lecture *The Times*, May 25th, 1935.

manent damage, it is broadly true that the commission of offences of which the criminal law takes cognisance is a sign of serious faults of character and of maladjustment between the individual and his environment

Types and Causes of Offences

The offences of young people consist, in the main, of socially unacceptable short-cuts to satisfactions which have a money value; in a very small proportion of cases they take the form of some undesirable expression of aggressiveness or of sex Truancy and wandering may also be classed as delinquencies. In the social and psychological fields the study of causation offers difficulties not met with in the physical sciences, such study is indispensable, however, if problems in these fields are to be attacked intelligently and economically

The causes of juvenile delinquency have been investigated with considerable thoroughness, notably by Healy [1] in the United States and by Burt [2] in this country Burt enumerates 170 causal circumstances, "subversive conditions," which, in varied combinations in each case, tend to draw the individual into crime Taking 200 consecutive cases, Burt combined intensive individual study with a statistical analysis of the characteristics of the group as a whole For purposes of comparison he also studied an equal number of law-abiding children drawn from the same districts of London The incidence of subversive factors proved to be significantly greater in the delinquent group, but it was also shown that members of the law-abiding group had been able to tolerate stresses and handicaps similar to those which in delinquent cases played a part in bringing about moral breakdown The ascertained causes of juvenile delinquency correspond very largely with the conditions underlying a wide variety of problems of character education and mental hygiene with which teachers and psychologists have to deal The modern practice of refusing to draw any hard-and-fast distinction between delinquency and other problems of school discipline and moral training is soundly based

In most essentials the causes of crime among adults correspond closely with the conditions which tend to produce offences among juveniles With the older offender habits are more difficult to change; also, a few unfavourable circumstances which do not affect the schoolboy tend to arise, the most notable being · difficulty in securing employment, ostracism by respectable people and a growing belief, implicit at least in the offender's mind, that it is possible to go through life taking chances with the law While adults sent to prison for the first time show an extremely high recovery rate, it is broadly true that the chances of reformation diminish with age. In dealing with offenders of more mature years

[1] Healy, W.. *The Individual Delinquent.* (Heinemann, London, 1915.)
[2] Burt, Cyril: *The Young Delinquent.* (University of London Press, London, 1925.)

an increased emphasis is placed on protecting the public. However, with rising standards in social life we are introducing a greater element of training in dealing with all offenders and, at the same time, we are extending the age-range within which individuals are regarded as " children." Under the most recent Act [1] offenders are treated as " young persons " up to the age of 17 In the English Borstal System, which deals with offenders between 17 and 21 years at time of sentence, a greatly increased emphasis has during the last decade been placed upon training While the authorities do not overlook the importance of protecting the public by removing the offender for a time and also of deterring the unknown but probably large group of potential delinquents in the general population, they stress the view that the inmate is a lad (or girl) in need of education and training rather than a young criminal who merits punishment.

Psychology Needed to Supplement Common-sense

Some differences of opinion arise among those approaching the matter from the psychological angle as to how far delinquent behaviour is due to impulses and feelings which are neither realised by the subject nor lie within his power of control Few psychologists would question the view that the power of control varies widely in degree , it ranges from the rare extreme in which the delinquent is in a state of mind almost comparable with that of a sleep-walker to the other and more common extreme of calculating deliberateness It seems that emotional complexes impel delinquent acts indirectly and partially more often than directly and completely The writer has observed among delinquents a considerable number whose behaviour and outlook have been deflected by faulty attitudes, such as a sense of grievance, a resentment towards discipline or a feeling of inadequacy. The subject may not be aware of these factors, though they are evident from his speech and behaviour When such attitudes are at all deep-seated, persuasion and direct argument are not sufficient to correct them in a way that is likely to be sure, secure and lasting They need to be understood somewhat more deeply than is possible through common sense alone, though the deepest analytical approach is probably not called for in more than a few cases. A small number of delinquents suffering from serious emotional maladjustment have been successfully treated along technical psychological lines Such treatment is likely to be most effective when it is part of a programme which also includes social supervision and material assistance. Sometimes a period of institutional training is also necessary

A great deal of further investigation will be needed before anyone is in a position to say in what proportion of delinquent cases psychological treatment should be provided. From a psychological

[1] Children and Young Persons Act, 1933.

examination of 1,695 delinquents under 17 years of age (about half of the group come below 14 years) sent to a remand home in London, Fildes [1] reports that for something between 15 and 20 per cent " psychiatric investigation and treatment is most desirable "

It is hardly too much to say that the greatest advance in the understanding of the delinquent which has been made during the present century is due to the recognition of unconscious and semi-conscious mental mechanisms This does not imply, however, that psychologists would now ascribe the bulk of delinquency to mental abnormality Our conception of the normal has widened since research has shown how very frequently faults in personality (popularly termed " kinks ") and imperfections of character are met with among the general population While many delinquents are influenced by emotional stresses, the great majority are by accepted standards normal

Dangers in Use and in Avoidance of Psychology

It is highly probable that during the next few years greater use of psychology will be made to supplement present methods of treating offenders Some matters fall entirely within the province of the specialist , in dealing with quite a wide range of other problems expert supervision and leadership are desirable There are fairly narrow limits to what the psychologist can accomplish if he cannot have the co-operation of teachers and probation officers who possess a working knowledge of psychological principles and methods If the point of view of psychology is to be properly assimilated by the various professional groups, safeguards will have to be worked out against a number of possible dangers Various authorities have pointed out that when law-breakers or even potential offenders are given to understand that criminal behaviour is due in part to mental tendencies not directly controlled by the will, this may be followed by a weakening of the sense of responsibility Harm may undoubtedly be done through imprudent use of psychology There are also hazards of the opposite kind When underlying mental factors are not taken into account by those responsible for giving advice to the delinquent, this omission sometimes results in his taking a misleadingly simple view of the difficulties ahead He is not brought to realise adequately the extent of the changes in attitude and habit which he must make in order to attain a reasonable standard of social adjustment, and is inclined to over-rate the power of good resolutions and of immediate acts of will.

Importance of Research into Treatment

Up to the present the most extensive and satisfactory research in the field of delinquency has been into causation. In the United

[1] The writer records his thanks to Dr. Lucy G Fildes for permission to refer to this study, a report of which is to be published shortly.

States a number of impartial scientific investigations [1] have been made of the effects of treatment by reformatory institutions, probation and psychological clinics Such investigation has yet to be made on a sufficient scale in this country An even more urgent need is for studies, in considerable detail, of the experience gained by probation officers, reformatory and Borstal officials in their work of training and re-education Remedial education is from its nature more of an art than a science Nevertheless, when experience gained in this sphere is recorded, the practice of re-education, particularly on the guidance side, will be placed on a more scientific basis Careful records of such experience should be valuable educational documents

The School and Character Training

The school is an important agency in the training of character, and here the correction of minor faults takes an important place This side of education is variously described as constructive discipline, character education, moral training and mental hygiene Interpreted widely enough, all four terms mean very much the same. The teacher will find some technical knowledge of the causes of delinquency to be helpful in dealing with the difficult cases which arise in every school, as well as in taking stock of the general development of all pupils While it is rarely possible or necessary for him to investigate in minute detail the causes of maladjustment, the teacher requires to know the outstanding points [2] in the child's make-up, background, achievements and interests in order to locate faults or difficulties and to take intelligent action regarding them

The Description of Character

Character rests upon an innate endowment of tendencies which are generally termed instincts and emotions Its development occurs through a number of mental mechanisms important among which are identification, sublimation, habit and sentiment formation Some authorities accept as a whole the psychological scheme put forward by Freud,[3] others adopt McDougall's [4] system, but the majority of psychologists in this country are eclectic and adopt terms and points of view from many schools of thought. Character is also the product of education, for the effects of learning

[1] Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor, T 500 *Criminal Careers* (Knopf, New York, 1930), *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass , 1934)

[2] A number of education authorities have introduced systems of pupils' records which call for careful child-study by teachers An important experiment along this line is being carried out by the Wiltshire Education Committee

[3] Freud, Sigmund *The Ego and the Id*, English Translation (Hogarth Press, London, 1928)

[4] McDougall, William· *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, 18th edition (Methuen, London, 1923) *The Energies of Men.* (Methuen, London, 1933)

become merged with every inborn tendency The importance of the learning aspect is often under-estimated ; one of the chief reasons appears to be that the influence of education is difficult to analyse and to describe

There is a considerable gap between the current psychologies of character and the problems of the school Though they are important to the teacher in providing a psychological background, accounts of instincts and mental mechanisms have little direct application to the problems of the classroom Something can be done to bridge this gap between psychological theory and educational practice by interpreting a number of the leading features of character as objectives of education or as needs of the child There need be no inconsistency between such an interpretation and the data and methods of analytical psychology In fact, the two standpoints are complementary.

A Child's Psychological Needs

Drawing largely upon experience gained from the study of delinquents, Thomas,[1] the American sociologist, has made a pioneering attempt to formulate the child's fundamental " wishes " His conception of such " wishes " corresponds closely with the conception of psychological needs Thomas concluded that the child has four fundamental wishes and defined them as follows recognition,[2] response (affection), security and new experience (adventure) Healy, and other authorities, have cited this list with approval, but it might have been expected to have gained greater attention from educationists than has actually been the case This particular statement of needs appears to be true to child nature and to provide a useful guide for the parent, but it does not apply very directly to the everyday problems of the school The general approach to problems of child development from the standpoint of psychological needs is, however, of considerable importance to education.

Limited Scope of Interference

Provided that the analogy is not carried too far, a useful parallel may be drawn between bodily needs and psychological needs No one is at present in a position to provide a complete list of psychological needs, and it would be sheer presumption to claim that we can manage the development of character in the thoroughgoing way in which we set out to control bodily nutrition While in many matters of human behaviour lack of knowledge should lead us to refrain from interfering and to leave the child free to grow, there are sound reasons for making a systematic approach to the whole problem of training character.

[1] Thomas, W I *The Unadjusted Girl* (Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1920)

[2] Healy, W and Bronner, A F *Reconstructing Behaviour in Youth* (Knopf, New York, 1929)

Needs in Relation to the School

Partly as a result of modern investigation into the causes of rickets, scurvy and other deficiency diseases we are in a position to lay down what appear to be the main requirements of sound bodily nutrition—due allowance being made for individual differences in each case It is no mere figure of speech to say that delinquency is usually a symptom of psychological and moral malnutrition When some element is supplied in excess—maternal affection, for example—effects may be produced comparable with those of an unbalanced diet It is reasonable to expect, then, that we may learn a great deal about the normal child's needs on the side of character from studies of the delinquent While adopting a similar approach to that of Thomas, and recognising the validity and importance of his four " wishes," the present writer has attempted to arrive at a group of concepts which are related more directly to the practice of education Taking account of the symptoms and faults commonly manifested by delinquents, he suggests that the major educational needs of children on the side of character may be described in the following terms they need to learn how to work, to become adjusted to healthy social groups ; to acquire a sound attitude towards discipline, to develop a sense of responsibility, to achieve a constructive attitude towards any handicaps from which they suffer and to acquire understanding of, and respect for, moral values and ideals Since the mind does not fall into watertight compartments, it is inevitable that these terms should overlap to some extent

Learning how to Work

It is important that the child should learn how to work , this implies the growth of interests, the formation of habits of methodical and rigorous application, the development of powers of resistance to monotony and acquirement of the capacity to re-create himself by play, using that term in its broad psychological sense, and by relaxation It will be recognised that pressure from parents and teachers may stimulate the anxious or extremely conscientious child to over-work

Educational backwardness, ineffectiveness and often slackness at work are outstanding characteristics of the delinquent group Sometimes these are associated with inborn intellectual dullness. Burt [1] found that almost 8 per cent of the delinquent group as contrasted with 1½ per cent of the ordinary population come below the border line of mental defect ; in the " naturally dull " class with intellectual ratios ranging between 70 and 85, the percentages of the groups were (to the nearest whole numbers) 28 per cent and 10 per cent respectively ; 57 per cent of the delinquents compared with 16 per cent. of children in general were found to be substantially backward in school work. Burt has recently stated [2] that

[1] Burt, Cyril *Mental and Scholastic Tests*, page 185 (King, London, 1921.)
[2] *The Subnormal Mind*, page 182. (Oxford University Press, London, 935.)

properly organised classes for the backward " would catch within their meshes over 70 per cent. of our incipient criminals "

Lack of Success in School Work

Every school has a proportion of pupils who are described as " slack," " lazy," " careless " or " indifferent " A child's work is usually assessed upon the external signs of effort as well as upon actual achievement in school subjects A number of other points must also be considered Of first importance is the level of inborn general ability Although the recognised intelligence tests are not infallible, we cannot claim to have taken every reasonable step to ascertain the child's native capacity unless we make use of them Allowance has also to be made for disabilities such as poor general health and defects of hearing and vision, as well as for the effects of malnutrition and insufficient rest

Inadequate methods of education account for a certain amount of inefficiency The young child develops interests and habits which are the foundations of his method of work in later years We expect him to grow more independent and to show an increasing continuity in investigating and doing things which interest him By interfering too much, or by imposing unsuitable requirements, adults may weaken self-reliance and thwart the natural tendency to develop interests and to make effort in following them In certain cases the child is not given appropriate opportunities for practical activities and the scholastic side of his training is overweighted at the expense of the physical

Of recent years research workers have shown that lack of success in school work may be due to special disabilities This topic is discussed in another chapter of the present volume [1] Absence from school or frequent transfers may prevent the child from grasping the elements of a subject, and naturally he is then unable to do more advanced work The tasks which we set the pupil should be suited to his capacity, and so far as possible, to his interests While a certain amount of failure is normal and provides useful experience, chronic failure weakens self-confidence and tends to produce unfortunate compensatory reactions, for example misbehaviour in class, delinquency, an attitude of indifference—sometimes even of contempt—towards school work, and retreat into day-dreaming Considering faulty mental attitudes in relation to backwardness, it is sometimes impossible to decide which is cause and which effect. Instability of temperament and deep-rooted faults of character which are not easily curable may also play a part Too often teachers and parents are inclined to explain away a child's faults as familial weaknesses As Burt points out, " it will always be unsafe to infer that some particular temperamental quality must be beyond all cure because it seems inherited, or at any rate inborn."

[1] Schonell, F J.

Problem of "Slackers"

Having looked for underlying causes and, where necessary, applied suitable remedial measures, we have also to ask the question, "Is the boy putting his back into his work?" Should the answer be in the negative, encouragement, persuasion, reward and punishment are all legitimate devices for helping to build the necessary habits of work It is probably true that the more artificial the motive to which we appeal, the less lasting will be the cure The extent to which habits of effective work in arithmetic, English and physical training can be transferred to a wider range of life activities depends largely upon the teaching methods[1] employed

By converting the "slacker" or "failure" into an effective worker we are aiding the growth of useful qualities of character as well as reducing the chances of his falling into delinquency Since application is partly a matter of habit, there is a tendency for slackness to carry over from school to employment Many cases are noted in which the child who works indifferently at school later applies himself with energy and interest when he enters the ranks of the employed, but the danger that slackness will continue is a serious one At the several Borstal Institutions very great importance is attached to cultivating habits of work, and when the lads have been released on licence much effort is required in encouraging them to hold their jobs.

Social Adjustments

Parents and teachers are called upon to provide opportunities through which the child may become comfortably adapted to social life and brought into healthy community organisations Solitariness and lack of the habits and social skills through which an individual may enjoy the company of his fellows and take part freely in co-operative enterprises tend to produce discomfort as well as personal and social inefficiency A number of young delinquents, as well as other types of problem children, are handicapped in this way More frequently we find among adolescent offenders the sociable individual who gravitates towards the lounging and "shady" companion The quality of the social groups to which the individual becomes adapted is scarcely less important than the fact of social adjustment Thrasher[2] and Shaw[3] have shown that juvenile gangs have a devastating effect upon the youth in certain "delinquency areas" of the large American cities In London, Burt[4] found the delinquent population was most numerous in Shoreditch, Finsbury and Holborn

The foundation of healthy social adaptation appears to lie in

[1] *Report on Formal Training*, 1930 British Association for the Advancement of Science, No 25

[2] Thrasher, F M *The Gang* (Chicago, 1927)

[3] Shaw, C R *Delinquency Areas* (University of Chicago Press, 1929)

[4] *The Young Delinquent*, page 72

early experience of affection and security Children seem to feel the need for parents and relatives who are peculiarly their own It is not surprising that broken homes provide a disproportionately high number of delinquents Persistent offenders who have been brought up in institutions are often very difficult to socialise. In recent years the recognition of the child's need for personal care and attention has led to a greater number of children being placed in foster homes rather than in institutions Even for the child who has enjoyed satisfactory home life, school offers a wider social experience and is a necessary complement to the family The good school, in these times, is an essentially friendly place, though strenuousness, sternness, and occasionally hardness, have places in its life The child makes and tests friendships, learns to face and meet competition and to take part in worthy and competently directed activities in which he works and plays as a member of a team or group Though precept is of value in these matters of social education, it cannot be a substitute for practice

Poverty and overcrowding add to the difficulties of parents, but at all economic levels family problems occur which disturb the social behaviour of children The school comes first among the social agencies which help to make good some of the results of faulty family conditions The teacher is taking preventive measures against delinquency as well as pursuing a wider educational aim when he helps the child to enjoy companionship, to follow, to take the lead on occasions, to develop a number of interests which may be shared with others and to join organisations which will continue to engage his interests and loyalty after he has left school Such measures become particularly important for the child who is a poor mixer, is drawn towards wayward companions or has not enjoyed a satisfying home life Among the most ardent advocates of clubs, camps and training in hobbies for all children are those who have studied the delinquent at first hand It rests with the teacher to lay the foundation of interest in evening classes and other spare-time activities while the child is still at school—otherwise he is often left without impetus and direction to bring him into properly organised group life

The Problem of Discipline

Speaking of the environmental causes of delinquency, Burt states, " the most serious factor of all is defective home discipline " The common faults are weakness, over-sternness and erratic swinging between weakness and harshness

Discipline is generally recognised as an essential ingredient of education At the more mature levels of development it becomes a deliberate acceptance in the social and mental spheres of regulation comparable with the law which rules in the physical world The foundations of discipline lie in the control over the child exercised by parents and elders and the example held before him during the

early years It can be control with consent rather than mere submission to superior force, since the child can be brought to understand that discipline is both reasonable and useful. On the intellectual side discipline overlaps considerably with the acquirement of effective habits of work On the social and moral sides it involves subordination of immediate impulse to more distant considerations and the ability to accept the control and judgment of others when the needs of the situation so require Delinquents are usually deficient in such qualities. Among lads who failed to make good after a period of reformatory training the writer has noted several attitudes which are fairly typical. One lad submits to discipline with an unwillingness which easily changes into active resentment. Since leaving school he has succeeded in avoiding the ordinary social controls ; when his father insisted that he keep more regular hours he left home for a lodging house , when an employer was strict he threw up the job. At the institution he showed repeated outbursts of temper when he felt the pressure of authority. Persuasion, punishment and the desire to gain remission for good conduct led to an improvement in self-control When, upon release, the moral supports of the institution were removed he soon showed indifference about holding his job, spent money freely, became dissatisfied with his wages, disliked being ordered about by the foreman and finally fell out of work and relapsed into crime Another lad, though unreliable before entering the institution, was quiet, obedient and fairly willing throughout the period of training As a child he suffered a goodly share of handicaps and rebuffs and had too little experience of legitimate success While he had some wish to succeed honestly, he had learned something of the sweetness of stolen fruits After discharge he failed to make a sufficient effort to meet requirements—overslept in the morning, took days off from work on the flimsiest of excuses and finally was reconvicted He vacillates between making a struggle against difficulties and accepting crime as a way of satisfying his desires

Externally imposed discipline is a form of moral support which has a useful function in the education of all children Many individuals, including a number of offenders, discover for themselves that an imposed routine makes it easier to act reasonably Sometimes a delinquent will lay the blame for offences upon the lack of strictness on the part of those responsible for his supervision. Of recent years freedom and preparation for free citizenship have received fuller recognition in the theory and practice of education in this country Sometimes, however, it seems that the difficulties of training children for freedom are not sufficiently appreciated. In a considerable number of cases the life-histories of delinquents provide evidence that home and school do not afford sufficient guidance and moral support. The capacity to use freedom grows slowly and requires thoughtful training. In Borstal and other progressive reformatory systems, the modern trend is to make discipline less rigid, even at the beginning of training. According

to the progress which he makes, the lad is given an increasing amount of freedom until, at the final stage of training, work and a number of other activities are carried out under conditions not far removed from those of the ordinary citizen In all branches of education it would appear to be sound policy to err on the side of giving too much rather than too little scope for spontaneity and individuality

Development of Sense of Responsibility

Another important educational need is for the development of a sense of responsibility In many respects this is the counterpart of discipline Discipline rests ultimately upon a certain degree of coercion by others ; responsibility rests ultimately upon a type of inner regulation which might be described as " self-coercion " The more mature forms of responsibility presuppose a fairly marked development of self-respect, or what McDougall terms the " self-regarding sentiment " Largely as a result of education and social experience, the individual builds up a conception of himself which provides both motive force to support action believed to be desirable and an impulse towards self-criticism While the psychologist is not in a position to lay down in precise positive terms the nature of an ideal attitude of responsibility, he is able to recognise and sometimes to help in correcting attitudes, such as extreme indifference and exaggerated scrupulousness, which are undesirable

Excuses for Lack of Responsibility

Among delinquents we meet a number of attitudes to responsibility which act as handicaps to reform Very commonly the offender is extremely " casual " in the matter of everyday responsibilities, such as care of property, keeping engagements and considering the rights and the convenience of other people. Such carelessness or indifference is sometimes connected causally with a sense of personal failure and incompetence The lad feels that the difficulties in the way of success are too great for him to overcome In marked contrast we meet the assertive lad who is loath to admit shortcomings even to himself. He has found that it is possible to gain his ends by over-riding the claims of others He justifies his actions by arguments such as the following : " Most people are dishonest . . I was paid too little and did not get a ' square deal ' " When called upon to account for some particular outburst against discipline, he may even proffer the explanation, " I've got a bad temper," and be content to regard this as an unalterable fact of nature Partly out of a sentiment of defiance, and partly out of a sense of inadequacy, some delinquents try to avoid feeling responsible for their failures The following line of argument is indicative of such a trend : " Sir, my case is different from the others—I've never had a chance " Since the mechanisms of rationalisation and projection work unconsciously to a considerable extent, it is sometimes difficult to bring such an individual to realise that he is evading.

Remedial Measures

It is generally admitted that certainty of detection is one of the best preventives of crime In all walks of life, and particularly where the young are concerned, there is a great danger of weakening the sense of responsibility when the individual is able to " get away with things," whether by carelessness, evasion, temper or rationalisation Weakness in sense of responsibility may show itself in school by slackness, truancy, lying and deceit, cheating, pilfering or in the taking of liberties with property belonging to other people The indirect part of educational treatment lies in ensuring a good adjustment to work, to the social group and to discipline, and in providing supervision and moral support which is suitable to the child's level of development Where systematic corrective measures are needed, the method of graded moral exercise which Burt has used with effect in treatment of delinquents [1] is applicable also in dealing with children whose faults are less serious By this method the child is assisted to overcome moral weakness by setting him graded tasks As he succeeds in situations where the temptation is small and the supervision fairly close he is given tasks which call for a greater degree of reliability The feeling of being liked and of being thought worth helping which is engendered by a friendly personal interest on the part of the adult is usually a factor of first importance in the success of this, and in fact of all methods of correcting faults of character

The Place of Coercion

A term is needed for the method of educational control which embraces the use of force and of punishment, but without featuring these devices or treating them as ends in themselves , of all the terms in common usage, it seems that " coercion " is most convenient for this purpose Many of the individuals who show marked weakness on the side of responsibility require, at the beginning of corrective training, a degree of coercion which, if appropriate at all in dealing with the average child, would apply to him only at a much earlier age Sometimes it is only by placing the individual in a series of " tight corners " that we can help him to face the facts of life squarely In home and school we may be said to coerce the child when we insist firmly upon his meeting certain requirements In a sense every sane person is " coerced " by the hard facts of nature. As moral growth proceeds, the child depends less upon external moral supports, and we can, and should, move them into the background Few adults completely outgrow the need for some external supports

There are some who refuse to recognise coercion as a legitimate educational method. It is relatively simple and convenient and may be used immoderately by the lazy, cruel or unimaginative Provided that it is employed to support reasonable requirements (preferably the child should be helped to understand these) and is

[1] *The Subnormal Mind*, page 189.

carried out temperately and impersonally, a coercion which rests in the last resort upon the use of physical force and the threat of punishment appears to be a valid and sometimes a necessary method of establishing one of the foundations of a sense of responsibility

Attitude towards Handicaps

The child, particularly if he is of a sensitive nature, needs to develop a constructive point of view regarding any special deprivation or handicap that he is called upon to meet The manner of facing such problems can have an influence upon the child's destiny which is even greater than the direct effect of the disability itself More than a few cases are met among delinquents in which self-pity, shame, a sense of hopelessness, resentment and other unhealthy attitudes towards personal handicaps have produced a marked warping of character Any handicapped child is liable to react in such ways When a defect or difficulty is due to conditions which cannot be remedied, the child is left with the problem of accommodating himself to it Often he can be helped to reach a sound point of view by the suggestions received from his parents and teachers

Failure in School Work

Habitual failure in school work is one of the conditions liable to have an undesirable effect upon the child's outlook The teacher has many opportunities for bringing the boy of limited ability to see that, provided he works steadily and honestly, his life at school will be interesting and worth-while and he will be able to fit himself for a useful place in the world There are grave objections to telling pupils about their success in intelligence tests, and particularly when the score is expressed as an I Q , but we can bring them to a reasonable view of the fact that there are different degrees of ability It is desirable that the scholastic aims, and later the plans for a vocation, should be compatible with the pupil's abilities The gifted pupil needs opportunity to exercise his powers fully and to compete with his equals Parents are sometimes guilty of forcing dull children to struggle for a place in a secondary school when the curriculum and standards of a senior school would meet their needs much better

Physical and Social Disabilities

Other notable examples of special handicaps are: physical disabilities, such as deformity of arm or leg, strabismus, birth marks, chronic skin rash and extremes of shortness, tallness or stoutness ; social difficulties such as extreme poverty, the loss of a parent by death or by desertion, illegitimacy and disparities between the cultural background of the individual and that of his associates ; and other difficulties of complex origin, such as defects of speech.

Correction of Faulty Attitudes

The mere presence of handicaps does not in itself justify gratuitous questioning of the child and the giving of advice. Recognising that

one or more of his pupils has a disability which is liable to produce unfavourable attitudes, the teacher becomes more watchful for danger signs Where the reaction is shown to be definitely bad it may be found preferable to adopt an indirect and impersonal line of approach When a more direct attack appears to be warranted and to be prudent, some occasion will be awaited which provides a convenient starting-point Sometimes the child can be encouraged to talk about his difficulties and can thereby be helped to reach a more balanced view When parents are not able to cope with problems of this kind the task falls by default to the teacher He has also a responsibility for recognising and referring for expert examination children who require the help of the physician or the psychologist

Cultivation of a Sense of Values

Children require enlightenment and training as well as leadership and example for the cultivation of self-respect, honesty, truth, loyalty, an attitude of responsibility in matters of sex and the other moral and social values For the most part delinquents seem to possess a fair word-knowledge of the simple rules of morality, but it is upon the deeper sentiments that habits of moral action are mainly built While we cannot maintain this view on grounds of scientific evidence it seems that delinquents as a class are below average in aspiration and in the development of moral sentiments They tend to be very narrow and formal in their conceptions of right and wrong Among offenders we meet some striking instances of one-sided morality for example, a lad may be apparently a-moral in matters of property but extremely rigid in his standards regarding sex ; another is quite prepared to steal from the public at large, though he is fair in his dealings with his friends Rarely, however, does an observer fail to find some evidences of moral feeling While remorse tends to be coloured largely by the thought of the unpleasant consequences which the offender has brought upon himself, it usually involves also an element of genuine concern about the disgrace which has been brought upon his family Sometimes motives arising out of religion, personal loyalty or a sense of responsibility to the community supply additional impulses to reform The wish to become law-abiding is desirable and necessary, though the changing of delinquent habits and attitudes calls for something more than a simple decision to " go straight " While not sufficient in themselves, moral aspirations are vitally important It must be emphasised also, that in some cases, moral development is actually retarded when the individual judges himself by too high a standard, or when his sense of duty is exaggerated to the extent of crippling spontaneous action and expression of feeling

Empiric Nature of Modern Approach

Most moralists and psychologists are agreed that the " ought " attitude possesses a distinctive mental quality and that it has an essential part to play in the development of character. In recent years there has been a tendency for parents and teachers to spend

less time than formerly in urging the claims of ideals ; greater attention is being given to habit training, to the emotional atmosphere in which the child grows during the early years and to the making of sound adjustments to group life In the sphere of sex much more importance is attached to teaching the child the essential biological and social facts The development of what might be termed the empirical approach to moral education does not, however, reduce inspiration and exhortation to any secondary rôle We still look to religion, ethics and the arts to give meaning to the virtues and integration to the moral self

Present Knowledge very Incomplete

Psychological investigation has shown that apparently immoral actions of the young child, such as imaginative lying and selfishness, are natural at his age We may some day be in a position to describe the characteristics of different stages of moral development Present knowledge is very fragmentary Likewise a great deal remains to be learned about the teaching of the moral virtues A number of studies [1] have been made as to the ways in which quasi-ideals, such as carefulness and neatness, may be most effectively cultivated From the evidence available it seems that teaching method is the essential factor for bringing about transfer of training so that the useful quality learned in one situation will be carried over to others Research along this line is closely relevant to the wider problems of moral education

It is not yet possible to draw any conclusions based on scientific data regarding present methods of instruction and training in the moral virtues, but the behaviour and outlook of many delinquents suggest that they are often gravely inadequate

The Problem of Re-education

The organisation and methods of Juvenile Courts, Probation, Approved Schools and Borstal are described in the accompanying chapter While it is not to be expected that the ordinary school and the reformatory institution will place the same emphasis on any particular educational aim or method, each has something to learn from the other

It may be useful at this point to discuss briefly certain of the factors in the re-education of delinquents which have a bearing upon a wider field of education To the questions—what is the nature of the readjustments which Borstal brings about and what elements in the training are mainly responsible for them ?—no definite answer can as yet be given Reformation seems to be essentially a relative thing Changes of character are more changes in degree than in kind ; good qualities are strengthened , as to faults and handicaps, a few seem to be corrected completely, but more often the improvement lies in the building up of stronger resistances to temptations. Just as the causes which bring lads into crime fall

[1] *Report on Formal Training*, 1930, British Association for the Advancement of Science.

into different patterns, so also the elements of the training are assimilated in combinations which differ from case to case

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the system is the many-sided nature of the training curriculum and the effective co-ordination which is maintained between the various parts This applies also to the relation between the institutions and the after-care organisation The case-record which includes the lad's history, an account of his home and background, the findings from a physical and psychological examination, and reports on progress, help to put the study of the individual on a systematic basis Importance is rightly attached to personal guidance and admonition To a considerable extent the application of the whole curriculum of training is adapted to meet the needs of each individual A deliberate effort is made by the staff to meet the lad on easy and friendly terms, yet, when the occasion demands, care is taken to bring home to him the meaning of uncompromising firmness Particularly in the early stages, training of this kind necessarily involves restriction of freedom By a combination of rewards and penalties the lad is in the last instance forced to meet certain essential requirements While the element of coercion plays a part, it is kept down to what must be admitted is a very moderate amount when the whole circumstances are considered Freedom plays a complementary rôle to coercion, and its directly educative function is stressed A lad receives progressive increments of liberty as he shows signs of making progress The authorities show that they are willing to take the risks which are unavoidable if he is to be tested with opportunities to make foolish decisions and to be helped to learn from his mistakes The giving of sound personal guidance is the most difficult task of all From the writer's study of lads who had relapsed into delinquency after a period of training, it seemed in some cases, that the chances of success would have been greater if faults of character had been understood and dealt with at a somewhat deeper psychological level Success and failure are also influenced by factors which lie beyond the reach of training Nature and circumstances play important though unmeasurable parts For example, stability tends to increase with physical maturity, and there is often truth in the view that " the lad will get sense as he grows up "

It is invariably difficult to judge in advance the possibility of reforming a delinquent It is also hard to decide how far it is possible to remedy the faults and weaknesses which we may recognise in our pupils in school Our efforts to effect improvement are sometimes frustrated by external facts, such as unfavourable home conditions and by imperfections in the child which may be partly inborn. The physician will recognise and prescribe for certain disabilities which cannot be dealt with appropriately by educational means In other matters it is sound policy for the educationist to err on the side of underestimating the limitations imposed upon his efforts by circumstances and heredity.

H. E. FIELD.

Statistics in the United Kingdom and the Dominions

CHAPTER ONE

A Survey of Statistics England and Wales

I. The Progress of Reorganisation

DURING the twelve months ending March 31st, 1934, 1,103 departments were reorganised, and during the nine months ending December 31st, 1934, a further 496 departments became separate junior or senior departments The following table shows the rate of progress during the last five years

Year ending	Senior departments			Junior departments				Percentage of the total number of pupils 11 and over to all pupils 11 and over
	Number	Number of pupils 11 and over	Per centage of total pupils 11 and over	Number	Number of pupils 8–12	Percentage of total number of pupils 8–12	Number of pupils 11 and over	
arch 1930	1,017	238,681	15 3	3,212	416,405	16 5	26,500	24 7
,, 1931	1,352	319,620	19 5	4,049	565,730	21 0	62,535	32 5
,, 1932	1,915	519,151	28 1	4,994	739,739	28 6	95,336	42 1
,, 1933	2,344	699,077	34 7	5,586	855,549	34 7	120,689	48 8
,, 1934	2,612	800,651	39 1	5,992	913,039	38 5	129,103	53 2

The next table shows a contrast between reorganisation in rural and urban areas, and also between council and voluntary schools by the number of pupils

Schools	Urban	Rural	Council	Voluntary	Total
Reorganised .	3,162,518	329,638	2,725,291	766,865	3,492,156
Unreorganised	1,368,870	715,726	1,090,453	994,143	2,084,596
Percentage of reorganised to Total .	69 8	31 5	71 4	43 5	62·6

The difference between this and the first table is explained by the fact that in the second table infant departments and the senior divisions of all-age departments are included.

II. Infant Departments and Nursery Schools

During the year ending March 31st, 1934, forty-six infant departments were closed and twenty-eight new ones opened The general decline in the number of infants as a result of the post-war disturbance in the birth-rate may be responsible for the closing of a certain number of these departments The number of nursery schools recognised by the Board of Education only increased by one up to March 31st, 1934, but since then a further seven have been opened

III. The Educational Ladder

During the year ended March 31st, 1934, 328,774 boys and 314,887 girls left the public elementary schools Of these, 12 per cent. boys and 10 8 per cent girls entered grant-aided secondary schools, 2 6 per cent boys and 1 1 per cent girls junior technical and similar schools, 2 5 per cent boys and 2 7 per cent girls other full-time educational institutions Thus 15 1 per cent boys and 14 6 per cent girls of all school leavers entered institutions for full-time further education If all other institutions for full-time and part-time education are included, the approximate numbers and percentage of adolescents continuing their education after 14 years of age may be calculated as follows (figures in thousands)

AGE	TOTAL POPULATION	IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	IN SECONDARY AND OTHER FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS	IN PART-TIME INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL POPULATION
12–13	727	617	92	18	727	100
13–14	772	640	105	27	772	100
14–15	740	210	110	110	430	58
15–16	531	17	80	75	172	33
16–17	547	2	50	95	147	27
17–18	655	—	30	95	125	19

IV. Grant-aided Secondary Schools

These schools can be divided into four categories. (*a*) Council Schools maintained and administered by local education authorities, (*b*) the Welsh Intermediate Schools, which are administered by the Central Welsh Board, (*c*) Roman Catholic Schools administered by religious bodies, and (*d*) Foundation and similar schools administered by Boards of Trustees. The average size by number of pupils of each type of school is as follows: Council schools, 340, foundation schools, 314; Welsh intermediate, 293; and Roman Catholic, 287. These schools can be classified accord-

ing to the percentage of free places awarded and by tuition fees, as follows :

SCHOOLS	FREE PLACES				TUITION FEES			
	UNDER 25 PER CENT	25–30 PER CENT	50–75 PER CENT	75–100 PER CENT	4–6 GNS	6–9 GNS	9–15 GNS	OVER 15 GNS
Council	41	356	133	222	54	167	480	51
Welsh Intermediate	1	10	37	54	29	66	6	1
Roman Catholic	9	54	16	8	3	23	55	6
Foundation	130	217	58	35	2	49	237	152

The number of free places in all schools has decreased by 200 since last year, but the number of pupils paying partial fees has increased by 5,000

V. Non-grant-aided Secondary Schools

This group of schools includes those recognised by the Board of Education as efficient and inspected by H M Inspectors, and independent schools not so inspected The schools on the Board of Education List of Efficient Schools are classified as follows : (*a*) Foundation Schools administered by a Board of Trustees, (*b*) Roman Catholic Schools administered by religious orders and convents, (*c*) Private Proprietary Schools. These schools may be classified according to the average number of pupils . Foundation schools—boys 266, girls 176 , Roman Catholic—boys 172, girls 114 ; private—boys 139, girls 92 The independent schools can be divided into three groups (*a*) Fifteen boys' schools represented on the Headmasters' Conference, although not included in the Board's List of Efficient Schools, include such famous schools as Eton, Oundle, Uppingham, Rossall, Royal Naval College and the Roman Catholic Colleges, Stonyhurst and Douai They are all large schools with 400 or more pupils and are generally recognised as efficient. (*b*) Foundation schools—21 boys and 24 girls—can safely be classified as efficient schools, although they are not represented on the Conference. Gradually, however, they are being included in the Board's List (five were recognised recently). (*c*) In addition, there are 30 boys' and 120 girls' Roman Catholic schools which can be identified as secondary schools, the majority of which would be classified as efficient.

Quite separately must be placed the large group of private schools, about 2,000, with 100,000 pupils of both sexes, which claim secondary school status. There is little official information about this group, and their efficiency, therefore, cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy.

VI. Schools Outside the Board of Education System

(*a*) *Poor Law Schools*

These schools represent the remnants of the old Poor Law legislation and are gradually being absorbed into the general system of education They are at present under the Ministry of Health, and are responsible for the education of less than 5,000 children.

(*b*) *Agricultural Schools*

These are administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and give practical training to about 22,000 adolescents (see Table 18)

(*c*) *Home Office (Approved) Schools*

Since 1933, the old classification of Home Office schools into industrial and reformatory has been changed to approved schools divided into junior, intermediate and senior. There are 16 senior boys and 6 girls, accommodating 1,965 and 335 pupils respectively between the ages 15–17, 14 intermediate boys, accommodating 1,767 pupils 13–15 years, 21 junior boys (under 13) and 15 girls (under 15) accommodating 2,530 and 1,125 pupils respectively The Home Office system also includes the Borstal Institutions (7 for boys and 1 for girls) for young offenders of 16–21 years

(*d*) *Ministry of Labour*

The new courses for unemployed boys and girls under the Ministry of Labour provide training for about 30,000 It would appear that this new development will become an important part of the educational system

B Some Tendencies in Education

It is possible by a study of statistical data to discover certain definite tendencies in post-war education We have selected below a few features which show an unmistakable trend of development.

I. The Length of School Life

In both elementary and secondary schools the lengthening of school life, which increased uninterruptedly since the war, received a sudden check during the school year 1933–4 The tables on the next page serve to illustrate this

While it is not easy to account for the sudden change in tendency during 1933–4, several possible solutions may be offered. The most important probable cause is the so-called "bulge" in age distribution as a result of the war. In 1934 the age-group 14–15 was 200,000 larger than the age-group 15–16 This will account for the relative increase of leavers 14–15, but does not explain the shifting within the group (60·6 + 9·3 instead of 52·9 + 12·5) and the increase in the group under 14. Further, the influence of the

The Age of School Leavers in Elementary Schools

YEAR	TOTAL LEFT FOR FULL TIME INSTITUTIONS	PERCENTAGE OF LEAVERS WHO LEFT FOR OTHER REASONS					TOTAL LEFT FOR EMPLOYMENT (INCLUDED IN TOTAL)	LEFT FOR OTHER REASONS EXCLUDING EMPLOYMENT
		UNDER 14	14 TO 14 3 MONTHS	14 3 MONTHS TO 15	15 AND OVER	TOTAL		
19–20	14 6	31 9	52 4		1 1	84 4	71 1	13 3
'21–2	13 6	24 9	60 0		1 5	86 4	73 3	13 1
'24–5	12 3	11 6	74 0		2 1	87 7	75 5	12 2
'25–6	12 8	9 5	75 3		2 4	87 2	77 3	9 9
'27–8	13 0	12 7	67 2	7 4	2 5	87 0	—	—
'29–30	15 9	14 0	56 3	10 4	3 4	84 1	78 6	5 5
'30–1	16 4	11 2	58 8	10 1	3 5	83 6	80 8	2 8
'31–2	19 3	9 6	55 6	11 0	4 5	80 7	79 6	1 1
'32–3	20 0	9 7	52 9	12 5	4 9	80 0	78 4	1 6
'33–4	15 8	10 6	60 6	9 3	3 7	84 2	82 8	1 4

The Age of School Leavers in Grant-aided Secondary Schools

YEAR	UNDER 12	12–14	14–15	15–16	16 AND OVER
1920–1	10 8	10 9	15 2	21 3	—
1922–3	7 3	8 2	12 5	21 6	50 4
1924–5	6 4	7 2	10 5	18 8	57 1
1926–7	5 6	8 2	10 9	18 7	56 6
1928–9	3 4	4 6	9 5	19 5	62 9
1930–1	8 7		8 1	17 7	65 5
1932–3	7 6		8 1	16 2	68 1
1933–4	7 6		10 1	17 1	65 2

" bulge " cannot affect to the same extent leavers from secondary schools Evidently there is some additional cause The figure of total leavers for employment shows a considerable increase (82 8 instead of 78 4) which shows that there were more opportunities for ex-elementary pupils finding a job in 1934 than in 1933. This is corroborated from other sources The cause will partially explain also the change in the age distribution of secondary school leavers, although it may be necessary to add a further cause in this instance. The increase in the amount of fees charged to fee-paying pupils and the general effects of the economic crisis undoubtedly led to the withdrawal of a number of pupils whose parents could not afford to keep them at school It may be, therefore, that this is purely a temporary retrogression which will right itself when economic conditions improve. The same tendency can be noted in the distribution of leavers from junior technical schools (See table overleaf)

In these schools, perhaps more than any other, the opportunity of employment is the main motive for leaving earlier in 1934. It

Distribution of Leavers from Junior Technical Schools

YEAR	UNDER 14	14–15	15–16	16 AND OVER
1926–7	2 8	15 1	44 4	38 2
1928–9	2 1	16 9	44 6	36 4
1930–1	1 8	15 1	47 1	36 0
1932–3	1 3	14 9	43 4	40 4
1933–4	1 4	16 3	45 4	35 9

would appear, therefore, that the prospect of immediate employment is considered by many parents of more importance than continual education, and as or if trade improves, the retrogression may become more pronounced still

II. The Grant-aided Secondary Schools

Although the grant-aided secondary schools do not as yet form a homogeneous group, by the admission of an ever-increasing percentage of ex-elementary pupils the differences which have hitherto existed are fast disappearing In fact, as the following table shows, the whole group will soon become an almost exclusive second step for ex-elementary school pupils.

The Percentage of Ex-elementary School Pupils

YEAR	ADMITTED PUPILS			TOTAL PUPILS		
	FREE	FEE-PAYING	TOTAL	FREE	FEE-PAYING	TOTAL
1913–14	29 2	37 5	66 7	34 3	30 6	64 9
1919–20	28 6	38 5	67 1	31 4	35 4	66 8
1921–2	36 2	32 0	68 2	35 6	31 9	67 5
1923–4	32 6	35 3	67 9	36 8	30 8	67 6
1925–6	37 9	32 7	70 6	38 2	30 3	68 5
1927–8	41 9	29 7	71 6	40 9	28 9	69 8
1929–30	44 9	28 8	73 7	43 6	27 6	71 2
1931–2	48 1	29 9	78 0	47 1	26 0	73 1
1933–4	51 4[1]	28 4	79 8	50 1[2]	24 7	74 8

[1] *Including* 7 4 *paying partial fees* [2] *Including* 2 9 *paying partial fees*

Another tendency which has since shown a retrogression was the awarding of free places in the grant-aided secondary schools at an earlier age The tendency, as the table opposite shows, was merely emphasised as a result of the publication of the Hadow Report

It is difficult to explain the check which has occurred since 1932 or to arrive at a definite conclusion as to whether it is temporary or permanent.

The Percentage Distribution of Free Places by Age

YEAR	9–10	10–11	11–12	12–13	13–14
1913–14	0 4	5 9	29 9	44 6	19 2
1921–2	0 4	7 8	41 5	36 7	13 6
1923–4	0 3	8 6	48 4	35 2	7 6
1925–6 [1]	0 2	9 1	53 7	31 9	5 1
1927–8	0 3	11 3	56 5	27 2	4 6
1929–30	0 3	9 6	60 9	25 1	3 4
1931–2	0 3	12 4	66 1	16 9	4 3
1932–3	0 3	12 0	64 5	20 7	2 5
1933–4	0 3	10 9	62 9	21 4	4 5

[1] *Hadow Report published*

III. The Dual System

The dual character of the educational system of England and Wales is the result of historical development. When the State intervened with the Education Act of 1871, the Church had already built up an almost national system of public elementary schools The creation of a secular or undenominational system of board schools commenced a tendency which was further accentuated by the Act of 1902 At first, the new board schools (later called council schools) were in conflict with the church schools, but in course of time the bitterness engendered by religious controversy has largely disappeared, and, in fact, in areas where there is an agreed religious syllabus, there is little to distinguish the two systems Every year the dividing-line becomes less as more church schools are transferred to local authorities The table below shows very clearly this tendency, but it also demonstrates with equal clarity a quite new dualism as represented by the increase in Roman Catholic schools Thus, while it may be expected that the decrease in non-Roman Catholic denominational schools will continue, it would appear that the Roman Catholic system of schools will show a steady increase

YEAR	COUNCIL SCHOOLS		CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOLS		ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS		OTHER VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS	
	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	SCHOOLS	PUPILS
1874 [1]	838	221,026	8,799	1,637,944	567	157,421	2,042	481,211
1880 [1]	3,443	1,085,880	11,416	2,079,570	758	213,580	2,007	516,854
1890 [1]	4,714	1,892,347	11,922	2,171,120	946	256,594	1,916	505,499
1900 [1]	5,758	2,662,669	11,777	2,300,150	1,045	316,769	1,537	426,087
1904	6,145	2,906,511	11,552	2,350,176	1,065	337,838	1,401	365,848
1914	8,523	3,741,911	10,759	1,846,521	1,105	349,265	666	139,491
1924	8,976	3,638,806	10,114	1,576,499	1,136	359,179	522	95,568
1934	10,014	3,859,710	9,268	1,332,717	1,215	401,952	345	49,429

[1] *Up to the year* 1900, *the figures are for board schools.*

C Statistical Tables Great Britain and the Dominions

The following tables serve to present a statistical survey of education in Great Britain and the Dominions Certain changes have been made in some of the tables which it is hoped will lead to greater clarity It has been found impossible this year, however, to give a comparative statistical survey, since, as pointed out in previous volumes of the Year Book, the absence of a common nomenclature and method of presenting statistics in the Dominions must result in a number of inaccurate conclusions being drawn if attempts at comparisons are made We are preparing, however, a questionnaire for submission to the Minister of Education for each of the Dominions, and we trust that with their co-operation it will be possible in the future to publish statistics in a more useful form

The statistical survey of England which follows these tables illustrates the value of a comparative treatment Mr Chatterjee has drawn a number of conclusions from the available material, and lack of adequate space alone prevented a more intensive treatment of the many interesting problems which arise Sufficient data are given, however, to serve as the basis for original research for those who wish to pursue any particular problem further

N H
H V U

TABLE 1

SURVEY BY INSTITUTION, SEX, AGE AND NUMBER OF PUPILS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES, 1934

AGE RANGE	POPULATION ESTIMATED MARCH 31st, 1934	PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS										PUBLIC ELEMENTARY NON-LOCAT	CERTIFIED EFFICIENT	CERTIFIED SPECIAL SCHOOLS		GRAND TOTAL BOARD OF EDUCATION	MINISTRY OF HEALTH POOR LAW SCHOOLS		HOME OFFICE APPROVED SCHOOLS	
		INFANTS		JUNIOR DEPTS		ALL AGE DEPTS		SENIOR DEPTS		TOTAL										
	MALE AND FEMALE	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS			BOYS	GIRLS		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
3 – 4	592,000	13,518	12,762	1,541	1,455	1,600	1,477	—	—	[illegible]	15,894	12	5	255	[illegible]	33,151	69	43	—	—
4 – 5	593,000	48,285	44,182	6,011	6,180	8,719	8,[illegible]	2	2	[illegible]	58,[illegible]	1	28	267	1	123,015	147	116	—	—
5 – 6	593,000	165,148	160,[illegible]	38,958	36,[illegible]	41,604	40,12[illegible]	12	11	[illegible]	[illegible]	111	44	601	[illegible]	185,280	169	153		
6 – 7	595,000	181,[illegible]	175,[illegible]	43,[illegible]	42,[illegible]	51,127	50,[illegible]	19	21	276,662	68,[illegible]	181	58	1,009	[illegible]	547,262	197	168	} 14	21
7 – 8	611,000	132,[illegible]	128,[illegible]	73,21[illegible]	72,117	81,712	79,811	19	31	[illegible]	[illegible]	212	67	1,674	1,[illegible]	572,201	230	164		
8 – 9	627,000	28,[illegible]	28,[illegible]	131,[illegible]	127,[illegible]	135,657	131,[illegible]	[illegible]	19	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	86	2,314	1,[illegible]	587,151	232	158	} 134	47
9 –10	639,000	1,170	1,[illegible]	138,[illegible]	134,[illegible]	158,247	153,171	[illegible]	62	[illegible]	[illegible]	411	63	3,051	2,[illegible]	604,019	247	183		
10 –11	656,000	17	[illegible]	129,11[illegible]	127,[illegible]	169,843	164,591	6,[illegible]	6,[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	144	127	3,363	2,[illegible]	611,447	273	206	} 565	114
11 –12	680,000	1[illegible]	12	62,[illegible]	62,[illegible]	168,299	163,[illegible]	68,[illegible]	67,064	[illegible]	[illegible]	153	132	3,572	3,[illegible]	[illegible],276	296	213		
12 –13	727,000	6	7	1,[illegible]	1,[illegible]	169,717	166,[illegible]	134,[illegible]	133,[illegible]	[illegible],122	[illegible],[illegible]	555	112	3,862	3,[illegible]	[illegible],731	306	213	} 1,449	199
13 –14	772,000	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	111	173,021	170,[illegible]	144,[illegible]	141,917	17,711	[illegible]	[illegible]	109	3,969	3,[illegible]	[illegible],370	373	222		
14 –14½	} 740,000	2	1	37	[illegible]	43,092	43,951	37,[illegible]	37,087	[illegible],425	[illegible]	} 510	63	2,895	2,450	207,723	290	108	1,129	211
14½–14¾		[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	4,761	[illegible]	6,[illegible]	6,252	11,[illegible]	10,[illegible]									
14¾–14½		—	—	3	1	1,920	1,[illegible]	[illegible]	3,347	[illegible],157	5,[illegible]									
14½–15		1	—	3	2	1,023	[illegible]	2,[illegible]	1,378	[illegible],[illegible]	[illegible],[illegible]									
15 –16	531,000	—	—	3	6	1,260	[illegible]	5,[illegible]	5,317	[illegible],[illegible]	[illegible],[illegible]	104	6	1,526	1,270	15,940	116	7	889	159
16 –21	3,276,000	1	—	1	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	670	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	5	244	201	2,021	13	4	1,627	202
Total	—	571,367	552,[illegible]	628,153	614,369	1,213,081	1,183,268	410,755	403,173	2,822,554	2,754,198	4,852	905	28,602	23,809	5,634,920	2,958	1,970	5,807	953
Total under 11	—	571,332	552,[illegible]	563,630	549,789	648,962	629,380	7,166	7,111	1,790,288	1,738,642			52,411			4,928		6,760	
Total 11 and over	—	30	23	64,513	64,557	555,062	545,409	385,242	379,098	1,004,847	989,087									
Total 14½ and over	—	5	3	10	23	9,057	8,479	18,347	16,964	27,419	26,469									

Nursery Schools — 59

Average No. on Register — 4,446

AGES	GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS		TECHNICAL AND ART									
			FULL-TIME				PART TIME					
			JUNIOR		SENIOR		DAY CLASS		DAY CONTINUATION		EVENING	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Under 7	1,173	2,031	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7– 8	933	1,837	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8– 9	1,752	2,587	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9–10	3,320	3,802	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10–11	6,557	6,419	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11–12	20,737	18,940	735	158	—	—	—	—	—	—	23,380	21,243
12–13	40,617	36,314			—	—	—	—	—	—		
13–14	48,153	41,782	3,756	1,160	716	549	598	273	3,913	4,331	55,966	43,547
14–15	43,788	37,600	7,174	2,570								
15–16	31,527	26,415	4,521	2,038	700	601	973	233	1,385	1,940	42,424	28,022
16–17	19,922	16,909	2,080	898	1,057	1,141	2,036	384	1,009	1,176	48,453	28,579
17–18	11,275	9,614			1,324	1,251	3,028	532	895	712	51,127	28,187
18–19	5,492	4,312	—	—	2,765	2,479	7,251	1,231	233	44	96,570	53,570
19–21	2,816	1,797	—	—								
21 and over	—	—	—	—	1,596	1,092	6,094	2,794	—	—	150,424	224,095
Total	238,062	210,359	18,266	6,834	8,158	7,113	19,980	5,447	7,435	8,203	467,844	427,143

TEACHER TRAINING		
	MALE	FEMALE
Preliminary	647	1,324
Training Colleges	6,016	11,225
Full-time Courses	2,117	2,998
Part-time Courses	11,275	39,433

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS		
	MALE	FEMALE
	15,945	6,253

ADULT EDUCATION GRANT-AIDED		
	MALE	FEMALE
	24,670	22,634

UNIVERSITIES					
	DEGREE		ADVANCED		OCCASIONAL
	FULL-TIME	PART TIME	FULL-TIME	PART TIME	
Male	28,312	3,110	2,238	1,400	3,201
Female	9,138	833	395	335	1,391

TABLE 2

ORGANISATION AND STAFFING, MARCH 31st, 1934

	COUNTY COUNCILS		BOROUGHS AND URBAN DISTRICTS	COUNTY BOROUGHS	LONDON	TOTAL	TOTAL 1933
	URBAN	RURAL					
Number of Authorities	62		Boroughs 111 U D s 29	83	1	316	316
Net Expenditure per pupil	s d 225 10		Boroughs 252 1	s d 245 5	s d 360 1	s d 249 11	s d 262 6
Number and Type of Departments							
Senior Boys	123	16	178	358	161	836	764
Senior Girls	128	19	175	355	158	835	763
Senior Mixed	304	110	157	289	51	941	817
All Ages Boys	438	225	311	640	199	1,813	2,009
All Ages Girls	454	245	334	662	214	1,909	2,120
All Ages Mixed	1,597	8,082	537	910	136	11,262	11,586
Junior Boys	106	26	96	206	165	599	567
Junior Girls	129	31	112	238	171	681	640
Junior Mixed	882	1,780	611	1,197	172	4,642	4,379
Infants	1,571	848	1,112	2,031	621	6,183	6,314
Total	5,732	11,412	3,623	6,886	2,048	29,701	29,959
Average size of Departments	183	84	223	254	242	171	169
Number of Classes	31,268	36,264	22,947	47,182	14,300	151,961	151,950
Percentage of Classes with over 50 pupils	4 0	1 1	4 4	6 5	3 1	4 1	5 5
Teachers' Salaries per child	s d 144 0		s d 156 1	s d 150 5	s d 205 8	s d 154 2	
Teachers							
(*a*) Total Number	72,156		26,193	55,189	17,370	170,908	170,579
(*b*) Percentage of Certificated	61 6		81 8	87 4	94 8	76 4	75 8
(*c*) Percentage of Women	74 8		70 2	72 2	66 2	72 4	73 0
(*d*) Teachers per 1,000 pupils average attendance	35 9		32 1	31 5	35 0	33 7	33 8

TABLE 3

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	SCHOOLS	DEPARTMENTS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	NUMBER OF TEACHERS
Public Elementary Schools, Local Authority	20,842	29,701	5,649,354	5,065,963	170,908
Non-local Schools	34	36	5,033	4,779	185
Certified Efficient Schools	19	19	884	777	44
Certified Special Schools	619	619	52,706	46,226	2,670
Poor Law Schools	30	35	1,916	—1	258
Nursery Schools	59	—	4,446	3,450	123
Total	21,603	30,410	5,717,339	5,126,111	174,187

1 *No information*

Council and Voluntary Schools by Denomination

INSTITUTIONS	SCHOOLS	DEPARTMENTS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	NUMBER OF CLASSES
1 Council Schools	10,014	16,219	3,859,710	3,460,707	99,170
2 Voluntary Total	10,828	13,482	1,789,644	1,605,256	52,491
Church of England	9,268	11,201	1,332,717	1,199,747	40,802
Methodist	129	147	20,424	18,333	610
Roman Catholic	1,215	1,875	401,952	356,080	10,039
Jewish	15	19	5,539	4,875	147
Other	209	240	29,012	26,221	893
Total	20,842	29,701	5,649,354	5,065,963	151,961

Development of Council and Voluntary Schools

YEAR	COUNCIL		CHURCH OF ENGLAND		ROMAN CATHOLIC		OTHER VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS	
	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS
1927	9,170	3,659,580	9,927	1,526,375	1,143	365,589	483	83,868
1928	9,271	3,671,804	9,842	1,499,941	1,144	365,624	427	73,694
1930	9,548	3,674,132	9,677	1,434,559	1,177	370,961	401	66,350
1932	9,821	3,745,577	9,501	1,381,823	1,200	388,382	376	60,637
1934	10,014	3,859,710	9,268	1,332,717	1,215	401,952	345	54,975

TABLE 4

ENGLAND AND WALES. MAINTAINED PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Classes by Size (Number on Registers) on March 31st of the Years 1920 to 1934

DATE	NUMBER OF CLASSES WITH NUMBER OF PUPILS ON REGISTERS						
	UNDER 20	20 AND UNDER 30	30 AND UNDER 40	40 AND UNDER 50	50 AND UNDER 60	60 AND OVER	TOTAL
March 31st, 1920	11,351	25,312	36,417	38,960	31,186	6,961	150,187
,, ,, 1921	11,835	26,690	37,947	39,494	29,369	5,745	151,080
,, ,, 1922	11,793	27,204	39,170	40,157	28,038	4,967	151,329
,, ,, 1923	11,061	26,098	39,107	41,011	27,150	4,018	148,445
	NOT OVER 20	OVER 20 BUT NOT OVER 30	OVER 30 BUT NOT OVER 40	OVER 40 BUT NOT OVER 50	OVER 50 BUT NOT OVER 60	OVER 60	TOTAL
,, ,, 1924	13,191	27,929	40,497	40,602	24,469	489	147,177
,, ,, 1925	13,362	28,571	41,278	43,323	20,699	633	147,866
,, ,, 1926	13,879	30,014	43,442	42,848	19,732	237	150,152
,, ,, 1927	13,589	29,535	43,586	43,062	19,926	275	149,973
,, ,, 1928	13,629	29,841	44,686	45,602	16,517	169	150,444
,, ,, 1929	13,983	30,398	46,189	49,479	10,798	85	150,932
,, ,, 1930	13,896	30,562	46,632	50,480	9,928	89	151,587
,, ,, 1931	14,219	30,527	47,590	51,155	8,504	67	152,062
,, ,, 1932	12,844	29,056	49,644	52,865	7,910	76	152,395
,, ,, 1933	11,647	26,818	49,528	55,661	8,226	70	151,950
,, ,, 1934	11,679	27,553	52 474	54,061	6,138	56	151,961

Notes —(1) *As will be seen, the basis of these figures was changed in* 1924, *so that the figures before that date are not strictly comparable with those after it.*

(2) *Of the* 80,030 *classes confined to children under* 11 *in* 1934, 44,096 *were not over* 40, 31,422 *over* 40 *but not over* 50, *and* 4,812 *over* 50 *The corresponding figures for the* 43,463 *classes confined to children over* 11 *were* 30,312, 12,506, *and* 645 *; and for the* 28,468 *classes containing children both under and over* 11, 17,298, 10,133, *and* 1,037.

TABLE 5—ENGLAND AND WALES: PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Classes on March 31st, 1934, by Grade and Sex of Teacher in charge, and by Age-range and Sex of Pupils

GRADE AND SEX OF TEACHER IN CHARGE	CLASSES WITH AGE-RANGE[1]— UNDER 11 CONTAINING				BOTH UNDER AND OVER 11 CONTAINING				11 AND OVER CONTAINING				TOTAL CONTAINING			
	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
1 Certificated Head (Men)	42	—	117	159	204	1	2,114	2,319	763	8	3,562	4,333	1,009	9	6,093	7,111
2. Certificated Head (Women)	30	98	4,257	4,385	3	208	3,957	4,168	10	706	758	1,474	43	1,012	8,972	10,027
3 Certificated Assistant (Men)	2,745	1	1,395	4,141	3,762	4	2,790	6,556	12,571	14	5,491	17,979	19,078	19	9,774	28,676
4 Certificated Assistant (Women)	2,663	5,349	34,663	42,675	611	4,086	5,908	10,605	290	12,505	5,011	17,806	3,564	21,940	45,585	71,089
5. Uncertificated (Men)	387	1	309	697	319	—	392	711	248	—	232	480	954	1	933	1,888
6 Uncertificated (Women)	996	1,516	19,371	21,883	152	641	3,061	3,854	38	494	171	1,003	1,186	2,651	22,903	26,740
7 Supplementary (Women)	75	80	5,837	5,992	7	13	216	236	—	5	2	7	82	98	6,057	6,235
8 Other (Men)	9	—	4	13	5	—	2	7	27	—	19	46	41	—	25	66
9 Other (Women)	2	10	73	85	1	5	6	12	—	19	13	32	3	34	92	129
10. Total	6,949	7,055	66,026	80,030	5,064	4,958	18,446	28,468	13,947	13,751	15,765	43,463	25,960	25,764	100,237	151,961

[1] *In determining the age-range of classes, age-groups at either end of the range, if relatively small, are ignored*

TABLE 6—ENGLAND AND WALES: PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION

Provision for Practical Instruction for Pupils of 11 years of age and over, by Type of Department

TYPE OF DEPARTMENT	DEPARTMENTS ON MARCH 31ST, 1932, WHICH MADE PROVISION DURING THE YEAR FOR INSTRUCTION IN— DOMESTIC SUBJECTS		HANDICRAFT		GARDENING		OTHER SUBJECTS		TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS[1]	TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS MAKING NO PROVISION FOR PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION
	AT CENTRES	ON SCHOOL PREMISES	AT CENTRES	ON SCHOOL PREMISES	AT CENTRES	ON SCHOOL PREMISES	AT CENTRES	ON SCHOOL PREMISES		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Senior Boys	2	2	317	505	17	187	9	225	827	9
2 Senior Girls	378	450	11	162	4	73	8	101	830	5
3 Senior Mixed	446	471	388	516	10	377	14	171	930	11
4 Boys	5	—	1,348	251	22	430	23	98	1,689	124
5 Girls	1,664	133	4	126	3	25	9	56	1,806	103
6 Mixed	5,687	876	4,060	2,048	55	4,414	98	240	8,963	2,299
7 Total, 1934	8,182	1,932	6,128	3,608	111	5,506	161	891	15,045	2,551
8 Total, 1933	8,469	1,774	6,296	3,395	114	5,450	187	828	15,239	2,820

[1] *Departments making provision for instruction in more than one subject have been counted once only in this column*

TABLE I.

ENGLAND AND WALES: TEACHERS IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ON MARCH 31st, 1934

(1) *By Sex, Numbers and Qualification*

SEX (1)	CERTIFICATED (2)	PERCENTAGE[1]	UNCERTIFICATED (3)	PERCENTAGE[1]	SPECIAL SUBJECTS (OTHER THAN CERTIFICATED) (4)	PERCENTAGE[1]	SUPPLEMENTARY, ETC (5)	PERCENTAGE[1]	TOTAL (6)	PERCENTAGE[1]	GRADUATES[2] (7)	PERCENTAGE[1]
Male	42,979	91 4	1,895	4 0	2,158	4 6	28	—	47,060	27 5	5,407	11 5
Female	87,675	70 7	26,384	21 3	3,493	2 8	6,291	5 1	123,848	72 5	4,332	3 7
Total .	130,654	76 4	28,284	16 6	5,651	3 2	6,319	3 7	170,908	100	9,739	5 9

[1] *Percentages are of the total in col* 6

[2] *Included in totals in col* 6

(2) *Teachers not Classified by Sex*

Other Adult Full-time Teachers	195
Part-time Teachers	1,106
Occasional Emergency Teachers	4,447
Pupil Teachers	563
Student Teachers .	1,305
Monitors . .	723
Total	8,339
Grand Total all P E S Teachers	179,247

(3) *Teachers by Sex of Pupils Taught*

SEX OF TEACHER	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS
Male	21,082	29	16,630
Female	4,878	25,735	83,607
Total	25,960	25,764	100,237

TEACHING CHILDREN UNDER 11	BOYS	GIRLS	MIXED
Male	3,183	2	1,825
Female	3,766	7,053	64,201
Total	6,949	7,055	66,026

(4) *Membership of Teachers' Organisations*

—	NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS	NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLMASTERS	NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS	NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEAD TEACHERS	NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CLASS TEACHERS
Male	43,849	9,833	Undisclosed — approx 8,000	approx 9,500	approx 9,000
Female	105,988	—			
Total . .	149,837	9,833	8,000	9,500	9,000

TABLE 8

POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

	ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES	COUNTY BOROUGHS	LONDON	ENGLAND	WALES
Estimated 1934 Population	22,647,586	13,403,811	4,298,600	37,781,900	2,568,100
1 *Secondary Schools Grant-aided*					
(*a*) Pupils	246,989	163,926	37,506	403,689	44,732
(*b*) Free Pupils	118,285	82,555	15,415	185,400	30,855
Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)	47 9	50 4	41 1	45 9	69 0
2 *Secondary Efficient Not aided*					
Pupils	48,100	15,700	4,115	65,404	2 511
Pupils in 1 and 2 per 1,000 of Population	12 6	13 4	9 7	12 4	18 4
3 *Junior Technical Schools*	75	82	45	187	13
Pupils	8,266	10,179	4,645	22,050	1,040
4 *Junior Art Department Schools*	13	18	4	35	—
Pupils	602	1,253	155	2,010	—
Pupils in 3 and 4 per 1,000 of Population	0 4	0 9	1 1	0 6	0 4
5 *Senior Full time Courses in Colleges*	11	41	14	61	5
Students	704	4,779	3,316	8,034	765
6 *Technical Day Classes*	68	84	27	168	11
Students	5,695	16,917	5,404	26,417	1,599
7 *Art Schools (excluding Junior Departments)*	122	89	15	220	6
Students	19,406	30,191	6,648	55,082	1,463
Senior Students (5, 6, 7) per 1,000 of Population	1 1	3 9	3 6	2 4	1 5
8 *Day Continuation Schools*	15	17	19	51	—
Pupils	2,235	6,649	6,754	15,638	—
9 *Evening Institutions*	1,749	865	272	4,092	794
Students	313,512	308,789	190,028	788,057	54,268
Per 1,000 of Population	15 2	23 0	44 0	20 9	21 1
Total Post primary Schools per 1,000 of Population	29 3	41 2	58 1	36 3	41 4

TABLE 9

ENGLAND AND WALES: SECONDARY SCHOOLS

TYPE OF SCHOOL	SCHOOLS			TOTAL SCHOOLS	PUPILS		TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS	MIXED		BOYS	GIRLS	
A Schools recognised by the Board of Education as Efficient							
1 *Grant aided*							
(*a*) Council	205	274	273	752	126,104	129,226	255,330
(*b*) Welsh Intermediate	22	24	56	102	15,667	14,197	29,864
(*c*) Roman Catholic	25	62	—	87	8,090	16,925	25,015
(*d*) Foundation and others	246	128	66	440	88,201	50,011	138,212
Total on March 31st, 1934	498	488	395	1,381	238,062	210,359	448,421
2 *Not-aided Boys*							
(*a*) Foundation	104	—	8	112	29,049	754	29,803
(*b*) Roman Catholic	6	—	—	6	1,034	—	1,034
(*c*) Private	16	—	2	18	2,430	77	2,507
Total Boys	126	—	10	136	32,513	831	33,344
Girls							
(*a*) Foundation	—	123	—	123	437	21,205	21,642
(*b*) Roman Catholic	—	27	—	27	151	2,924	3,075
(*c*) Private	—	107	—	107	298	9,556	9,854
Total Girls	—	257	—	257	886	33,685	34,571
Total on October 1st, 1934	126	257	10	393	33,399	34,516	67,915
Grand Total of 1, 2 on October 1st, 1934	624	745	404	1,773	282,698	252,434	535,132
B Secondary Schools not on the List 60 of the Board of Education							
1 *Schools represented on the Head masters' Conference*							
(*a*) Foundation	11	—	—	11	5,160	—	5,160
(*b*) Roman Catholic	4	—	—	4	1,070	—	1,070
2 *Other Secondary Schools*					Approximately		
(*a*) Foundation	21	24	—	45	2,000	2,000	4,000
(*b*) Roman Catholic	30	120	—	150	3,000	10,000	13,000
Total Secondary Schools	690	889	404	1,983	293,828	264,434	558,262
C Preparatory and Private Schools							
1 *Preparatory on the Board of Education List 60 (Efficient)*							
(*a*) Boys	244	—	—	244	16,104	78	16,182
(*b*) Girls	—	28	27	55	1,065	3,115	4,180
Total	244	28	27	299	17,169	3,193	20,362
2 *Preparatory, other than 1 represented in the Association*							
Boys	240	—	—	240	12,000	—	12,000
3 *Private Schools*							
(*a*) *Schools described as Secondary*							
All Schools	—	—	—	2,00	—	—	100,000
(*b*) *Schools described as Preparatory*							
All Schools	—	—	—	1,200	—	—	46,000
(*c*) *Schools described as Vocational*							
All Schools	—	—	—	600	—	—	40,000
(*d*) *Schools described as Elementary*							
All Schools	—	—	—	4,600	—	—	110,000
(*e*) *All other Private Schools*							
All Schools	—	—	—	100	—	—	4,000
All private not included in Secondary and Preparatory Lists	—	—	—	8,500	—	—	300,000

NOTE ON TABLE 9.—*Under 1, Foundation Schools are included Eton, Rossall, Uppingham, Oundle, Royal Naval College, Epsom, Shrewsbury, Weymouth, Wrekin, Llandowery and St Paul's Roman Catholic are Stonyhurst, Douai, Downside, Bath and Ampleforth Out of other Foundation Schools, five were recently recognised as efficient*

TABLE 10

ENGLAND AND WALES: GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Classes on October 1st, 1934, by Size

(1)	CLASSES CONTAINING— NOT OVER 20 (2)	OVER 20 BUT NOT OVER 25 (3)	OVER 25 BUT NOT OVER 30 (4)	OVER 30 BUT NOT OVER 35 (5)	OVER 35 (6)	TOTAL (7)
1 Council Schools	2,479	1,651	2,835	3,321	216	10,502
2 Roman Catholic Schools	281	196	245	301	8	1,031
3. Foundation and other Schools	2,037	1,208	1,589	1,192	50	6,076
4 Welsh Intermediate Schools	215	162	216	458	86	1,137
5 (*a*) Total	5,012	3,217	4,485	5,272	360	18,746
(*b*) Percentage	26 7	17 2	26 1	28 1	1 7	100 0
October 1st, 1933	27 3	17 5	26 6	26 9	1·7	100 0

TABLE 11

ENGLAND AND WALES: ADMISSION TO GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS FROM PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

During Year Ended March 31st, 1934

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Number	39,834	33,941	73,775
Percentage of total leavers	21 7	22 4	22 0

TABLE 12

ENGLAND AND WALES: OUTPUT TO UNIVERSITIES OF EX-P.E.S. PUPILS

Year Ended July 31st, 1934

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Free	1,531	678	2,209
Fee-paying	452	153	605
Total	1,983	831	2,814
Percentage of Total from Grant-aided Secondary Schools	72 6	66 5	67 1
Percentage of Total admitted to Universities in 1933–4	16·5	6 9	23·6

TABLE 13

ENGLAND AND WALES: SECONDARY SCHOOLS, FULL-TIME PUPILS ON MARCH 31st, 1934

AGE OF PUPILS	FEE-PAYING PUPILS			FREE PUPILS[1]			TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS	PERCENTAGE OF GRAND TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	PERCENTAGE OF GRAND TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	
Under 11 years of age .	13,042	16,045	97 0	473	383	2 8	13,515	16,428	29,943
11 years of age and over	102,110	85,817	46 6	114,509	100,890	53 0	216,619	186,701	403,320
Total .	115,152	101,862	50 0	114,982	101,273	49 4	230,134	203,135	433,263

TABLE 14

ENGLAND AND WALES: APPROVED FIRST AND SECOND EXAMINATIONS, YEAR ENDED JULY 31st, 1934

APPROVED FIRST EXAMINATION							APPROVED SECOND EXAMINATION						
SCHOOLS	PUPILS WHO				PERCENTAGE WHO PASSED		SCHOOLS	PUPILS WHO				PERCENTAGE WHO PASSED	
	SAT		PASSED					SAT		PASSED			
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
1,366	31,936	21,894	23,574	16,277	73 8	74 3	1,241	6,858	3,742	4,741	2,492	69 2	66 6

TABLE 15

ENGLAND AND WALES: ADVANCED COURSES[2] FOR YEAR ENDED JULY 31st, 1934

TYPE OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	NATURE OF COURSES OF ADVANCED INSTRUCTION						TOTAL
		SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS	CLASSICS	MODERN STUDIES	CLASSICS WITH MODERN STUDIES	GEOGRAPHY	OTHER COMBINATIONS	
Boys . .	175	161	35	59	6	3	26	290
Girls	104	24	1	85	—	—	12	122
Boys and Girls .	53	43	1	22	1	1	5	73
Total .	332	228	37	166	7	4	43	485

[1] *A "free pupil" means a pupil who was exempt from payment of a tuition fee at or about the time of admission.*

[2] *An "advanced course" is an organised course of advanced instruction in a group of subjects extending over two years for pupils who, at the commencement, have already reached the standard of an approved first examination.*

TABLE 16

ENGLAND AND WALES: TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON MARCH 31st, 1934

By Sex and Qualification

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
1. Graduates.			
(*a*) Head Teachers			
(i) Trained .	349	126	475
(ii) Not Trained	512	318	830
(*b*) Assistants			
(i) Trained [1]	5,242	4,646	9,888
(ii) Not Trained	3,944	2,539	6,483
(*c*) Specialists [3]	36	18	54
Total	10,083	7,847	17,730
2. Non-Graduates.			
(*a*) Head Teachers			
(i) Trained [3]	1	12	13
(ii) Not Trained	4	14	18
(*b*) Assistants			
(i) Certificated [2]			
(*a*) Trained [1]	372	615	987
(*b*) Not Trained	45	66	111
(*c*) Specialists [3]	690	1,447	2,137
(*d*) Other Teachers			
(i) Trained [1]	29	71	100
(ii) Not Trained	565	1,363	1,928
Total	1,706	3,588	5,294
Grand Total .	11,789	11,235	23,024
Percentage of Graduates, excluding Part-time	85 5	69·8	77·0

[1] *Covers any accepted course of training of at least one year's duration*

[2] *Teachers possessing recognition under the code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools.*

[3] *Includes Art, Music, Handicraft, Domestic Subjects and Physical Training.*

TABLE 17

ENGLAND AND WALES: FURTHER EDUCATION, MARCH 31st, 1934

(1) FULL-TIME

SEX	JUNIOR SCHOOLS		TECHNICAL DAY CLASSES		SENIOR COURSES IN COLLEGES	ART SCHOOLS	SCHOOLS OF NAUTICAL TRAINING	TOTAL
	TECHNICAL AND HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS	DEPARTMENTS IN ART SCHOOLS	SENIOR	JUNIOR				
Male	16,123	1,211	287	704	4,933	2,234	932	26,424
Female	6,035	799	1,089	509	2,139	3,376	—	13,947
Total	22,158	2,010	1,376	1,213	7,072	5,610	932	40,371

(2) PART-TIME

SEX	ART SCHOOLS	SENIOR COURSES IN COLLEGES	TECHNICAL DAY CLASSES		DAY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS	EVENING CLASSES	TOTAL	GRAND TOTAL FULL AND PART-TIME
			PART-TIME	SHORT FULL-TIME [1]				
Male	26,755	1,142	17,584	4,870	7,435	439,947	497,733	524,157
Female	24,180	585	6,343	754	8,023	402,378	442,443	456,410
Total	50,935	1,727	23,927	5,624	15,638	842,325	940,176	980,567

[1] *These figures, which are included in the previous column, represent courses and not necessarily individual students, since a student may attend more than one course*

(3) TEACHING STAFF

SEX	PRINCIPALS	HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS	ASSISTANTS GRADUATES	ASSISTANTS CLASSIFIED AS GRADUATES	ASSISTANTS NON-GRADUATES	INSTRUCTORS	TOTAL
Men	436	315	1,091	333	525	341	3,041
Women	53	18	202	77	355	108	813
Total	489	333	1,293	410	880	449	3,854

TABLE 18

ENGLAND AND WALES: AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION, MARCH 31st, 1934

	FARM INSTITUTES	ORGANISED DAY COURSES	EVENING CLASSES	CORRESPONDENCE COURSES	INSTRUCTION IN MANUAL PROCESSES	LECTURES, DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC
Number of Courses	191	524	519	5	282	—
Number of Students						
Male	1,060	2,407	10,043	73	2,362	—
Female	829	3,766	1,491	13	154	—
Number of Meetings	—	—	—	—	—	10,028

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE, AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND COUNTY FARM INSTITUTES

YEAR	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Number of Students	1,993	2,184	2,176	2,188	2,299	2,426

ANALYSIS OF STUDENTS	HIGHER INSTITUTIONS	FARM INSTITUTES	WOMEN STUDENTS
Number of Students	1,776	650	538

NUMBER OF SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDED AND TOTAL AMOUNT EXPENDED

YEAR	1928–9	1929–30	1930–1	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4
Number of Scholarships	1,433	1,510	1,841	1,659	1,353	1,236
Amount Expended	£17,948	£18,699	£24,144	£24,696	£22,550	£22,242

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS AT HIGHER INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE OF COURSE

Agriculture	867	Horticulture	242	Dairying	124
Poultry Husbandry	65	Veterinary Science	450	Estate Management	23
		Rural Domestic Economy	5		

TABLE 19

ENGLAND AND WALES: TRAINING OF TEACHERS, 1933–4

(1) Institutions recognised as Training Colleges

	TYPE OF INSTITUTION	PROVIDED BY LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES	PROVIDED BY OTHER BODIES		TOTAL
			RECOGNISED FOR GRANT	NOT RECOGNISED FOR GRANT	
1	Training Departments of Universities and University Colleges	—	22	—	22
2	Post-graduate Training Colleges	—	1	2	3
3	Two-year Training Colleges	23	50	2	75
4	Training Colleges for Domestic Subjects	7	4	—	11
5	Total	30	77	4	111

(2) Students in Training by Type of Course and Sex

	TYPE OF COURSE	STUDENTS		
		MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
1	Four-year Courses	2,994	2,249	5,243
2	Two-year Courses	2,570	7,438	10,008
3	One-year Courses			
	(*a*) Advanced or Post-graduate	308	388	696
	(*b*) Certificated Students	—	2	2
4	Third-year Courses			
	(*a*) Degree Courses	114	14	128
	(*b*) Other Continuous Courses	21	37	58
	(*c*) Deferred Courses	9	7	16
5	Domestic Subject Courses			
	(*a*) Three-year Courses	—	678	678
	(*b*) Two-year Courses	—	249	249
	(*c*) Third-year Courses			
	(i) Continuous	—	161	161
	(ii) Deferred	—	2	2
6.	Total Students in Training	6,016	11,225	17,241

TABLE 20

ENGLAND AND WALES: UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1933–4

	FULL-TIME STUDENTS			PART-TIME STUDENTS			STUDENTS TAKING COURSES NOT OF A UNIVERSITY STANDARD	STUDENTS ATTENDING EXTRA-MURAL CLASSES	GRAND TOTAL	STATE SCHOLARSHIPS	
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL				MEN	WOMEN
Birmingham University	1,105	470	1,575	144	27	171	206	1,011	2,963	6	12
Bristol University	656	330	986	37	22	59	—	1,336	2,381	4	3
Cambridge University	5,302	506	5,808	—	—	—	—	2,292	8,100	319	79
Durham University	1,332	413	1,745	317	78	395	326	1,743	4,209	10	9
Exeter University College	266	153	419	155	101	256	123	740	1,538	—	—
Leeds University	1,208	366	1,574	222	90	312	118	1,375	3,379	6	7
Liverpool University	1,488	540	2,028	380	98	478	—	1,109	3,617	10	15
London University	8,950	3,499	12,449	4,168	1,771	6,539	548	2,461	21,997	51	121
Manchester University	1,697	676	2,373	345	48	393	308	1,312	4,386	15	15
Manchester College of Technology	336	7	343	35	4	39	5,642	—	6,024		
Nottingham University College	512	168	680	613	106	719	1,627	3,109	6,135	—	—
Oxford University	3,960	859	4,819	—	—	—	—	1,197	6,016	171	80
Reading University	262	320	582	16	7	23	828	107	1,540	—	3
Sheffield University	621	137	758	196	80	276	1,528	1,325	3,887	6	3
Southampton University College	301	122	423	261	32	293	564	708	1,988	—	—
Aberystwyth University College	557	253	810	7	9	16	34	638	1,498	12	15
Bangor University College	446	150	596	23	17	40	—	890	1,526		
Cardiff University College	925	361	1,286	71	31	102	—	1,023	2,411		
Swansea University College	557	194	751	36	3	39	—	576	1,366		
Welsh National School of Medicine	69	9	78	85	25	110	44	—	232	—	—
Total	30,550	9,533	40,083	7,711	2,559	10,270	11,896	22,952	85,201	610	362

TABLE 21—ENGLAND AND WALES: SCHOOL MEDICAL WORK, 1934

I. Medical and Dental Inspection.

(i) Number of public elementary school children with defects other than dental and uncleanliness ·

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	CHILDREN EXAMINED (ROUTINE)	PERCENTAGE NEEDING TREATMENT	CHILDREN SPECIALLY EXAMINED
5,065,963	1,794,963	17 52	1,231,663

(ii) Number of public elementary school children found with .

(*a*) Malnutrition	12 0 per 1,000	
(*b*) Skin disease	9 2 ,,	
(*c*) Defective vision	78 5 ,,	(not including defective vision of Entrants)
(*d*) Defects of hearing	3 2 per 1,000	
(*e*) Chronic tonsillitis and adenoids	40 2 ,,	
(*f*) Organic heart disease	1 6 ,,	
(*g*) Tuberculosis	1 1 ,,	
(*h*) Deformities	11 0 ,,	
(*i*) Nervous diseases	1 9 ,,	
(*j*) Number of children found unclean	482,044	
(*k*) Number of dental inspections	3,302,838	(68 8 per cent. requiring treatment)

(iii) Number of secondary school pupils examined . . 243,100

(iv) Staff of school medical service ·

(*a*) Doctors = equivalent of 673 whole-time officers, plus 994 specialists

(*b*) Dentists = equivalent of 604 whole-time officers.

(*c*) Nurses = equivalent of 2,338 whole-time officers

II Medical and Dental Treatment

(i) Number of school clinics—1,916

(ii) Number of cases treated for

(*a*) Minor ailments	937,277
(*b*) Defective vision and other eye defects	274,839
(*c*) Chronic tonsillitis and adenoids	73,181
(*d*) Uncleanliness .	134,491
(*e*) Dental .	1,431,775

III Special Schools

TYPE OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ACCOMMODATION	TYPE OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ACCOMMODATION
Blind .	73	4,650	Heart Disease	6	344
Deaf .	47	4,530	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	37	2,382
Mentally defective	161	16,466	Epileptic .	6	619
Cripples .	131	13,188	Miscellaneous .	3	968
Open-air Schools	146	14,705			

IV. Indirect Means of Amelioration.

(i) Number of Nursery Schools recognised by the Board of Education on March 31st, 1935 = 65 (also many nursery classes in Infants Departments).

(ii) Artificial light treatment = 84 clinics

(iii) School meals under Sections 82–4 of the Education Act, 1921 :

(*a*) Number of children fed 1933–4 = 414,786

(*b*) Number of meals 1933–4 = 68,843,281.

(iv) Physical education—in all schools. Number of recognised organisers employed on March 31st, 1935 = 169.

(v) Teaching of hygiene in all schools every week.

CHAPTER TWO

SCOTLAND

THIS chapter will be mainly confined to bringing up to date the full summary of Scottish education on pages 59–64 and 259–67 of the YEAR BOOK for 1934, and the notes on pages 35–38 of the 1935 volume

Post-primary Education

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *pages* 68 *and* 69)

As a consequence of the high birth-rate in 1919–20 and subsequent years, there is a substantial increase in the total roll of post-primary departments for 1933–4 The average number on the rolls of classes above the senior division in schools conducted under the Day School Code was 93,027 for 1933–4, which shows an increase of 7,294 over 1932–3 and of 18,420, or 24 7 per cent , for 1931–2 In schools conducted under the Secondary Schools (Scotland) Regulations, the average roll in post-primary departments rose to 93,536, which exceeded the figure for 1932–3 by 2,524 and for 1931–2 by 7,348, or 8 5 per cent

Of the pupils who left the primary schools and the primary departments of schools conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations during the year ended July 31st, 1934, 9,349 failed to reach the standard of attainment held to qualify for entry upon a post-primary course , 1,851 had reached the qualifying stage before leaving, but had not actually been enrolled in an approved Advanced Division 6,467 had been enrolled in an approved Advanced Division for less than one session and 17,365 for at least one session, but less than two. There were 22,509 pupils who had completed two or more sessions in the Advanced Division, and during the year 30,725 were transferred to secondary schools or departments. Of the 32,917 pupils who left the secondary departments or Advanced Divisions of schools conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations during the year, 2,670 had failed to complete one year of post-primary instruction, 7,910 had completed one year but not two, 9,306 two years but not three, 6,185 three years but not four, 2,005 four years but not five, 2,400 five years but not six, and 2,441 had completed the sixth or a subsequent year. The number of schools from which candidates were presented for the Leaving Certificate was 223

Advanced Divisions

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *page* 69)

There were 86,273 pupils enrolled in the post-primary departments of schools conducted under the Day School Code on July

31st, 1934, of whom 63,941 were of school age ; 1,920 of these pupils were still under the age of 12, and 22,332 were over 14

Secondary Schools

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *page* 71)

There were 86,939 pupils on the registers of the secondary departments of schools conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations on July 31st, 1934 Of these, 41,680 were of school age, 810 being under 12 years of age The average enrolment for the year was 93,536, of whom 35,873 were in the first year of the course, 27,068 in the second, 15,298 in the third, 7,398 in the fourth, 4,983 in the fifth and 2,916 in the sixth year or beyond As already stated, 30,725 pupils were transferred from schools conducted under the Code to secondary departments

Primary Education

Children Under School Age

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *pages* 65 *and* 66)

On July 31st, 1934, the enrolment in the twenty-one nursery schools was 689 and in the five infant departments 135 There were 3,250 children under 5 years of age on the registers of State-aided schools in Scotland at the end of the school year 1933-4

Children from 5 *to* 12

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *page* 66)

Of the children between 5 and 12 on the registers of State-aided schools on July 31st, 1934, 509,105 were enrolled in schools conducted under the Day School Code, and 59,157 in the Preparatory Departments of schools conducted under the Secondary Schools Regulations.

The Decline in School Population

In primary departments there was a drop of 6,129 in 1933 and a further drop of 10,641 in 1934—a decrease of 16,770 in two years The large number of children who were born immediately after the war are now beginning to pass out of the schools and their places taken by the much smaller number born in later years. Average attendance, on the other hand, actually increased to 90 7, the highest yet recorded It is suggested that this may be due to a combination of several causes—the exceptionally fine weather during the current year, the influence of the school medical services and the increased interest which parents are taking in the education of their children

Supply of Food and Clothing

Section 3 (2) of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, empowers education authorities to provide the necessary means for the supply

of meals and clothing to pupils attending school Section 6 of the same Act gives authority for the supply of food and clothing to necessitous children The amount expended for the past three years is as follows :

	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4
	£	£	£
Cost of Meals	32,533	41,873	36,114
Cost of Clothing	87,038	92,448	89,318
Total	119,571	134,321	125,432
Sums received from Parents and Others	15,130	32,115	35,193
Total Cost of Meals and Clothing	104,441	102,206	90,239

The number of children for whom meals were provided and the total number of meals for the year ended July 31st, 1934, are as follows ·

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	NUMBER OF MEALS
(*a*) Meals primarily for Necessitous Children	28,400	5,867,000
(*b*) Meals primarily for Convenience	28,300	2,792,000

During the year ended July 31st, 1934, the number of children provided with clothing (including those provided with boots) was about 134,000

In addition, 370,000 children receive milk daily.

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Statistics

TABLE 22

SCOTLAND: AGE AND NUMBER OF PUPILS ON THE REGISTERS AT THE END OF THE SCHOOL YEAR, 1933-4

AGE	PRIMARY SCHOOLS	SCHOOLS CONDUCTED UNDER THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS (SCOTLAND) REGULATIONS, 1923		SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND CLASSES	SIDE SCHOOLS	TOTAL	CONTINUATION CLASSES
		PREPARATORY DEPARTMENTS	SECONDARY DEPARTMENTS (INCLUDING ADVANCED DIVISIONS)				
Under 5	2,949	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	4	3,250	
5 and under 6	55,984	5,[illegible]	—	[illegible]	67	61,569	
6 and under 7	72,[illegible]4	7,[illegible]7	—	[illegible]	92	80,802	
7 and under 8	72,613	8,[illegible]1	—	1,[illegible]	84	82,094	
8 and under 9	75,[illegible]2	8,[illegible]5	—	1,[illegible]2	91	86,[illegible]90	
9 and under 10	75,153	9,[illegible]6	—	1,[illegible]4	89	85,[illegible]	
10 and under 11	76,[illegible]14	9,[illegible]8	11	1,[illegible]17	103	87,[illegible]13	
11 and under 12	75,[illegible]87	10,[illegible]	[illegible]	1,[illegible]53	78	88,[illegible]2	
12 and under 13	72,[illegible]62	7,[illegible]8	12,116	1,[illegible]4	90	93,[illegible]	
13 and under 14	61,[illegible]3	2,[illegible]2	28,754	1,[illegible]1	67	94,[illegible]	Under 15 16,256
14 and under 15	24,[illegible]96	[illegible]8	22,[illegible]78	1,[illegible]10	36	49,[illegible]18	
15 and under 16	1,[illegible]29	[illegible]5	9,[illegible]01	[illegible]77	5	11,[illegible]78	43,499
16 and under 17	[illegible]74	[illegible]1	6,[illegible]004	[illegible]28	1	6,[illegible]17	
17 and under 18	86	2	4,[illegible]365	37	—	4,[illegible]1	
18 and over	34	—	2,[illegible]03	5	—	3,[illegible]42	75,838
Total on Registers	647,560(a)	72,032	86,939	11,584	807	838,922	135,593
Total of School Age (5–14)	637,802	71,013	41,680	9,601	761	760,857	
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS ON REGISTERS							
Number of Schools	2,909	(205) (c)	251	(52) 57 (c)	(138) (c)	3,217 (d)	
Average Number on Registers	669,058	70,582	93,536	11,386	824	845,386	

CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS

FULL-TIME

ONE SESSION	LESS THAN ONE SESSION
3,335	2,067

PART-TIME

DAY	EVENING
3,012	10,515

TEACHERS' TRAINING CENTRES

MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
411	1,250	1,661 (e)

UNIVERSITIES

FULL-TIME		PART-TIME		
FIRST DEGREE OR DIPLOMA	ADVANCED	FIRST DEGREE OR DIPLOMA	ADVANCED	OCCASIONAL
10,654	265	442	205	2,766

(a) *These figures include* 86,273 *pupils in post-primary departments*

(b) *This figure includes* 63,941 *pupils in post-primary departments*

(c) *These are departments or classes.*

(d) *Exclusive of figures in brackets*

(e) *These figures are for* 1934–5

TABLE 23—NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1925-34

	1925	1927	1929	1931	1932	1933	1934
Schools							
Primary [1]	2,894	2,903	2,915	2,924	2,924	2,920	2,909
Secondary	249	251	252	251	251	251	251
Special [2]	49	51	54	53	55	56	57
Totals	3,192	3,205	3,221	3,228	3,230	3,227	3,217
Pupils							
Average Enrolment							
In Primary Schools							
(*a*) Below Advanced Division	582,056	586,572	582,590	587,223	589,128	583,888	576,031
(*b*) In Advanced Division	69,970	74,060	71,609	69,676	74,607	85,713	93,027
(*c*) Side Schools [1]	1,319	1,251	1,039	891	880	834	834
In Secondary Schools							
(*a*) Primary or Preparatory Departments	74,448	73,248	74,492	74,001	74,826	73,640	70,582
(*b*) Post-primary Departments	76,153	80,506	79,714	81,388	86,188	91,012	93,536
In Special Schools [2] or Classes							
(*a*) Separate Schools	6,489	6,953	7,396	7,653	8,151	8,660	8,936
(*b*) Special Classes	2,866	2,698	2,699	2,836	2,608	2,442	2,450
Totals	813,301	825,288	819,539	823,668	836,388	846,209	845,396
Teachers							
General Certificate (Chapter IV)	20,584	20,972	21,277	21,721	21,665	21,580	21,370
Special Certificate [3] (Chapter V)	2,987	3,343	3,574	3,789	3,877	3,953	4,049
Technical Certificate [4] (Chapter VI)	2,080	2,222	2,336	2,534	2,620	2,751	2,872
Miscellaneous	84	68	64	66	56		55
Totals	25,735	26,605	27,251	28,113	28,218	28,340	28,346
Number of University Graduates included in above totals	5,875	6,809	7,969	9,079	9,609	10,072	10,541

[1] *"Side Schools," i.e. very small schools in outlying districts, are attached to some of these Primary Schools. The numbers of such "Side Schools" have fallen from 250 in 1921 to 118 in 1934.*

[2] *Schools for blind, deaf, physically or mentally defective children. In addition to the separate schools, special classes were conducted in ordinary schools. The numbers of such special classes have increased from 55 in 1921 to 68 in 1925, but have since fallen again to 52.*

[3] *Normally the holders of this certificate are trained teachers with a good Honours Degree. Many of these teachers are also holders of the General Certificate.*

[4] *Trained teachers holding Diplomas of Technical Colleges, Schools of Art, etc.*

TABLE 24—SCOTLAND: UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1933-4

INSTITUTIONS	FULL-TIME STUDENTS		PART TIME STUDENTS		STUDENTS TAKING COURSES NOT OF A UNIVERSITY STANDARD	STUDENTS ATTENDING EXTRA MURAL CLASSES	GRAND TOTAL
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN			
Aberdeen University	841	355	77	11	132	360	1,776
Edinburgh University	2,574	996	493	91	—	1,446	5,600
Glasgow University	3,290	1,301	465	25	—	1,160	6,241
Glasgow Royal Technical College	375	39	2,064	40	875	—	3,393
St Andrews University, including Dundee University College	568	315	106	41	2	225	1,257
Total . .	7,648	3,006	3,205	208	1,009	3,191	18,267

CHAPTER THREE

NORTHERN IRELAND

AS with England and Wales and Scotland, this chapter will be confined to bringing up to date the account of the system of education in Northern Ireland in the notes on pages 42–3 of the YEAR BOOK for 1935.

Elementary Education

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *pages* 80–2)

Of 1,790 elementary schools in operation on December 31st, 1934, only 22 were infants' schools, and 217 were separate boys' or girls' schools, the remainder, 1,551, being mixed schools Of the latter, there were 21 senior schools (all new buildings), with 11,485 places, and 52 junior schools

Schools controlled by local education authorities number 617, with an enrolment of 93,283 children

Voluntary schools under Roman Catholic management number about 730 , schools under Protestant voluntary management, which have not been transferred, about 400 with about 35,000 pupils Of 203,550 pupils, the average number on rolls in 1934, 174,128 were in average daily attendance, representing a percentage of 82

In 1934, " higher efficient " teachers numbered 32 7 per cent , " efficient " 65 5 per cent , whilst less than 1 64 per cent fell below this standard

The number of pupils enrolled in the sixth standards of public elementary schools reached 33,372 in 1934

Secondary Education

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *page* 82)

Pupils in the 63 preparatory departments of secondary schools number 2,476, pupils following intermediate courses 7,618, and pupils in post-intermediate courses 2,880 In 1934, 740 full-time and 279 part-time teachers were employed

Technical Education

(YEAR BOOK *for* 1934, *pages* 83 *and* 84)

The total enrolment in technical schools and classes (including the Belfast College of Technology) was, in 1933–4, 23,234, of whom 9,926 were men and 13,308 women There are now 36 full-time junior day schools, 23 of which are day commercial schools The enrolment in the 13 junior schools reached 1,174.

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TABLE 25—NORTHERN IRELAND

(i) PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

A

Classification by Class and Number of Schools, Accommodation, Average Number on Rolls, and Average Attendance on December 31st, 1934

CLASS OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ACCOMMODATION	AVERAGE NUMBER ON ROLLS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
1. Ordinary Public Elementary Schools	1,728	220,544	185,693	158,527
2 Other Public Elementary Schools				
(*a*) Schools under Religious Orders				
Convent	44	14,791	13,241	11,462
Monastery	6	1,879	1,730	1,509
Christian Brothers	7	2,494	2,499	2,284
(*b*) Special (Invalid and Afflicted Children)	5	885	387	346
Total	1,790	240,593	203,550	174,128
CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS BY GRADE				
Infants	22	4,201	4,316	3,654
Boys	115	20,786	19,678	17,609
Girls	102	17,220	17,538	13,554
Mixed	1,478	171,624	138,866	119,724
Junior [1]	52	15,277	13,448	10,978
Senior [2]	21	11,485	9,704	8,609
Total	1,790	240,593	203,550	174,128

[1] *As a rule, up to Third Standard only*
[2] *As a rule, from Fourth Standard upwards.*

B

Pupils on Rolls on December 31st, 1934, according to Standards

	INFANTS	1ST	2ND	3RD	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH	TOTAL
Boys	22,045	12,903	12,980	13,435	13,452	12,818	10,253	5,576	725	104,187
Girls	20,456	11,935	12,249	12,836	13,160	12,302	10,028	5,985	805	99,756
Total	42,501	24,838	25,229	26,271	26,612	25,120	20,281	11,561	1,530	203,943

C

Trained and Untrained Elementary Teachers[1] *serving on December 31st, 1934*

	TRAINED			UNTRAINED			GRAND TOTAL
	PRINCIPALS	ASSISTANTS[2]	TOTAL	PRINCIPALS	ASSISTANTS[2]	TOTAL	
Men	1,047	499	1,546	14	19	33	1,579
Women	669	1,846	2,515	16	321	337	2,852
Total	1,716	2,345	4,061	30	340	370	4,431

[1] *Exclusive of junior assistant mistresses, of whom there were* 593 *serving on December* 31*st*, 1934

[2] *Inclusive of lay assistants serving in schools paid by capitation grant.*

(ii) PREPARATORY, INTERMEDIATE AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

D

Number of Schools and Pupils on Rolls on December 1*st*, 1933, *Classified according to Age*

AGE	PREPARATORY		INTERMEDIATE		POST-INTERMEDIATE		TOTALS		GRAND TOTAL (BOYS AND GIRLS)
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
Under 12 years	870	1,146	72	177	—	—	942	1,323	2,265
12–13 ,,	122	116	379	482	—	—	501	598	1,099
13–14 ,,	97	39	915	915	1	—	1,013	954	1,967
14–15 ,,	32	22	1,195	1,160	39	23	1,266	1,205	2,471
15–16 ,,	17	6	745	721	288	171	1,050	898	1,948
16–17 ,,	3	5	308	341	524	412	835	758	1,593
17–18 ,,	—	1	75	80	407	391	482	472	954
18–19 ,,	—	—	11	30	222	186	233	216	449
Over 19 ,,	—	—	8	4	99	117	107	121	228
Total . .	1,141	1,335	3,708	3,910	1,580	1,300	6,429	6,545	12,974
Combined Totals .	2,476		7,618		2,880		12,974		

[1] *These pupils were distributed over* 74 *schools,* 63 *of which had preparatory departments* 18 *were boys' schools,* 31 *girls' and* 25 *mixed—schools in which children of either sex are admitted to the preparatory department alone not being regarded as mixed schools.*

TABLE 26—CANADA: DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY GRADES IN 1933

PROVINCE	PREPARATORY	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	TOTAL ELEMEN	IX	X	XI	XII	TOTAL SECOND	UNCLASSIFIED	GRAND TOTAL
P E Island	—	2,789	1,702	2,078	2,039	1,753	1,359	1,247	1,602	14,599	1,159	1,100	49	—	2,288	1,360	18,247
Nova Scotia	—	20,242	12,857	12,850	13,075	12,742	11,210	9,528	8,033	100,537	6,685	4,934	4,162	915	16,701	—	117,238
New Brunswick	—	14,060	11,081	10,858	10,996	10,151	9,118	7,092	7,317	80,693	2,771	1,926	1,273	68	6,038	2,550	89,281
Ontario	28,121	98,391	76,926	35,637	67,042	77,822	70,792	63,086	57,220	575,037	42,537	31,115	33,167	11,849	124,391	79,544	778,972
Manitoba	—	24,085	16,667	17,009	17,308	17,047	14,577	12,649	10,344	129,686	7,961	6,270	5,548	596	20,384	—	150,070
Saskatchewan	—	35,597	22,981	25,431	25,651	25,211	21,688	16,254	17,186	189,999	12,905	9,550	8,032	4,408	35,102	904	226,007
Alberta	—	22,856	17,460	18,676	18,629	18,255	16,921	14,906	13,100	140,803	10,352	8,200	6,245	3,392	28,189	—	168,992
British Columbia	—	12,311	11,538	11,944	12,227	12,436	13,014	11,775	10,724	95,901	7,679	6,057	3,928	3,251	20,915	—	116,816
											VIII	IX	X	XI			
Quebec Protestant Schools	2,257	11,222	9,272	9,311	9,759	9,183	7,939	6,827	—	65,770	5,069	3,252	2,498	2,011	12,830	553	79,153
Total Canada graded system	30,378	241,375	180,484	143,794	176,726	184,500	166,638	143,357	—	1,398,094	—	—	—	—	261,771	84,911	1,744,776
								Total		Complement		Superior					
		1	2	3	4	5	6	Elemen	7	8	9	10	11				
Quebec Public Catholic Schools	91,692	86,595	94,623	91,467	66,471	40,706	24,439	404,301	14,406	8,203	3,314	1,118	283	—	—	10,394	533,711

1 Including 5,723 in special grade

TABLE 27—CANADA ENROLMENT, 1933

PROVINCE	PRIMARY		SECONDARY		VOCATIONAL		TEACHERS TRAINING		UNIVERSITY PREPARATORY		UNIVERSITY UNIV GRADE		UNIVERSITY SHORT COURSE		PRIVATE ELEMENTARY	PRIVATE SECONDARY	PRIVATE BUSINESS COLLEGES		DOMINION INDIAN SCHOOLS
	MALE	FEMALE	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
P E Island	8,257	7,702	92	11,368	1,280		81	150	260	297	126	26	—	—	458	53	45	114	33
Nova Scotia	51,538	48,999	6,96	9,732	257		83	379	233	5	1,850	780	5,001	1,020	1,871	784	159	266	447
New Bruns	41,287	40,030	3,38	4,257	833	774	97	284	384	5	938	353	175	152	2,363	1,091	182	314	314
Quebec	303,919	308,9451	40,154		3,319	4,635	1,158	1,973	8,459	8,270	9,095	1,147	1,783	2,021	(56,587) 2		4,732		1,644
Ontario	340,036	324,391	57,475	57,070	18,829	18,324	1,173	2,533	2,363	322	12,015	4,761	5,980	3,929	4,494	6,748	1,559	3,387	4,525
Manitoba	65,981	63,705	9,522	10,862	3,141		122	359	269	34	2,234	1,234	663	484	4,565	925	884	1,355	2,466
Saskatchewan	98,439	92,829	15,144	18,678	1,706	1,432	249	539	366	138	1,752	765	680	561	1,217	324	211	599	2,247
Alberta	71,883	70,193	12,607	14,309	2,082	2,099	206	498	239	57	1,344	684	394	232	1,273	1,180	579	842	1,720
Brit Columbia	49,452	46,449	10,310	10,605	11,988		149	298	—	—	1,309	762	352	209	2,928	978	397	1,120	3,618
Dominion	M 1,147,127		F 1,130,119		70,699		3,218	7,013	12,573	9,128	30,663	10,512	15,028	8,608	19,169	12,173	16,748		17,425

1 Including secondary grades

2 56,587 pupils of independent schools are included in public schools

TABLE 28—AUSTRALIA—NEW SOUTH WALES

1933 *Enrolments* *Distribution by Age, Sex and Type of Institution*

AGE	PUBLIC PRIMARY 6 GRADES		TOTAL SUPER-PRIMARY		HIGH SCHOOLS AND INTERMEDIATE 5 GRADES		DISTRICT SCHOOLS 5 GRADES		SENIOR TECHNICAL	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	MALE	FEMALE
Under 6	9,434	9,053	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6–7	17,545	16,436	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7–8	20,523	19,240	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8–9	21,013	20,053	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9–10	20,968	20,013	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10–11	21,606	20,309	20	12	1	2	—	—	—	—
11–12	20,858	19,761	849	797	252	152	1	2	—	—
12–13	15,876	14,701	5,759	5,264	2,049	1,511	15	20	—	—
13–14	8,042	7,059	10,918	10,162	4,264	3,201	48	40	—	—
14–15	1,576	1,153	9,145	7,126	4,167	2,902	37	31	269	441
15–16	217	148	5,562	3,458	3,420	2,030	30	24	688	707
16–17	31	35	2,737	1,581	2,059	1,219	8	17	1,508	834
17–18	4	3	1,133	549	1,111	564	3	1	1,552	773
18–19	2	—	529	180	722	229	1	—	1,539	616
19–20	—	—							1,357	403
20 Over	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,322	2,992
Total	157,695	147,964	36,652	29,129	17,945	11,810	143	135	11,235	5,867

The first four columns (Primary and Super-primary) give the enrolment on August 1st, 1933, the rest during the final term 1933, hence the difference High schools and district schools included in the Super-primary, but not senior technical

Evening Continuation, average enrolment
- Boys 2,498
- Girls 1,290

Subsidised Primary, enrolment final term
- Boys 2,623
- Girls 2,573

Business Colleges, enrolment 1932
- Male 1,757
- Female 4,895

University of Sydney
- Male 2,305
- Female 757

Private Schools, 1932
- Enrolment 93,280

Free Kindergarten, 1933
- Average attendance 920

Teachers Training, enrolment
- Male 529
- Female 408

TABLE 29—SOUTH AUSTRALIA
Enrolment, December 1933

AGE	PRIMARY AND POST-PRIMARY			TECHNICAL				OPPORTUNITY CLASSES
	PRIMARY GRADES I–VII	POST-PRIMARY GRADES VIII–X	HIGH SCHOOLS 4 GRADES	HIGH SCHOOLS	TRADE SCHOOLS	ARTS AND CRAFTS	COUNTRY SCHOOLS	
Under 6	2,327	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6–7	7,404	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7–8	9,139	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
8–9	9,101	—	—	—	—	—	—	35
9–10	9,260	—	—	—	—	—	—	62
10–11	9,521	—	—	—	—	—	—	72
11–12	9,565	1	—	—	—	—	—	58
12–13	9,384	36	49	—	—	106	284	48
13–14	7,189	593	697	2	—			37
14–15	1,847	703	1,312	63	11	61	236	21
15–16	277	451	1,180	108	36	75	211	10
16–17	43	227	829	56	81	96	240	6
17–18	—	—	422	32	73	98	190	—
18–over	—	—	260	13	229	778	912	—
Total	75,057	2,011	4,749	274	530	1,214	2,073	355

Teachers Training
Male 65 Female 80
University 2,084
Private Schools Enrolment, 1932 13,533
Free Kindergartens, 1933
Average attendance 393
Business Colleges :
Male 772 Female 1,306

TABLE 30—VICTORIA
Enrolment, 1933–4

AGE	STATE ELEMENTARY	PRIVATE REGISTERED	AGE	STATE POST PRIMARY SCHOOLS					TOTAL
	BOTH SEXES			CENTRAL 4 GRADES	HIGHER ELEMENTARY 4 GRADES	DOMESTIC SCIENCE GIRLS 4 GRADES	JUNIOR TECHNICAL 4 GRADES	HIGH SCHOOLS 6 GRADES	
Under 6	17,286	6,226	Under 12	745	507	237	358	934	2,781
6–14	205,168	54,009	12–13	1,825	1,181	977	1,400	2,121	7,507
14–over	11,720	13,610	13–14	1,525	1,315	1,450	2,100	2,614	9,004
Total	234,174	73,845	14–15	425	863	738	1,726	2,337	6,089
			15–16	49	411	166	726	1,624	2,976
			16–17	8	168	26	205	906	1,313
			17–18	—	40	3	41	424	508
			18–over	—	9	1	6	185	201
			Total	4,577	4,494	3,598	6,562	11,145	30,376

Senior Technical :
Male . 9,513 Female . 5,877
Free Kindergartens
Average attendance 1,665
University, 1932 2,894
Business Colleges .
Male . 2,375 Female 2,082

TABLE 31—QUEENSLAND

Enrolment, 1933

Primary and Intermediate			158,473
State High Schools			2,009
Central Technical Colleges			
(*a*) Commercial High School			706
(*b*) Industrial High School			190
(*c*) Domestic Science High School			135
Technical Colleges			
Full-time	3,078	Part-time	9,462
Opportunity Schools			347
Free Kindergartens			462
Correspondence Schools			5,621
State Grammar Schools			
6 Boys'	1,000	4 Girls'	500
Private Schools			29,777
State scholars in private secondary schools			1,700
Teachers Training			
Full-time			378
Evening class			253
Correspondence			235
Business Colleges			
Male 195		Female	761
University			826

TABLE 32—WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Enrolment, 1934

AGE	PRIMARY GRADES I–VII		SUPER-PRIMARY VIII–XI		HIGH SCHOOLS 4 GRADES		SENIOR TECHNICAL	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	MALE	FEMALE
Under 6	1,044	987	—	—	—	—	—	—
6–7	3,367	3,234	—	—	—	—	—	—
7–8	3,575	3,122	—	—	—	—	—	—
8–9	3,572	3,310	—	—	—	—	—	—
9–10	3,430	3,198	—	—	—	—	—	—
10–11	3,466	3,182	—	—	—	—	—	—
11–12	3,506	3,161	23	16	40	26	—	—
12–13	3,182	3,004	325	307				
13–14	1,894	1,578	1,221	1,322	189	141		
14–15					180	132		
15–16	543	483	1,586	1,162	139	122	1,248	923
16–17					119	79		
17–18	—	—	—	—	80	67		
18–over	—	—	—	—	21	23	1,047	414
Total	27,579	25,259	3,155	2,807	768	590	2,295	1,337

Private Schools Enrolment			12,569
Free Kindergartens, Average Attendance			345
University, 1932			763
Business Colleges, 1932			
Male	2,560	Female	1,040

TABLE 33

TASMANIA

Average Enrolment December, 1933

	PRIMARY 6 GRADES	HIGH SCHOOLS 6 GRADES	TECHNICAL JUNIOR BOYS	TECHNICAL SENIOR	PRIVATE SCHOOLS	TOTAL ENROLMENT
Under 6	886	—	—	—	292	Primary
6–7	2,100	—	—	—	740	Boys | Girls
7–8	3,377	—	—	—		19,266 | 18,263
8–9	3,810	—	—	—		High Schools
9–10	3,991	—	—	—		684 | 648
10–11	4,203	—	—	—	3,061	Private
11–12	4,236	7	—	—		2,919 | 3,497
12–13	3,909	78	—	—		*Free Kinderg* Av att 110
13–14	3,462	232	338	659	1,493	*University* 362
14 and over	1,608	893				*Teachers Training*, 52
Total av enrol	31,582	1,210	338	659	5,586	Business Colleges
						Male | Female
						82 | 142

TABLE 34
SOUTH AFRICA, EUROPEANS
Provincial Schools, 1933

AGE	CAPE		NATAL		TRANSVAAL		ORANGE FREE STATE		UNION	
	PRIMARY	HIGH	PRIMARY	HIGH	PRIMARY	HIGH	PRIMARY	HIGH	UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES	TECHNICAL
Under 7	5,582	—	511	—	1,933	—	1,598	—	—	—
7–8	12,950	—	2,499	—	12,081	—	3,600	—	—	—
8–9	15,108	—	2,883	—	14,444	—	4,183	—	—	—
9–10	15,536	—	2,663	—	14,341	—	4,125	—	—	—
10–11	15,499	—	2,764	—	14,077	—	4,266	—	—	—
11–12	15,920	1	2,937	—	14,860	2	4,399	1	—	—
12–13	15,578	68	2,956	16	15,082	54	4,497	15	—	—
13–14	14,420	807	2,657	265	13,965	657	4,323	157	—	—
14–15	10,391	2,781	1,704	751	10,689	2,362	3,347	666	—	236
15–16	6,492	5,103	826	1,076	6,877	3,878	2,438	1,433	99	654
16–17	1,995	4,911	289	783	2,288	3,393	910	1,607	70	1,510
17–18	402	3,556	86	565	483	2,068	239	1,368	403	2,216
18 over	124	2,839	36	273	125	1,559	80	1,344	6,661	12,245
Total	129,395	20,666	22,821	3,729	121,255	13,973	37,995	6,591	7,233	16,861
Boys	78,315		11,941	2,097	64,060	8,102	19,451	3,754	3,707	—
Girls	71,746		10,880	1,632	58,195	5,871	18,544	2,837	2,017	—
Training Colleges	1,056		244		745		158			
Private Schools	8,851		2,958		9,207		595			

Vocational, 8,858 full-time

TABLE 35

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: SUMMARY OF STATISTICS OF NON-EUROPEAN EDUCATION, 1932–3

GRADES	CAPE[1]				NATAL			TRANSVAAL				ORANGE FREE STATE	
	PROVINCIAL		ALL SCHOOLS		ALL SCHOOLS			PROVINCIAL			MISSIONS (AIDED)	ALL SCHOOLS	
	COLOURED	NATIVES	COLOURED	NATIVES	COLOURED	INDIANS	NATIVES	COLOURED	INDIANS	NATIVES	NATIVES	COLOURED	NATIVES
Grade I	(Figures now included under all schools)	(Figures now included under all schools)	20,437	51,093	572	6,106	21,144	1,551	360	575	35,246	561	10,854
,, II			13,298	24,480	377	2,433	9,362	1,107	203	111	10,729		4,359
Standard I			13,323	20,800	333	2,435	6,778	983	318	103	9,524	182	3,775
,, II			11,206	15,677	291	2,069	4,509	784	214	127	7,161	109	2,414
,, III			8,896	12,034	268	1,456	3,364	556	141	83	4,781	88	1,879
,, IV			5,625	7,792	260	1,030	2,300	398	90	43	3,314	61	1,136
,, V			3,161	4,799	176	687	1,575	278	57	42	2,282	29	903
,, VI			2,314	3,467	122	539	1,039	83	27	35	1,436	19	486
,, VII			474	271	19	156	289	40	—	—	97	—	129
,, VIII			230	134	9	91	145	20	—	—	53	—	6
,, IX			34	18	5	16	21	22	—	—	27	—	—
,, X			28	19	—	8	6	—	—	—	5	—	—
Unclassified			—	515	1	—	227	—	—	—	—	—	151
Training College			859	1,822	10	317	518	—	—	—	490	—	—
Total	—	—	79,885	142,921	2,443	17,343	51,277	5,822	1,410	1,119	75,145	1,049	26,092

[1] *South African Native College, Fort Hare* 137 *Students*

TABLE 36

NEW ZEALAND, 1933

AGE	PUBLIC[1] PRIMARY	PRIVATE[1] PRIMARY	CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS	INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS	SECONDARY SCH AND DEPT	PRIVATE SECONDARY	TECHNICAL SCHOOLS		NATIVE SCHOOLS		SCHOOLS FOR DEFECTIVES
							FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	
Under 10	98,035	12,964	727	4	—	—	—	—	4,138	—	62
10–11	24,553	2,954	139	134	4	—	—	—	983	—	30
11–12	24,875	3,139	134	856	56	11	11	19	925	—	37
12–13	22,111	2,835	149	1,296	1,103	154	422	39	829	1	63
13–14	15,337	2,099	193	1,090	4,183	566	1,865	140	684	15	67
14–15	5,658	933	129	450	5,434	921	2,597	510	326	39	53
15–16	1,287	262	98	109	4,741	980	2,011	1,071	97	58	35
16–17	124	86	48	25	3,410	800	1,141	1,627	19	41	39
17–18	16	20	12	2	1,799	492	439	1,534	5	33	15
18–19	—	2	10	—	690	152	142	1,352	—	10	9
19–20	—	—	3	—	151	23	39	870	—	6	6
20 over	—	—	11	—	20	10	39	1,916	—	3	25
Total	192,006	25,294	1,653	3,966	21,591	4,109	8,706	9,078	8,277	233	441

[1] *Including primary departments in Secondary Schools* *Kindergartens*, 1,859, *University*, 5,085, *Teachers Training*, 443

TABLE 37

THE IRISH FREE STATE

Enrolment, 1934

	INFANTS	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH	FIFTH	SIXTH	SEVENTH	EIGHTH
Primary Schools.	130,925	68,353	64,558	64,543	61,283	53,874	37,954	17,245	5,755

Total Boys 252,093, Girls 252,497 Total 504,590

Secondary Schools —Boys 19,180, Girls 13,204 Total 32,384
Preparatory Colleges —Boys 509, Girls 994 Total 1,503
Training Colleges —Men 340, Women 405 Total 745

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 16	OVER 16	TOTAL
Urban					
Day, whole-time	5,052	5,176	4,963	5,265	10,228
Day, part-time	197	2,229	462	1,964	2,426
Evening Class	10,986	12,102	3,052	20,036	23,088
Rural					
Sessional	10,065	8,724	4,854	13,935	18,789
Short Courses	3,448	4,252	1,891	5,809	7,709
Total	29,748	32,483	15,222	47,009	62,231

Schools of Art	431	*Reformatory*	101
Domestic Economy	99	*Industrial*	6,732
Trades Schools	79	*University*	*approx.* 5,000

SECTION II

A Regional Survey of Elementary and Secondary School Population within the Public System of Education in England

Introduction

THE recommendations of the Hadow Committee and the subsequent revolution in the organisation of the English educational system have made it difficult to obtain, as yet, any true picture of the present situation This article is an attempt to synthesise statistical facts concerning school population within the public system and give them in the form of a regional survey of the country Such a task could never have been attempted without the very generous help of the Board of Education, though they are in no way responsible for any statements or conclusions in these pages Likewise, thanks are due to the Ministry of Health for information on rates and rateable values, to the Ministry of Labour for unemployment figures, and to the Registrar-General's office for the verification of population statistics

For this survey of England, statistics relating to each local education authority[1] had to be examined. Every care has been taken to ensure accuracy, though it will be appreciated that slight numerical mistakes may have occurred , such, if any, can have no important bearing on the general picture, so far as it can be sketched with the latest statistical material available Work of this kind has obvious limitations, especially when it cannot be substantiated with first-hand local knowledge ; it is hoped, however, that any omissions or errors will be pointed out after publication, and that this survey will stimulate further research on these lines, especially by those in possession of intimate local knowledge

S P Chatterjee

[1] Part II—Authorities.
(*a*) 48 administrative counties (excluding London and Isles of Scilly)
(*b*) London (28 Metropolitan boroughs and City of London)
(*c*) 79 county boroughs

Part III—Authorities
(*a*) 137 boroughs
(*b*) 20 urban districts

CHAPTER ONE

Fundamental Statistics Affecting School Population

General Description

ENGLAND [1] covers an area of 50,327 square miles, and has a population [2] of 37,912,600 For administrative purposes the country has been divided into 50 counties with 79 associated county boroughs, the latter being quite independent of the former in matters of local government These counties, together with the county boroughs, fall within 40 geographical counties, which have been recently grouped by the Registrar-General in conjunction with other governmental departments into 9 regions [3] with a view to " securing greater homogeneity in the character of the sectional peoples "

Extent of Areas

The geographical counties, which have been used in the following pages as units of area, vary considerably in their respective sizes and population, and this fact should not be overlooked in interpreting comparative percentages and other proportionate figures To take an extreme instance, in the two counties, Westmorland—the predominantly rural county in the north—and London, the number of pupils attending grant-earning secondary schools in 1933–4 were 1,018 in the former, and 37,506 in the latter, or 37 times as much, but the figure expressed as a percentage to the total population in Westmorland was 24, or about 3 times as much as in London, which will give a misleading impression if it is taken to mean that the London Education Authority is less progressive than that of Westmorland; other probable causes of this low percentage in London will be mentioned later [4]

Rural and Urban Areas

The proportion of rural and urban areas to the total and the proportionate population living in these two types are bound to be reflected on educational policies In England, the urban areas cover 3,943,001 acres of land, or nearly 12 3 per cent of the total acreage, and have a population of 30,148,272, or about 81 per cent of the total The main task before the nation has thus been to urbanise the educational policy, though not neglecting the special needs of children living in rural areas [5] This policy first found a national expression in the Education Act of 1902, which by setting up separate local education authorities for the essentially urban areas had, in no small way, helped in the rapid progress of education The authorities empowered to provide education for rural and less urbanised populations

[1] Without Monmouthshire

[2] Estimated mid-1934 population

[3] **North** (4) (1) Durham, Northumberland, (2) Cumberland, Westmorland, East Riding, North Riding, (3) West Riding, Yorkshire, (4) Cheshire, Lancashire **Midlands** (2) (1) Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire; (2) Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire. **East** Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Rutland **South-East** London and surrounding counties, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent, Surrey, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, Sussex. **South-West**. Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire

[4] See page 950 *et seq*, 963 *et seq*

[5] *The Education of the Adolescent*, page 43

were left free to cope with their special problems that cropped up from time to time, especially in carrying out a national scheme Thus, in a predominantly rural county like Huntingdonshire, the progress of reorganisation under the Hadow scheme cannot but be slow [1]

The Decline in the Birth-rate

The difficulties in reorganisation of schools in rural areas have been felt by the fact that the elementary school population is not concentrated The decline in the birth-rate, as shown in the following table, will from the current year onwards accentuate this problem in the near future, when the places in the elementary schools will have to be filled by children born in the lower birth-rate years

TABLE 1

BIRTH-RATE (LIVING BORN PER 1,000 POPULATION)

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
25 5	22 4	20 4	19 7	18 8	18 3	17 8
1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
16 6	16 7	16 3	16 3	15 8	15 3	14 4

However, most of the progressive authorities have been proposing to make use of the places thus set free for children under and above compulsory school age, as, for example, West Riding [2] has decided to experiment with the provision of nursery classes, and Chesterfield [3] has been proposing to adopt a ten or fifteen years' plan after making a survey of the probable numbers entering the various types of schools

The success of a plan will, obviously, depend on the general prosperity of the area, though it cannot be definitely stated to what extent the present diversity of educational provisions, in different areas, is attributable to economic conditions, owing mainly to changing domestic policies [4]

Relative Prosperity of Different Areas

No educationist can fail, however, to take into account local economic conditions, with a view to explaining the present divergence of educational provision Therefore, in the first place, some standardised scale is necessary to measure the relative prosperity of different areas Two sets of indices have been used in the following pages for this purpose: (1) one of the indices is based on the amounts per £1 of the rates levied in the rating areas, (2) the other on the relative unemployment figures in different parts of the country

Rates and Rateable Values

The amounts per £1 of the rates vary considerably from one part of the country to another, depending upon two factors, viz (1) the assessable or

[1] *Annual Report, County Council of Huntingdon*, March 1934

[2] *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Education Committee, County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 1934

[3] *Report of the Education Committee for the Year* 1934–5, *Borough of Chesterfield*

[4] See pages 979–80

rateable value, and (2) the poundage rate In 1934, the rateable value per head, for the whole of the country,[1] was £7 4*s*, ranging from £4 9*s*. in rural districts to £14 5*s* in London Clearly, when the rateable value per head in rural districts is so small compared with other urban districts, the progress of education there cannot but be slow, unless financed on a scale higher than at present by the Central Authority Generally speaking, the proportion of educational provision has been found to be greater in areas in which the amount of rateable value per head is correspondingly higher [2] But this generalisation has obvious limitations It would be absurd to suggest that in the City of London,[3] where the amount of rateable value is abnormally high, about £900 per head, owing to the small population and preponderance of large business houses, the educational provision in relation to this will ever be the same as elsewhere in the country Like the amount of rateable value, the poundage rate also varies from one area to another, ranging from 10*s* 7½*d* in rural districts to 13*s* 1¾*d* in the areas of the county boroughs The education rate being dependent upon this, it seems reasonable to anticipate that the areas levying a higher poundage rate will provide greater educational facilities to children, especially of the poorer parents Generally speaking, it has been found so [4]

The rates and rateable values relating to each geographical region are shown below

TABLE 2

RATES AND RATEABLE VALUES PER HEAD OF POPULATION (1933–4)

REGIONS	AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION (1934)	AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RATES RAISED IN 1933–4 PER HEAD OF ESTIMATED 1934 POPULATION	AVERAGE AMOUNT IN THE £ OF ALL LOCAL RATES COLLECTED IN 1933–4
	£ *s*	£ *s*	*s* *d*
North	5 16	3 8	11 9
Midlands	5 7	2 19	11 1
East	4 10	2 10	11 1
South-east	8 1	3 13	9 1
London	14 5	6 14	9 3
South-west	6 3	2 11	9 1
Total for England	7 4	3 14	10 2

Thus the average amount of rateable value per head of population ranged from £4 10*s* in the east to £14 5*s* in London , the south-east had the second highest figure (£8 1*s*) The amount of rates collected per head was also highest in London (£6 14*s*) and lowest in the east (£2 10*s*), the south-east having the second highest amount (£3 13*s*) The poundage rate was lowest in the south-east, south-west and London, that is to say, in the regions in which the amount of rateable value per head was highest.

The Unemployment Indices

The unemployment position can be studied under two heads , viz (1) the proportionate number of the total population aged 14 and over out

[1] *Rates and Rateable Values, England and Wales*, 1935.
[2] See pages 942, 952–3, 967, 980
[3] One of the metropolitan boroughs in London
[4] See page 980

of work, (2) the relative proportion of the juvenile population between 14 and 18 out of work

(1) *The Relative Unemployment Position Covering all Classes of the Community*

As to the first, it was until 1934 [1] impossible to form a correct picture of the unemployment position in different parts of the country, since the official statistics included only those who were registered at an Employment Exchange and were in receipt of unemployment benefit Now, with the inclusion of the classes of the community outside the scope of existing statutory insurance schemes, the unemployment index will be more effective in explaining some of the divergences of educational provision, especially in the sphere of secondary education, since a large proportion of children in attendance at secondary schools come from these classes

In England, at the time of the census, 1931, there were 1,988,285 persons aged 14 and over (or 11 2 per cent of the total occupied) out of work Their distribution in each of the regions has been shown in the following table

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF PERSONS OUT OF WORK (ALL CLASSES)

REGIONS	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL OCCUPIED
North	977,951	15 1
Midlands	358,566	10 9
East	78,140	9 8
South-east [2]	281,258	6 8
London	227,659	9 9
South-west	64,711	7 1
Total for England	1,988,285	11 2

Thus the proportion ranged from 6 8 to 15 1, being lowest in the south-east and highest in the north Generally speaking, the provision for secondary education was found to vary in accordance with these proportions [3] This generalisation was subject to exceptions for obvious reasons The figures relating to the proportion per cent of unemployed in all classes of the community to total occupied in each region are given in the Tables 37 and 38 [3]

(2) *The Relative Juvenile Unemployment Position*

The figures relating to the relative juvenile and adult unemployment position in different areas are published every month by the Ministry of Labour in *Local Unemployment Index* mainly "for the guidance of manufacturers and distributors wishing to adjust their sales activities to the changing prosperity of the various local areas" But for our purpose the figures relating to the adult unemployment position will not be of much use for the reason stated above As regards the juvenile unemployment figures, they were firstly found to fluctuate from one month to another, depending mainly upon the time of the year when the individual L E A s released their elementary school pupils on completion of the compulsory school life, and, secondly, these figures, though including young persons between 14 and 18 years of age registered as unemployed, could not be related to

[1] The year of the publication of the occupation figures obtained at the 1931 census

[2] The south-east region in this and other tables does not include London

[3] See page 968

that age-group, since young persons cannot become insured until they reach 16 years of age When these points were brought to the notice of the Ministry of Labour, they generously furnished the basic materials from which the percentages given in *Local Unemployment Index* were calculated, for each month of the school year 1933–4 relating to each area in the country From these figures a norm for the year has been worked out and used in the following pages to explain some of the factors concerning school population [1] The second difficulty was overcome at the suggestion of the Ministry of Labour by relating the averages to the total numbers of young persons between 14 and 18 estimated from the 1931 Census Report Now, of the 2,292,500 young persons between 14 and 18, 70,550, or 30 per 1,000, registered as unemployed in 1933–4 (average of the year) Their distributions in each of the regions have been shown in the following table

TABLE 4

THE JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT POSITION

REGIONS	NUMBER REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED	PROPORTION PER 1,000 POPULATION OF THE AGE GROUP 14–18
North	40,946	50 0
Midlands	10,499	24 0
East	2,601	20 0
South-east	10,564	19 0
London	4,030	14 0
South-west	1,910	17 0
Total for England	70,550	30 0

It is clear from the above table, that nowhere in the country was the number of the juvenile unemployed large, it ranged from 14 to 50 London had the lowest proportion It was [illegible] in the north The south-west, south-east and the east had fairly low figures, it was slightly higher in the Midlands Generally speaking, these proportions correspond to those relating to the total number of persons out of work London is the only exception to this, the low juvenile unemployed figure in London is due to the fact that many openings in various industries and in commerce exist for young persons

Occupations of the People

To explain the diversity in educational provision in different parts one must take into account the occupations of the people living there, for example, it can be stated that one of the causes of high proportions of children in secondary schools in the south-east and south-west is the relative preponderance of persons engaged in professional occupations and public administration in these regions, who, under normal circumstances, will see that their children get secondary education Then, the growth of junior technical, junior commercial and central schools with technical or commercial bias depends largely upon the capacity of local industry and commerce to provide employment for those who will be trained in such schools

In England, the total number gainfully occupied at the time of the 1931 census was 17,774,565 [2] Of these, 6,356,980 (38 5 per cent) were employed in various industries as skilled workers, this, being the single largest group,

[1] See pages 953, 968

[2] Persons who had at some time been in full-time employment, but were " out of work " at the time of the census, were included in this figure

shows the need of more technical schools for the welfare of the nation 1,026,492 (or 5 8 per cent) were engaged in agriculture and fishing , this proportion is small, and accounts for the low output of the nation's food (35–40 per cent), and in this connection it should be mentioned that the present individual farming is of the small capitalist type and occupies about one-half of the farm-holdings with an area varying from 100 to 300 acres [1] As regards the number of persons employed in other occupations 1,960,044 (or 10 5 per cent) were engaged in commercial, financial, and insurance occupations , 1,333,610 (7 5 per cent) in clerical jobs , 983,828 (5 6 per cent) were engaged in professional works, public administration and defence The corresponding proportionate numbers relating to each of the occupations mentioned above as found in the different regions of the country have been tabulated below [2]

TABLE 5

PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS TO THE TOTAL NUMBER GAINFULLY OCCUPIED

REGIONS	INDUSTRY	COMMERCIAL, FINANCIAL AND INSURANCE	CLERKS, TYPISTS, DRAUGHTSMEN	PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENCE	AGRICULTURE AND FISHING
North	432	106	59	40	39
Midlands	455	95	62	39	60
East	233	105	42	54	245
South-east	255	128	104	83	55
London	285	116	110	57	3
South-west	255	109	44	89	164
Total for England	358	105	75	56	58

It has been mentioned above that the nature of occupations of persons resident in an area does throw light in explaining various factors concerning school population [3]

[1] *Nature*, August 10th, 1935
[2] Computed from figures given in Occupation Tables, 1931 census (1934)
[3] See also pages 950–1, 968–9

CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION

Children attending Non-provided Public Elementary Schools

NOT all the public elementary schools in an area are under the direct control of its local education authority, there are the schools that have been established by various voluntary societies or denominations, and put on the rates in 1903. Some of the administrative difficulties arising out of this system of dual control of the public elementary schools have been dealt with in the Consultative Committee's Report on the education of the adolescent (pages 166–9). In many areas the reorganisation scheme has been brought to a standstill by the unwillingness or inability on the part of managers of non-provided schools to co-operate with local education authorities. Many schemes have been brought forward to solve this problem, ranging from the abolition of such schools altogether to giving them all the financial advantages enjoyed by the provided schools.

A detailed statistical analysis of the strength of the non-provided schools in different parts of the country will make it possible to see the situation in a truer perspective.

The total number of children on the registers of public elementary schools in England on March 31st, 1934, was 5,140,176, of these, 1,668,023, or 32 per cent, were being educated in voluntary schools. Their distribution in each type of area has been shown in Table 6.

Thus, the proportion varied considerably, being lowest in London and highest in the rural districts. The proportionate number in the areas of the boroughs and urban districts was slightly higher than in those of the county boroughs, and it was higher in the urban districts under county councils than in the areas of the Part III Authorities. The percentage figures in the above table show clearly that the activities of the voluntary schools are more concentrated in lesser urbanised areas. The corresponding figures in each of the regions, generally speaking, corroborate the above statement except in the north. They have been shown in Table 7.

This proportion ranged from 28 5 in the south-east to 42 5 in the south-west. The Midlands and the south-east had more or less the same proportion. The proportion in the east was slightly higher than that of the north.

The variation within a region was still greater. In the north it ranged from 16 2 (Northumberland) to 73 0 (Westmorland). The three counties, Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire, had proportions below the average for the whole of the country. In Yorkshire, the proportion was highest in the county area of the East Riding (51 7), and lowest in that of the West Riding (25 5). Next to Westmorland, Lancashire had the highest proportion in the county area (63 1). One thing is perhaps worth mentioning: all the counties with higher proportions are situated on the western part of this region.

In the Midlands, the proportion varied between 22 2 (Northamptonshire) and 62 8 (Shropshire). Of the ten counties only three, Shropshire, Herefordshire (56 2) and Worcestershire (50 1), had more than half of the children attending voluntary schools, and all these counties are on the west. Of the remaining counties only one, Northamptonshire, had about 40 per cent. of children in such schools, though the proportion was considerably higher within this area, that is to say, in the county area of Soke of Peterborough (76 7), the three counties, Staffordshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire, had small percentages, when the whole of the geographical county was considered, but in each of the county areas over 40 per cent. of the children were attending non-provided elementary schools,

TABLE 6

VOLUNTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN EACH TYPE OF AREA

TYPE OF AREA	TOTAL NUMBER (I)	PERCENTAGE OF (I) TO TOTAL CHILDREN IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
Rural districts under county councils	470,928	48 1
Urban districts under county councils	310,905	31 6
Boroughs and urban districts	252,763	29 2
County boroughs	510,973	29 1
London	122,454	22 2
Total for England	1,668,023	32 5

TABLE 7

VOLUNTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN EACH REGION

REGIONS	TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENTAGE OF COLUMN II TO TOTAL CHILDREN IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	PROPORTION PER CENT OF RURAL TO TOTAL POPULATION
(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)
North	691,834	36 2	14 0
Midlands	322,000	31 7	25 0
East	97,466	37 8	47 0
South-east	326,706	28 5	22 0
London	122,454	22 2	0 0
South-west	170,563	42 5	43 0
Total for England	1,668,023	32 5	19 0

only two, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, had low proportions both in county areas and associated county boroughs

In the east, the proportion was found to be higher than the average in each of the counties, ranging from 32 4 (Norfolk) to 78 9 (Rutland) In the county areas of Suffolk, it was much higher in the west (58 5) than in the east (42 1) In Lincolnshire, the variation within the county was also noticeable, the proportion being highest in the western part, Kesteven (67 2), and lowest in the north, Lindsey (32 7)

In the south-east, London had the lowest percentage and Oxfordshire had the highest In the former the percentage, however, varied widely from one metropolitan borough to another, ranging from 8 0 (Fulham, Deptford) to 83 0 (City of London) Generally speaking, the percentage was very high north of the river, especially in older parts of the town City of London (83 0), Holborn (79 0), Westminster (72 0), St Marylebone (58 0), Chelsea (50 0), Paddington (46 0), and low in newer parts South of the river Woolwich (12 0), Lewisham (15 0), Greenwich (16 0), North of the river Hackney (11 0), Stoke Newington (13 0), Islington (17 0) Of the counties surrounding London, Essex and Middlesex had only 15 per cent of children attending voluntary schools, Kent and Surrey had more or less the same as the average for England, Hertfordshire had the highest (44 7) In Oxfordshire and Berkshire, the proportions in the county areas were much higher (77 9 Oxfordshire, 68 4 Berkshire) than

in the areas of other L E A s in the respective counties In the county areas of Sussex the proportion in the east (59 6) was higher than that of the west (48 6), the average for the whole of the geographical county being 46 8 Thus, in the south-east region, three counties—London, Middlesex and Essex—had the proportions much below the average , four counties—Bedfordshire (26 0), Surrey (28 3), Kent (32 1) and Hampshire (29 8)—had percentages slightly above or below the average , the remaining counties had about half of the children in voluntary public elementary schools

In the south-west region, the three eastern counties—Dorsetshire (58 9), Somersetshire (54 9) and Wiltshire (52 3)—had more than half of the elementary school children in non-provided schools Of the other two, Cornwall had the lower proportion (21 0)

The main cause of the diversity is, no doubt, historical The popularity and active support of various denominations had helped in establishing voluntary schools in the past, and, generally speaking, the area with a high proportion of the public elementary school children in attendance at voluntary schools indicates that it is a stronghold of one or more denominations Of the other factors one has been mentioned before The rural areas favoured the growth of voluntary schools, and in each region, as shown in the following table, the county with a higher proportion of rural population had a higher proportion of children in voluntary schools

TABLE 8

THE CONCENTRATION OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS IN RURAL AREAS

GEOGRAPHICAL COUNTIES	PROPORTION PER CENT OF RURAL TO TOTAL POPULATION	PROPORTION PER CENT OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN TO TOTAL PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION
North		
Westmorland	56 0	73 0
Yorkshire	16 0	26 0
Midlands		
Shropshire	53 0	63 0
Warwickshire	12 0	25 0
East		
Huntingdonshire	54 0	46 0
Lincolnshire	41 0	39 0
South-east		
Hertfordshire	30 0	45 0
Essex	16 0	15 0
South-west		
Dorset	64 0	59 0
Devonshire	31 0	33 0

But the above generalisation was subject to exceptions , as, for instance, in the north, urbanised counties—Lancashire and Cheshire—had a very high proportion of children in voluntary schools

Children under Compulsory School Age attending Public Elementary Schools

A large percentage of the L E A s do not ordinarily admit children under 5 years of age in public elementary schools which do not have

attached to them nursery or baby classes Some of the authorities, like Bristol,[1] where the general practice had been to admit freely such children, especially in the poorer parts of the city, have recently decided to restrict the admission to special cases certified by the school medical officer Others like York,[2] still continue to admit them until suitable provision can be made for drafting them to nursery schools

There exists a consensus of opinion among the L E A s as to the importance of establishing new nursery schools, especially since the issue of Circular 1405, in which the President of the Board of Education and the Minister of Health made a strong appeal to local authorities to consider the provision of nursery schools, or, as an alternative measure, nursery classes in infant schools

An attempt will be made below to estimate the proportion of the children between 3 and 5 years of age attending public elementary schools, with a view to seeing the attitude of different L E A s on the question of admission of children under compulsory school age

The total number of children under compulsory school age on the registers of public elementary schools in England on March 31st, 1934, was 134,223, or 12 1 per cent of the children between 3 and 5 years of age

Their distribution in each of the geographical regions has been shown in the following table

TABLE 9

CHILDREN UNDER COMPULSORY SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN EACH REGION IN 1933–4

REGIONS	TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENTAGE TO THE AGE-GROUP 3–5
North	56,568	14 0
Midlands	19,613	9 1
East	3,860	7 0
South-east	11,550	4 4
London	34,550	32 0
South-west	8,082	14 4
Total for England	134,223	12 1

Thus, the proportion ranged from 4 4 (south-east) to 32 0 (London). Besides London, only two of the regions, the north and the south-west, had proportions above the average for the whole of the country The remaining three regions, the Midlands, the east and the south-east, had proportions much below the average

The proportionate numbers within each region varied more widely than the regional ones In the north, it ranged from 0 5 to 19 8 None of the L E A s in the two counties, Northumberland (except Wallsend) and Durham (except Hebburn), cater for children under compulsory school age, hence the low proportion 0 5 Cumberland and Westmorland, on the other hand, take in children more freely The most generous authorities in this respect were Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire , in the former, all the forty-five L E A s (except perhaps the following Barrow-in-Furness, Bootle, Clitheroe, Lancaster, Mossley, and Chadderton) cater for children under compulsory school age , in the latter, all but Sheffield admit freely such children in public elementary schools, and then Sheffield made provision for nursery education in two of its nursery schools and

[1] *Bristol Education Committee Annual Report*, 1933–4

[2] *City of York Education Committee Annual Report*, 1933–4.

proposed to open new nursery classes [1] The proportion was much below the average in other parts of Yorkshire, it ranged from 2 9 in the North Riding to 6 7 in the East Riding, the county average being 17 6 The low average for Cheshire was mainly due to the policy of the Cheshire County Council

In the Midlands, the proportion ranged from 7 1 (Nottinghamshire) to 22 9 (Gloucestershire), or three times as much Of the ten counties, Herefordshire (4 7), Warwickshire (3 5), Staffordshire (4 5) had proportions below 5, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, had less than 10 per cent in schools, Leicestershire (14 7) and Worcestershire (14 9) had less than 15 per cent, Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire had each about 22— the only two counties in the Midlands where the percentages were well above the average for the whole of the country There was considerable variation within most of the counties from the area of one L E A to that of another, as, for example, in Nottinghamshire only two out of the six L E A s catered for children under 5 and the proportion would have decreased considerably had it not been for the Nottingham county borough, where a large number of children between 4 and 5 attended public elementary schools, in Staffordshire, quite a few were in county rural schools, in Warwickshire, within the area of the county council, there was a large percentage, but the chief associated county borough, Birmingham had none, even in the counties with the highest proportion, Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire, it was the two towns Bristol and Peterborough that had raised the average figures

In the east, it was below the average in all the counties except two, ranging from 2 9 (Lincolnshire) to 18 3 in Huntingdonshire In the former, the Kesteven county authority did not cater at all for such children, and the other L E A s [2] restricted the admission to the age-group 4–5, though the proportion varied considerably from one administrative county to another parts of Lindsey (2 4), parts of Holland (7 9) In the latter, it was more or less uniformly distributed throughout the county The proportion in the following administrative counties was about the same, slightly above the average West Suffolk (12 6), Cambridgeshire (13 1), and Rutland (12 8) In Suffolk and [illegible] however, the other administrative counties, that is to say [illegible] 3 9) in the former and Isle of Ely (5 1) had a very low proportion In Norfolk slightly above 10 per cent of the public elementary school children were attending voluntary schools

The south-east (without London) had the lowest in England, and within the region the proportion of children attending public elementary schools ranged from nil to about 20 Only one county (or rather two, including Isle of Wight (15 9)), Oxfordshire, had this high percentage, all the rest having less than 10 Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire had none at all In London the proportion ranged from 16 0 (Stoke Newington) to 48 1 (Stepney), most of the metropolitan boroughs in the eastern part of the town had a high proportion, as, for example, Bethnal Green (46 0), and Bermondsey (46 0) Of the counties surrounding London, Essex had the highest (7), about 60 per cent of such children were attending West Ham schools, Middlesex county authority do not ordinarily admit such children in their schools, and most of the Part III authorities there seemed to restrict the admission to the age-group 4–5, in Surrey, half the number were attending Croydon schools, Kent had quite a few between 4 and 5 years of age within the county area, and amongst the 16 Part III authorities more than half (9) had none In Oxfordshire, all the L E A s had admitted children under compulsory school age in their schools, and thus the average figure was the highest in this region In Sussex, only large towns, Brighton, Eastbourne, Hastings admitted freely such children The same thing was found in Hampshire

In the south-west the proportion ranged from 8 8 (Cornwall) to 17 8

[1] *City of Sheffield Educational Committee's Annual Report*, 1933–4.

[2] Lincoln had none.

(Wiltshire) The two counties, Cornwall and Dorset (11 6), had proportions below the average In Wiltshire,[1] both the county authority and the Swindon L E A admitted freely children under 5 In Devonshire, 50 per cent of such children were attending Plymouth public elementary schools

To summarise, the vast majority of the children under compulsory school age attending public elementary schools were found in two areas, viz (1) London and (2) Lancashire-West Riding Generally speaking, the proportion within the areas of county boroughs was much higher than that of other areas But this generalisation was subject to exceptions, Warwickshire being one of them

The main cause of the diversity is no doubt related to the nature of occupations of women, that is to say, L E A s cannot but admit to their schools children coming from poorer homes where their mothers cannot look after them during the day That is why the percentages of children on rolls to total number scheduled between 3–5 were very high in poorer parts of London, such as Bermondsey, Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, Stepney, and Poplar, and very low in relatively richer parts, such as Stoke Newington (north of the river) and Lewisham (south of the river) It is of some interest to observe that the number of junior scholarships gained per 1,000 elementary school children was the minimum in the former group of metropolitan boroughs, and the maximum in the latter, owing to the fact that pre-school children live in adverse conditions prevailing in the former area, such as bad housing, lack of open spaces, overcrowding in private families, etc This shows the urgent necessity for making educational provision more suitable to the needs of pre-school children, especially where there is a marked deterioration in the health of child population due to causes mentioned above Howevei ' areas where the same set of conditions prevail, the proportion of ider 5 in public elementary schools depends on the domestic policy of the local education authority

Children attending Public Elementary Schools of the Appropriate Age-Group

The classification of children attending public elementary schools is mainly based on their ages It has long been the practice in this country to provide separate infant schools for children between 5 and 7 or 8 years of age , and since 1926 " All-Age " schools that have or had retained pupils of all ages from 5 to 14 are being reorganised on the lines of the recommendations made in the Consultative Committee's Report on the Education of the Adolescent, that is to say, they are divided into three categories infant schools for children between 5 and 7 , junior schools for boys and girls between 7 + and 11 + , and senior schools for children over 11 The Board of Education has recently published (List 49) statistics showing to what extent the schools in the areas of individual authorities have been reorganised The figures in the list are related to only two age-groups, pupils under 11, and 11 and over For an effective comparison, perhaps it is better to relate the figures to three age-groups, pupils between 5 and 7, between 7 and 11, and between 11 and 14 The figures quoted in the following pages relate to the same year and have been worked out independently from the original materials kindly furnished by the Board It will be seen that the first set of figures which was related to the age-group 5–7 was found to exceed 100 per cent in several areas, mainly because of the inclusion of children below and above that age-group The distribution of public elementary school children by type of school in each of the regions is shown in Table 10

This table clearly indicates that London had the highest proportion in all the three types of schools , east and south-west had the lowest , of the remaining three regions, the north had the highest only in infant schools , in junior and senior schools the Midlands had the highest, and the south-east had slightly higher than the north.

[1] Salisbury had none.

TABLE 10

CHILDREN ATTENDING REORGANISED PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN EACH REGION

REGIONS	INFANT SCHOOLS		JUNIOR SCHOOLS		SENIOR SCHOOLS	
	NUMBER OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS AGE GROUP 5–7	NUMBER OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS AGE GROUP 7–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS AGE GROUP 11–14
North	412,079	114 9	396,430	56 5	244,791	46 9
Midlands	197,040	101 7	279,711	65 8	182,444	53 7
East	32,629	67 9	45,410	43 5	27,940	33 5
South-east	205,380	100 6	283,811	59 6	186,398	50 5
London	154,020	159 8	142,289	65 9	121,530	67 8
South-west	30,905	65 9	52,923	49 6	25,980	31 6
Total for England	1,032,053	109 2	1,200,574	59 0	789,083	50 2

As to the proportions in different parts of a region, it was found that in the north the proportion in infant schools was uniformly high in all the counties except Westmorland (10 8) It ranged from 85 (Cumberland) to 123 (Lancashire) Four of the counties—Lancashire (122 9), Yorkshire (112 1), Northumberland (120), Durham (115 4)—had exceeded 100 The proportion varied more widely in junior schools, ranging from 37 2 (Cumberland) to 71 2 (Lancashire) Besides Lancashire, three others—Durham (53 7), Yorkshire (52), Cheshire (51)—had over 50, not much below the average for the whole of the country Cumberland (37 2) and Westmorland (42) were below the average The variation was even wider in senior schools, the proportion ranging from 21 (Westmorland) to 67 (Lancashire), or three times as much Next to Lancashire were Durham (44 2) and Cheshire (42 4), exactly in the same order as regards junior school proportion Yorkshire showed here a rather low proportion (38 0), because there were a large number of pupils in senior divisions which have not been included It is worth mentioning that Northumberland (44 6) had a slightly higher proportion in senior schools than in junior Cumberland (28 5) and Westmorland (20 8), as in the other, had the lowest Thus in the north was found a very large percentage in infant schools, but in junior and senior schools the proportions were below the average for the country in all the counties except Lancashire, which had far exceeded the other county averages

As in the north, the Midlands had also high proportions of children in infant schools in most of the counties, ranging from 47 7 (Herefordshire) to 112 8 (Staffordshire) Besides the one already mentioned, only one other—Shropshire (60 9)—had a small percentage In the rest of the region it was slightly below 100 in two counties—Warwickshire (89 1) and Northamptonshire (98 0)—and was over 100 in six—Staffordshire (112 8), Nottinghamshire (110 7), Leicestershire (109 2), Gloucestershire (108 0), Worcestershire (106 2), Derbyshire (102 1) It should be noted that only two of these admit freely children under compulsory school age

Now, in reorganised schools, the proportion of children attending junior departments varied considerably, ranging from 10 7 (Herefordshire) to 80 3 (Leicestershire), or about eight times as much Besides the one with the lowest, Shropshire (32 4) and Northamptonshire (41 6) had proportions much below the average In three of the counties—Worcestershire (56 8), Derbyshire (54 6) and Gloucestershire (47 1)—it was not far below the

average, besides the one with the highest, three others had very high proportions of children attending junior schools Warwickshire (78 9), Staffordshire (75 8) and Nottinghamshire (67 8)

The diversity of the provision of senior school accommodation was the widest The proportion of children attending such schools was found to vary from 0 (Herefordshire) to 71 (Warwickshire) Shropshire (23 6), and Northamptonshire (27 7) had a low proportion As in regard to junior schools, Derbyshire (42 1), Gloucestershire (41 6) and Worcestershire (39 1) can be grouped together, though their positions in this ladder are slightly different The rest of the counties can be grouped into one, the proportion in each of them being considerably high Warwickshire (70 6), Staffordshire (64 0), Nottinghamshire (61 1), Leicestershire (50 3) The proportion in Leicestershire would have been much higher if children attending senior divisions were included

Thus, the counties in the Midlands can be grouped into three according to the rate of the progress in carrying out the reorganisation scheme, viz (1) most progressive Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire, (2) average Derbyshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, (3) slow Northamptonshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire

None of the counties in the east had the proportions in any type of these schools above the average for the whole of the country In infant schools it ranged from 37 6 (Rutland) to 84 3 (Norfolk)

About one-third of the children were in Lincolnshire, though the index for that county did not indicate it, for the simple reason that the number of children of that age-group attending public elementary schools was correspondingly higher

Unlike the north and the Midlands, the diversity in proportions of children attending junior and senior schools was small in the east In five of the six counties, the proportion in junior schools ranged from 38 5 (Norfolk) to 50 9 (Suffolk), though in the latter it was considerably higher in East Suffolk (75 0) than West Suffolk (1 7) Only one county—Huntingdonshire (7 7)—had an exceptionally low proportion Besides Suffolk, two other counties, Rutland (44 0) and Lincolnshire (47 5) exceeded the average for the region In Lincolnshire it was highest in Lindsey (61 1) and lowest in Holland (9 4) Cambridgeshire (41 1) had over 40 per cent

The proportions in senior schools tells us more or less the same story Huntingdonshire had none The relatively high proportion in Rutland (53 1) was mainly due to the fact that there were only 838 children of that age in it In the rest of the counties it ranged from 26 0 (Suffolk) to 38 9 (Lincolnshire) In Suffolk schools only in the eastern part have been reorganised, and quite a large number of pupils in the county area of that part attended senior divisions, thus the average figure for Suffolk rather represents that of East Suffolk Similarly, in Lincolnshire it is only one part, Lindsey (54 9), that has reorganised its schools to a considerable extent, both in the areas under the county council and the two county boroughs—Grimsby and Lincoln, hence the small proportion in Kesteven (9 6) and Holland (2 4)

Unlike the three regions mentioned above, the south-east had considerable divergence in the proportion of children attending infant schools It ranged from 53 1 (Berkshire) to 120 2 (Essex) London had an exceptionally high proportion (159 8), the highest in the whole of the country Besides Essex, two others had over 100 Middlesex (116 6), Hampshire (115 1) Bedfordshire (91 6) and two of the counties surrounding London—Surrey (94 2), Kent (90 9)—can be grouped together, each having over 90 0 Of the remaining counties, Berkshire had slightly over 50 0, the lowest for the region, Hertfordshire (70 3), Buckinghamshire (70 5), Oxfordshire (74 3) and Sussex (74 9) had slightly over 70 0

The proportion of children attending junior schools was considerably higher in most of the counties in this region It ranged from 26 8 (Buckinghamshire) to 70 7 (Middlesex) Of the counties surrounding London besides Middlesex, Surrey (68 4) and Essex (60 1) had between 60 0 and

70 0, Kent (46 7) and Hertfordshire (48 6) had slightly below 50 0 Outside the home counties it was over 60 0 in the two Hampshire (66 3) and Oxfordshire (60 1), and slightly below 60 0 in the three Bedfordshire (58 5), Sussex (58 7) and Berkshire (56 8)

The proportion of children attending senior schools was higher than the average in five of the eleven counties It ranged from 15 4 (Buckinghamshire) to 67 9 (Surrey) London had the highest (68 0), and it should be noted that this proportion was slightly higher than that in junior schools, because the city made wonderful educational provision for pupils of this age-group, not only in ordinary schools, but in selective types known as central schools Now, of the counties surrounding London, besides Surrey, Middlesex (56 1) and Essex (55 1) had over 55 0, Kent (42 9) had over 40 0, it was lowest in Hertfordshire (35 7) Outside the home counties Sussex (52 6) and Hampshire (50 0) had 50 0 or slightly over In the former, however, East Sussex (61 7) had twice as much as in West Sussex (31 2), Bedfordshire (47 4) and Berkshire (45 0) had 45 0 or slightly over In Oxfordshire a large number of children attended senior divisions, hence the proportion in separate senior schools was found to be much lower than that in junior schools Thus, in the south-east, generally speaking, the [illegible] scheme has made headway in all the counties except one—Buckinghamshire

Unlike the south-east the south-west region did not make good progress in carrying out the scheme It had the lowest proportion of children attending infant schools, only one of the counties—Wiltshire (84 1)—had a proportion slightly below 85 0, in this respect they resembled the counties in the east, and also that there was very little diversity from one county to the other, the proportion ranging from 58 3 (Cornwall) to 68 4 (Dorsetshire)

The proportion of children attending junior schools was higher in Devonshire (69 6), slightly below the average in Somersetshire (56 3) and decidedly low in the other three counties Wiltshire (36 1), Dorsetshire (30 4) and Cornwall (23 9)

Devonshire (45 3) had also the highest proportion in senior schools, the three counties Somersetshire (38 8) Wiltshire (28 5) and Dorsetshire (25 4) had between 25 0 and 30 0, it was lowest in Cornwall (13 6)

Many factors operate to produce the diversity in the proportion of children attending these schools, of these the following are worth mentioning

(1) The Scattered Nature of the Population in Rural Areas

In rural areas a section of the people is positively against this scheme, as they think that junior school children, when conveyed to senior schools with large centres with a distinct industrial outlook, will develop the "town mind" and will shrink from undertaking [illegible] occupations The local education authority in the county [illegible] is very keen in tackling this problem, as best it can, where senior schools cannot be established, the authority has opened centres for practical instruction, at which senior children from schools in adjacent areas attend for an average period of two and a half days a week However, most of the predominantly rural areas find it very difficult to convey children from areas, far and wide, to large centres, and as a consequence the proportions, as shown in Table 11, of children attending junior and senior schools in these areas are lowest

Thus in each of these regions the area with a lesser proportion of rural population had a greater proportion of children in reorganised schools

(2) Economic Conditions of the Respective Areas

The rate of the progress of the reorganisation of schools on the lines of the Hadow Report, no doubt, depends on economic conditions in an area, as it invariably involves expenditure on new buildings Many L E A s have erected buildings of a temporary character for this purpose, but even that may not be within the reach of several small L.E A s of limited

TABLE 11

RURAL POPULATION AND THE PROGRESS OF THE REORGANISATION SCHEME

COUNTIES	PROPORTION PER CENT OF RURAL TO TOTAL POPULATION	PROPORTION PER CENT OF CHILDREN ATTENDING JUNIOR SCHOOLS TO TOTAL CHILDREN OF THE AGE-GROUP 7–11	PROPORTION PER CENT OF PUPILS ATTENDING SENIOR SCHOOLS TO TOTAL PUPILS OF THE AGE-GROUP 11–14
North			
Lancashire	5 0	71 0	67 0
Westmorland	56 0	42 0	21 0
Midlands			
Warwickshire	12 0	79 0	71 0
Herefordshire	63 0	11 0	—
East			
Parts of Lindsey (Lincolnshire)	32 0	61 0	55 0
Huntingdonshire	54 0	8 0	—
South-east			
Middlesex	3 0	71 0	56 0
Buckinghamshire	54 0	27 0	15 0
South-west			
Devonshire	31 0	70 0	45 0
Cornwall	55 0	24 0	14 0

resources It will be interesting to see to what extent the relative prosperity of an area, so far as it can be judged by the rateable value index, has affected the rate of the progress of this scheme For this purpose it is perhaps better to select two Part III Authorities, preferably from the same county, as other factors influencing the rate of the progress do not obscure the relation, at least not to a great extent The results of the investigations carried out on this line have been tabulated in Table 12

This table shows very clearly, that in each of the regions, the borough with a greater amount of rateable value and rates realised per head had a greater proportion of children in reorganised schools It will also be seen that cost per child was invariably higher in areas which made a greater progress in carrying out the reorganisation scheme , there was only one exception in the Midlands, where the cost per child in Royal Leamington Spa was slightly less than that in Nuneaton, though the former had a much greater proportion of children in reorganised schools No comparison should be made between two boroughs situated in distant counties, as conditions under which these figures have been obtained vary widely from one region to another, and even from one county to another

(3) The Existing System of Dual Control of Public Elementary Schools

It has already been remarked in the beginning of the chapter that the existence of non-provided schools is a handicap to many L E A s in carrying out the reorganisation scheme Our later investigations substantiate this statement It was shown that London, the south-east and the Midlands had the lowest proportion of children in voluntary schools , and the highest in reorganised departments , the east and the south-west had the highest

TABLE 12

ECONOMIC INDEX AND THE RATE OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REORGANISATION OF SCHOOLS

BOROUGHS WITH HIGHER OR LOWER ECONOMICAL INDEX IN EACH REGION	PROPORTION PER CENT OF CHILDREN ATTENDING JUNIOR SCHOOLS TO THE TOTAL CHILDREN BETWEEN 7 AND 11 YEARS OF AGE IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	PROPORTION PER CENT OF CHILDREN ATTENDING SENIOR SCHOOLS TO THE TOTAL CHILDREN BETWEEN 11 AND 14 YEARS OF AGE IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION	AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RATES COLLECTED PER HEAD OF POPULATION	TOTAL NET EXPENDITURE PER CHILD
			£ s	£ s	£ s
North					
Durham	79	77	5 9	4 5	11 16
Hartlepool	43	42	3 6	2 4	9 15
Midlands					
Royal Leamington Spa	117	90	9 18	4 7	10 10
Nuneaton	37	39	4 10	3 0	10 13
East					
Cambridge	43	47	8 16	3 19	12 1
Boston	0	0	5 4	2 19	8 1
South-east					
Barking	93	93	8 17	5 17	14 0
Colchester	49	49	6 2	3 15	12 11
South-west					
Torquay	128	87	11 5	5 15	12 10
Tiverton	35	0	5 18	2 13	10 8

proportion of children in voluntary schools, and the lowest in reorganised departments. Thus, generally speaking, the areas with the highest proportion of children in voluntary schools had the lowest in reorganised departments, and vice versa[1]. Now, it will be interesting to compare the rate of the progress in these two types of schools. In 1933–4 the council schools contained 2,392,242 children in the reorganised departments, that is to say, about 70 per cent of the total children in the council schools were being educated in infant, junior and senior schools, the non-provided schools contained 629,488, or 38 per cent of their total children in the reorganised departments. Thus the provided schools had made twice as much progress as the non-provided ones. The differential rate of the progress between the two types of course varied from one part of the country to another, as is shown in the following Table 13.

Thus the progress of the reorganisation of non-provided schools in relation to that of provided schools situated in the same region was least in the east and London, and most in the south-west, the south-east represented the average for the country, the north and the Midlands had slightly over one-half.

A detailed study of similar figures relating to these types of schools in the areas of individual authorities will tell us more or less the same story.

[1] Compare Table 7, page 933, with Table 10, page 938.

TABLE 13

THE SLOWER RATE OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REORGANISATION SCHEME IN SCHOOLS UNDER VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES OR DENOMINATIONS

REGIONS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN REORGANISED DEPARTMENTS OF THE PROVIDED SCHOOLS (I)	PERCENTAGE OF COLUMN I TO TOTAL CHILDREN IN THE PROVIDED SCHOOLS (II)	NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN REORGANISED DEPARTMENTS OF THE NON-PROVIDED SCHOOLS (III)	PERCENTAGE OF COLUMN III TO TOTAL CHILDREN IN THE NON-PROVIDED SCHOOLS (IV)
North	779,457	63 9	273,843	39 6
Midlands	525,516	75 7	133,679	41 5
East	83,845	52 3	22,134	22 7
South-east	562,188	68 4	113,401	34 1
London	372,150	86 6	45,689	37 2
South-west	69,066	46 9	40,742	37 9
Total for England	2,392,222	69 3	629,488	37 7

In the north the proportion of children in reorganised departments ranged from 40 3 (Westmorland) to 69 8 (Cheshire) in council schools, from 23 9 (Westmorland) to 48 1 (Northumberland) in voluntary schools In three of the counties—Northumberland, Durham (42 9) and Lancashire (40 6)—about 40 per cent of children attending voluntary schools were in their reorganised departments, in those counties over 60 per cent were in the reorganised departments of council schools The other two counties with high proportions of children in council schools—Cheshire and Yorkshire (62 0)—had 34 9 and 38 4, or slightly over half, in reorganised voluntary schools In Cumberland the difference between the two proportions was minimum, being 46 6 for council schools and 30 9 for voluntary schools Thus the proportion of children attending reorganised voluntary schools was about one-half of that of council schools in two counties, and over one-half in the remaining counties

In the Midlands the proportion of children in reorganised departments ranged from 20 1 (Herefordshire) to 86 9 (Warwickshire) in the council schools, and 7 0 (Herefordshire) to 58 5 (Leicestershire) in voluntary schools Besides Leicestershire, Staffordshire (55 6) had a high proportion in voluntary schools, the corresponding figures for council schools being 76 5 and 83 6 in the respective counties Four of the other counties—Warwickshire (42 2), Worcestershire (40 6), Derbyshire (38 3) and Nottinghamshire (38 0)—had about 40 per cent, the corresponding figures for council schools being 86 9, 72 6, 63 6, and 79 8 respectively Gloucestershire (32 3) and Northamptonshire (35 3) had over 30 0 in voluntary schools, the former having 63 3 and the latter 49 9 in council schools Besides Herefordshire, Shropshire had low proportions in both types of schools, 23 3 for voluntary and 48 9 for council schools Thus in each of the counties the proportion of children attending reorganised voluntary schools was lower than that in reorganised council schools, it was decidedly less than one-half only in one county, about one-half in four, and distinctly over one-half in the other five counties

In the east the proportion of children in [illegible] departments ranged from nil (Rutland) to 59 3 (Lincolnshire) [illegible] schools, and from 11 7 (Huntingdonshire) to 55 2 (Rutland) in voluntary schools Rutland's exceptionally high proportion in voluntary schools is due to the fact that

the vast majority of children were attending those schools The proportion in the voluntary school was about one-half in two, Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, one-third in Norfolk and Suffolk and in Cambridgeshire almost as high as that of council schools

In the south-east the first proportion ranged from 39 6 (Buckinghamshire) to 76 0 (Middlesex) in the former type of school, and from 14 9 (Buckinghamshire) to 53 5 (Oxfordshire) in the other type Besides Oxfordshire, only one other county, Bedfordshire (50 7), had over 50 0 in voluntary schools, it will be interesting to observe that Oxfordshire was the only county[1] in the whole of England where the proportion of children attending reorganised voluntary schools was considerably higher (about three times) than that of children attending similar council schools, and it will be remembered that Cambridgeshire was another area where the proportion was also high (about the same as in council schools) The proportion in council schools in Oxfordshire was, however, as low as 18 4, and this probably accounts for the high figure in voluntary schools there, the similar figure for Bedfordshire was slightly over 60 0 In London one of the metropolitan boroughs, Stoke Newington, has reorganised all the public elementary schools, both provided and non-provided, five other boroughs, Fulham, Hampstead, St Marylebone, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, have reorganised all the council schools, the proportion of children attending such schools in the remaining parts of the town ranged[2] from 44 0 (Holborn) to 97 0 (St Pancras), the corresponding figures relating to non-provided schools ranging from 15 0 (Wandsworth, Hammersmith, Hackney) to 58 0 (Woolwich) In the counties surrounding London the proportion of children in reorganised voluntary schools was highest in Middlesex (43 2), and about 35 0 in Kent (35 2) and Surrey (34 0), and 30 0 in Hertfordshire (30 2) and Essex (28 6) The corresponding figures in council schools were 76 0, 60 1, 74 9, 58 9 and 72 9 respectively Outside the home counties besides those already mentioned, Sussex had the highest in voluntary schools (40 0), or over one-half of that in council schools (70 0) The two remaining counties—Berkshire (27 9) and Hampshire (30 2)—had a low proportion in voluntary schools, less than one-half of that in council schools Thus in the south-east the proportions of children in reorganised voluntary schools were about one-half of those in council schools in four counties, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, decidedly less than one-half in Essex, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, over one-half in Sussex and Middlesex, about equal in Bedfordshire, and considerably higher in Oxfordshire

In the south-west Cornwall had the lowest proportions both in council (27 2) and voluntary (17 7) schools In the remaining counties it ranged from 33 3 (Dorsetshire) to 60 7 (Devonshire) in council schools, and from 33 3 (Dorsetshire) to 41 8 (Somersetshire) in voluntary schools

The proportion of children in reorganised voluntary schools in relation to that in similar schools of the other type was decidedly higher in this region than elsewhere in the country, three counties—Dorsetshire, Wiltshire and Somersetshire—had practically the same proportions in both types of schools, Devonshire had slightly less in voluntary than in council schools

The proportions of children attending reorganised voluntary schools would have been much smaller if only junior and senior school children had been taken into consideration Of the total children in infant, junior and senior schools 20 8 per cent were in voluntary schools, but the proportions when estimated separately for each type of school varied considerably, being highest in infant schools (27 0), and lowest in senior schools (10 2) The proportionate numbers relating to each of the regions have been tabulated in Table 14

[1] The small county, Rutland, where about 80 per cent of children were in voluntary schools

[2] Schools in the "City of London" could not be reorganised owing to the very small number of children.

TABLE 14

THE NATURE OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOL REORGANISATION

REGIONS	PROPORTION PER CENT OF CHILDREN IN REORGANISED VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS TO TOTAL	PROPORTION PER CENT OF CHILDREN IN VOLUNTARY INFANT SCHOOLS TO TOTAL INFANT SCHOOL POPULATION	PROPORTION PER CENT OF CHILDREN IN VOLUNTARY JUNIOR SCHOOLS TO TOTAL JUNIOR SCHOOL POPULATION	PROPORTION PER CENT OF PUPILS IN VOLUNTARY SENIOR SCHOOLS TO TOTAL SENIOR SCHOOL POPULATION
North	26 0	32 9	28 0	11 3
Midlands	20 3	24 4	25 8	7 5
East	20 9	24 1	24 7	12 5
South-east	16 8	18 4	20 4	8 9
London	10 9	?	?	?
South-west	37 1	28 0	47 2	27 4
Total for England	20 8	27 0	24 1	8 7

Thus, the proportion in senior schools was lowest in every region, the proportions in junior schools were about the same as in those in infant schools in the Midlands, the east and the south-east, and lower in the north

A detailed analysis of these proportions within each region brings out more or less the same results, which indicate clearly the urgent need for bold action on the part of the Central Authority concerning voluntary schools, and it is of interest to note in this connection that the National Government intends to enact a legislation empowering local education authorities to give building grants to voluntary schools with a view to accelerating the progress of reorganisation

Number of Elementary School Leavers proceeding to further Full-time Institutions in 1933–4

The number of children leaving the public elementary schools of England in the year 1933–4 was 593,780 Of this number, 62,988 (10 6 per cent) entered secondary schools, 11,361 (1 9 per cent) entered junior technical, junior commercial and junior housewifery schools, and 15,220 (2 6 per cent) entered other full-time institutions for higher education It is encouraging to know that each of these proportions represents a substantial increase on the level of ten years ago as quoted in the Hadow Report [1]

The corresponding proportionate numbers relating to the areas of each type of local education authority, as shown in Table 14, do not show so much diversity as is generally believed

Thus, the proportion entering secondary schools ranged from 7 5 to 11 9, that entering junior technical schools, etc, from 1 0 to 3 2, the proportion entering other full-time institutions ranged from 2 3 to 2 7 London had the lowest proportion entering secondary schools, but the highest in other types of schools The proportion entering secondary schools was much the same both in the areas under the county councils and those under the Part III Authorities, though the other proportions were slightly higher in the former, and, contrary to expectation, the proportion of leavers entering secondary schools was lower in the areas of the county boroughs than even that in the rural areas, though a greater proportion

[1] *The Education of the Adolescent*, page 47

TABLE 15

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS ENTERING FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN 1933-4

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS		FOR JUNIOR TECHNICAL, JUNIOR COMMERCIAL, JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS		FOR OTHER FULL TIME INSTITUTIONS	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Rural areas under the county councils	100,388	10,461	10 4	1,027	1 0	2,277	2 3
Urban areas under the county councils	120,574	14,384	11 9	1,889	1 6	3,077	2 5
Boroughs and urban districts	91,887	10,966	11 9	1,991	2 2	2,413	2 6
County boroughs	216,809	22,392	10 3	4,426	2 0	5,694	2 6
London	64,122	4,785	7 5	2,028	3 2	1,759	2 7
Total for England	593,780	62,988	10 6	11,361	1 9	15,220	2 6

had entered technical and other full-time institutions As regards the proportion entering junior technical schools, etc , it was found to be highest in London and lowest in the rural areas Next to London, the highest proportion was found in the areas under the Part III Authorities , the county boroughs had a slightly lower proportion , in the areas under county councils it was higher in the urban districts than in the rural The diversity in the provision of the other full-time institutions, not clearly defined, was a minimum , the proportion entering such schools was highest in London and lowest in rural areas , the other types of areas had each about 2 5

Each type of area, however, showed some diversity from one region to another The figures relating to the rural areas under the county councils are shown in Table 16

The proportion entering secondary schools from the rural areas ranged from 8 7 to 12 7 , that entering junior technical schools, etc , from 0 6 to 1 9 , that entering other full-time institutions from 1 5 to 3 4 The first proportion was highest in the south-west and lowest in the east and south-east , it was slightly over the average in the Midlands and the north The proportion entering junior technical schools, etc , was, however, highest in the south-east , next came the north , the other regions had each about 0 6 below the average The third proportion was highest in the south-east and south-west, considerably higher than the average , each of the remaining regions had slightly below 2 0

Table 17 gives the corresponding figures relating to the urban areas under the county councils

From the county urban areas the proportion proceeding for secondary education ranged from 9 3 to 15 8 , for technical education from 0 4 to 3 5 , for other types it ranged from 1 1 to 3 5 The first proportion was highest in the south-west , next were the east and the south-east , it was lowest in the Midlands , and slightly above the average in the north It will be interesting to compare these proportions with the corresponding ones in the respective rural areas The south-west had highest proportions both in the rural and urban districts under the county councils , the north and

TABLE 16

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS FROM THE COUNTY RURAL AREAS ENTERING FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS IN 1933–4

REGIONS, COUNTY RURAL AREAS	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL		FOR JUNIOR TECHNICAL, JUNIOR COMMERCIAL, JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS		FOR OTHER FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
North	28,463	3,136	11 0	291	1 0	553	1 9
Midlands	25,977	2,812	10 8	158	0 6	389	1 5
East	13,435	1,161	8 7	99	0 7	255	1 9
South-east	21,412	1,945	9 1	418	1 9	704	3 3
South-west	11,101	1,407	12 7	61	0 6	376	3 4
Total for the rural areas	100,388	10,461	10 4	1,027	1 0	1,027	2 3

TABLE 17

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS FROM THE COUNTY URBAN AREAS ENTERING FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS IN 1933–4

REGIONS, COUNTY URBAN AREAS	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS		FOR JUNIOR TECHNICAL, JUNIOR COMMERCIAL, JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS		FOR OTHER FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
North	47,274	5,546	11 7	445	0 9	848	1 8
Midlands	22,813	2,113	9 3	118	0 5	255	1 1
East	6,584	865	13 1	26	0 4	150	2 3
South-east	36,419	4,675	12 9	1,274	3 5	1,628	3 5
South-west	7,484	1,185	15 8	26	0 4	196	2 6
Total for the urban areas	120,574	14,384	11 9	1,889	1 6	3,077	2 5

the Midlands had proportions slightly above and below the averages in the rural and urban areas respectively, the proportions in the two types of areas in the east and south-east were in a reversed order, being higher in the urban districts The positions of the region in respect to the proportions entering full-time institutions other than secondary schools are more or less the same in both types of areas, in the urban districts the south-east had a very high proportion proceeding to junior technical and schools of similar type, in the rest of the country it was very low, much below the average.

The proportions relating to the areas under the Part III Authorities are shown below

TABLE 18

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS FROM THE AREAS UNDER THE PART III AUTHORITIES ENTERING FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS IN 1933–4

REGIONS, BOROUGHS AND URBAN DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS		FOR JUNIOR TECHNICAL, JUNIOR COMMERCIAL, JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS		FOR OTHER SCHOOLS	
		NUMBER	PER-CENTAGE	NUMBER	PER-CENTAGE	NUMBER	PER-CENTAGE
North	27,304	3,058	11 2	312	1 1	361	1 3
Midlands	15,273	1,247	8 2	104	0 7	169	1 1
East	2,563	278	10 8	20	0 8	24	0 9
South-east	42,039	5,744	13 7	1,491	3 5	1,707	4 1
South-west	4,708	639	13 6	64	1 3	152	3 2
Total for the boroughs and urban districts	91,887	10,966	11 9	1,991	2 2	2,413	2 6

The above table shows clearly that amongst the boroughs and urban districts those in the south-east region had the highest proportion of elementary school leavers proceeding for further education in each type of school, those in the south-west had the next highest, those in the Midlands had the lowest, and that, generally speaking, the proportions in the north and the east were about the same It will also be seen that of the three regions—north, Midlands and east—the proportion entering junior technical and schools of similar type was highest in the first and about the same in the other two

Table 19 shows the proportions of elementary school leavers entering full-time institutions from the areas under the county boroughs in different parts

Thus, of the total number of elementary school leavers from the county boroughs in England proceeding for further full-time education in 1933–4, more than one-half went from those in the north, but it must be noted that the total number of leavers in that region was even higher than those in all the other regions put together Now, expressed as percentages of the total number of elementary school leavers, it was highest in the south-west for each type of school, though from that area less than 1,000 proceeded for secondary and only 250 for each of the other two types of schools The proportion for secondary schools was lowest in the Midlands, and it was more or less the same in the other three regions Next to the south-west, the proportion for junior technical schools, etc, was highest in the Midlands and the south-east, it was slightly less in the north, and lowest in the east The proportions proceeding to the third type of institution were high indeed in the south-west and south-east, about the average in the north and the east, and lowest in the Midlands

To summarise, generally speaking the south-west region had the highest proportions of elementary school leavers entering for secondary education in each type of area (except in the area under the Part III Authorities),

TABLE 19

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS FROM THE COUNTY BOROUGHS ENTERING FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS IN 1933–4

REGIONS, COUNTY BOROUGHS	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS		FOR JUNIOR TECHNICAL, JUNIOR COMMERCIAL, JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS		FOR OTHER TYPES OF SCHOOLS	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
North	120,562	12,614	10 5	2,215	1 9	3,024	2 5
Midlands	56,437	5,345	9 5	1,275	2 3	1,010	1 8
East	6,894	781	11 3	56	0 8	172	2 5
South-east	28,081	2,864	10 2	627	2 2	1,236	4 4
South-west	4,835	788	16 3	253	5 2	252	5 2
Total for the county boroughs	216,809	22,392	10 3	4,426	2 0	5,694	2 6

and a fairly high proportion (highest in the county boroughs) for other forms of full-time institutions, the south-east had the highest proportions for junior technical schools, etc, and other full-time institutions (except in the areas under the county boroughs), and a fairly high proportion for secondary schools except in the rural areas (highest in the area under the Part III Authorities), the north had the proportions about equal to the average numbers for the respective areas, the Midlands and the east had the lowest, though the former had a fairly high proportion proceeding to secondary schools from the rural areas, and to junior technical and similar type of schools from the county boroughs, the latter had a high proportion proceeding to secondary schools from county boroughs and urban districts under the county councils

The total figures for each region are tabulated in Table 20 with a view to finding out causes of their diversity

This table will obviously tell us much the same story, and the general conclusions drawn from the previous tables will be equally applicable to this Now, it might be of some interest to compare the proportionate figures given in this with those in other tables Firstly, a comparison between the proportionate numbers proceeding for secondary education and secondary school population[1] indicates that the former depend to a certain extent on the secondary school accommodation in the different regions, thus the highest proportions proceeding for secondary education were from those areas (south-west and south-east) which had relatively the largest number of secondary school places, and vice versa (London and Midlands), the north and the east occupy intermediate positions in both these tables Secondly, a comparison between these figures and those in attendance at non-provided public elementary schools[2] will indicate that regions with a greater proportion of children in non-provided elementary schools send more of their children to secondary, the possible causes being that either parents of such children are economically better off than those who send their children to provided public elementary schools and/or local secondary schools cater more for such children, thus the south-east occupied the highest, London and Midlands the lowest, position in both

[1] See Table 34, page 964.

[2] See Table 7, page 933

TABLE 20

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS PROCEEDING FOR FURTHER FULL-TIME EDUCATION (ALL AREAS)

REGIONS, ALL AREAS	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS		FOR JUNIOR TECHNICAL, JUNIOR COMMERCIAL JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY SCHOOLS		FOR OTHER FULL TIME INSTITUTIONS	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
North	223,613	24,354	10 9	3,264	1 5	4,786	2 1
Midlands	120,501	11,517	9 5	1,655	1 4	1,823	1 5
East	29,476	3,085	10 5	201	0 7	601	2 1
South-east	127,920	15,228	12 0	3,808	3 0	5,275	4 1
London	64,122	4,785	7 5	2,028	3 2	1,759	2 7
South-west	28,148	4,019	14 3	404	1 4	976	3 5
Total for England	593,780	62,988	10 6	11,360	1 9	15,220	2 6

tables, the only exception was the south-east, which had a relatively low proportion in voluntary schools, although a fairly high proportion proceeded from elementary schools for secondary education. Thirdly, the proportion of "special places,"[1] also throws some light on this, of the three—London, east and Midlands—sending relatively lesser numbers to secondary schools, the first two awarded the smaller number of special places, and of the three regions—south-east, north and south-west—sending relatively higher numbers to secondary schools, the first two awarded the largest number of special places. Next, we may take into account some of the basic factors, such as nature of occupations of parents and the juvenile unemployment position. It was found[2] that the proportions of elementary school leavers proceeding for full-time further education of some form or other were, generally speaking, highest in those regions in which the relative number of the industrial workers was moderate (the east being the only exception) and the number of persons engaged in various professions was relatively high, as, for example, the south-east and the south-west. The low proportion in the east may be attributable to a very high proportion of agricultural workers and a low proportion of professional men and women. Like the east, London had also relatively low proportions of persons engaged in various professions, and this probably accounts for the smaller proportion of elementary school leavers proceeding for secondary education, then, the number of persons employed as clerks, draughtsmen and typists was greatest in London, and it seems reasonable to anticipate that these people will prefer to send their children to junior technical, junior commercial and schools of similar type, the actual proportion entering such schools points to the fact that the London County Council was most generous in meeting the wishes of a large number of parents. Now, in the two other regions—north and Midlands—the proportion of elementary school leavers proceeding for further full-time education was slightly higher in the former for the same reasons mentioned above. Thus, it seems, that in areas where there was a proper balance between industrial and agricultural workers, and a fairly high proportion of persons engaged in various pro-

[1] See Table 49, page 976.

[2] See Table 5, page 931.

fessions, conditions were more favourable for children to proceed for further education after leaving elementary schools

Next, we will see to what extent the juvenile unemployment position[1] in the different regions affected the number proceeding for higher education from elementary schools In the four regions—south-west, south-east, east and Midlands—it was found that the greater the proportion of juveniles unemployed the lesser the proportion entering full-time institutions on leaving elementary schools This generalisation did not apply so exactly to the other two areas—London and the north—for obvious reasons London's juvenile unemployment index was the lowest in the country, though it did not send as many children from elementary to other full-time schools This index was considerably higher in the north than any other region, though a fairly high proportion of elementary school leavers entered other full-time schools from that region

Now, it might be of some interest to know about these proportionate numbers relating to each geographical county with a view to seeing to what extent they vary from one part to another

In the north, the proportion entering secondary schools ranged from 8 2 (Northumberland) to 19 7 (Westmorland), that entering junior technical schools, etc, from 0 3 (Cheshire) to 1 8 (Lancashire and Yorkshire), that for other full-time schools from 3 4 (Northumberland) to 9 2 (Westmorland) It may be mentioned here that of the number proceeding to each type of full-time school about three-fourths went from Yorkshire and Lancashire, though these numbers related to the total number of school leavers did not indicate as much variation

In the Midlands the first proportion ranged from 6 2 (Staffordshire) to 14 8 (Gloucestershire), the second from 0 1 (Herefordshire) to 2 5 (Warwickshire), and the third from 0 1 (Derbyshire) to 2 5 (Warwickshire) Of the numbers entering junior technical, etc, and the third type of schools, more than one-half went from Warwickshire and Staffordshire, the numbers in the former being twice as much as those in the latter

In the east the variation was not much, the proportion entering secondary schools ranged from 8 7 (Suffolk) to 13 7 (Huntingdonshire), that entering junior technical schools, etc, ranged from 0 1 (Huntingdonshire) to 2 2 (Cambridgeshire), the other proportion ranged from 1 4 (Cambridgeshire) to 2 5 (Norfolk) Thus, generally speaking, where the provision for secondary education was low, that for other forms of education was high, and vice versa Of the number proceeding to secondary schools about one-third went from Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk sent the same number of children to junior technical schools, etc, each about one-third of the total number from the region

In the south-east the proportion for secondary schools ranged from 8 8 (Berkshire) to 18 6 (Middlesex), that for junior technical schools, etc, from nil (Bedfordshire) to 4 5 (Middlesex), that for other full-time institutions ranged from 1 6 (Bedfordshire) to 5 6 (Hampshire) Middlesex had very high proportions for each type of school In the four other counties surrounding London the proportions for secondary and schools other than junior technical, etc, were more or less the same, but those for junior technical schools were higher in Kent and Surrey than those in the other two Outside the home counties Bedfordshire had a high proportion for secondary schools, but the lowest for other types, in the other counties the first proportion did not show much diversity ranging from 8 8 (Berkshire) to 10 4 (Oxfordshire), the second proportion was as low as 0 2 in one county (Berkshire), 0 5 in two counties (Oxfordshire and Sussex), about 3 0 in Hampshire, and over 4 0 in Buckinghamshire, the third was highest in Hampshire (5 6) and lowest in Oxfordshire (2 4), in others it was about 3 0

Like the east, the south-west did not have much diversity in proportions proceeding for secondary education from one county to another, it ranged from 12 7 (Somersetshire) to 15 6 (Cornwall), besides the latter, three other

[1] See Table 4, page 930

counties—Devonshire (14 8), Dorsetshire (14 4) and Wiltshire (14 2)—had proportions over 14 0 The proportions for junior technical schools, etc , and other full-time institutions were lowest in Cornwall (0 4, 0 3) and highest in Devonshire (2 2, 4 4) Both Cornwall and Wiltshire had low proportions in junior technical schools, though the latter had a fairly high proportion in other forms of full-time institution (3 1)

Some of the causes of the diversity in the proportionate numbers from one region to another have been mentioned above The same may also be ascribed to the variation from one county to another within a region It seems, then, reasonable to anticipate that the relative prosperity of an area does affect the proportion of elementary school leavers proceeding for further full-time education To what extent this statement holds good can be shown by taking into account the two norms relating, firstly, to the amount of rateable value per head and, secondly, to the juvenile unemployment position in different parts of the country For this purpose, firstly, two county areas and two county boroughs have been selected from each region, one having a higher amount of rateable value per head than that of the other Tables 21 and 22 show the relation between the amount of rateable value per head and the proportionate number of elementary school leavers proceeding for higher education

TABLE 21

RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION AND THE PROPORTIONS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS PROCEEDING FOR FURTHER EDUCATION (COUNTY AREAS)

COUNTY AREAS	AMOUNT OF RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD	PROPORTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS FOR FURTHER EDUCATION
	£ s	%
North		
Cheshire	5 18	16 2
Durham	3 11	11 8
Midlands		
Herefordshire	5 0	14 1
Staffordshire	3 15	8 0
East		
Cambridgeshire	6 0	14 7
Norfolk	3 11	11 3
South-east		
Middlesex	9 7	36 2
Bedfordshire	5 16	11 0
South-west		
Devonshire	6 13	17 9
Somersetshire	5 17	16 1

These tables show clearly that in each of the regions, the county area or the county borough with a greater amount of rateable value per head sent a larger proportion of elementary school leavers to other full-time institutions The differential number between the two proportions varied from one region to another, because the nature and extent of other factors were variables Next, we will use the other index based on the

TABLE 22

RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION AND THE PROPORTIONS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS PROCEEDING FOR FURTHER EDUCATION (COUNTY BOROUGHS)

COUNTY BOROUGHS	AMOUNT OF RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD	PROPORTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS FOR FURTHER EDUCATION
	£ s	%
Manchester	8 15	16 3
Liverpool	7 15	12 6
Leicester	7 1	13 7
Derby	6 4	10 1
Lincoln	6 9	20 0
Norwich	5 15	18 7
Croydon	9 2	21 8
West Ham	5 6	7 0

juvenile unemployment figures For this purpose it is better to select the north, where a large number of juveniles were out of work The following table shows the relation between the juvenile unemployment index and the other proportions

TABLE 23

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX AND THE PROPORTIONS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS PROCEEDING FOR FURTHER EDUCATION

GEOGRAPHICAL COUNTIES	JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX	PROPORTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS PROCEEDING FOR FURTHER EDUCATION
(I)	(II)	(III)
		%
Durham	75	11 0
Northumberland	61	13 1
Lancashire	54	13 9
Cumberland	50	14 0
Cheshire	44	14 8
Yorkshire	36	16 1
Westmorland	6	29 7

In this table the figures in column II, relating to juvenile unemployment positions, are in a decreasing order from Durham to Westmorland , those in column III, relating to the proportions of elementary school leavers entering full-time institutions, are in an increasing order from Durham to Westmorland. This shows very clearly that the greater the number of juvenile unemployed the lesser the proportion proceeding for full-time institutions on leaving elementary schools. This generalisation was subject to exceptions in other regions.

Lengthening of School-life in Senior Departments of Public Elementary Schools

The majority of children who stayed on at school voluntarily after attaining the age of exemption were in reorganised senior departments, which indicates that the disposition of parents to lengthen the school-life of their children depends on the provision made by education authorities The number of children aged 14 years 3 months and over attending the senior departments of the public elementary schools of England was 32,719 in 1933–4 Expressed as a percentage of the age-group 10–11 attending elementary schools the above number was 5 8 This proportion would have increased considerably had all children over the age of 14 been taken into account, but in view of the fact that section 138 (1) of the Education Act of 1921, " which requires children to remain at school to the end of the term in which they reach their fourteenth birthday," it cannot be said that children over 14 who did not continue after the first term remained voluntarily at school during that short period However, of the number who remained at school a large proportion were receiving " advanced instruction of the sort contemplated in section 20 of the Education Act, 1921 "

Table 24 shows the distribution of these children in the areas under each type of local education authority

TABLE 24

CHILDREN OVER 14 YEARS REMAINING VOLUNTARILY AT SENIOR SCHOOLS IN EACH TYPE OF AREA

TYPE OF AREA	AGE GROUP 10–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS SENIOR DEPARTMENTS	PERCENTAGE
County rural areas	104,017	789	0 7
County urban districts	112,802	5,297	4 7
Boroughs and urban districts	88,251	6,527	7 4
County boroughs	197,302	12,720	6 5
London	56,968	7,386	13 0
Total for England	559,340	32,719	5 8

Thus it was highest in London and lowest in the rural districts, ranging from 0 7 to 13 0 It is significant to observe that the proportion in the areas of the Part III Authorities was slightly higher than in those of the Part II Authorities other than London, which shows that the former made use of their power under section 2 (1) (*a*) of the Education Act, 1918

Each type of area, however, showed some diversity from one region to another

Table 25 shows the numbers relating to the rural districts under the county councils

It ranged from 0 4 to 1 2, being highest in the north , the south-east and the Midlands had practically the same number, the east and the south-west had the lowest figures

Table 26 shows the numbers relating to the urban districts under the county councils

The proportions in the urban districts ranged from 2 5 to 7 0 Generally speaking, the regions with low proportions in the rural districts had relatively high proportions in the urban districts The only exception was the Midlands, which had low figures in both the areas.

TABLE 25

CHILDREN OVER 14 YEARS REMAINING VOLUNTARILY AT SENIOR SCHOOLS IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS IN EACH REGION

REGIONS, COUNTY RURAL AREAS	AGE-GROUP 10–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN SENIOR DEPARTMENTS	PERCENTAGE
North	27,666	332	1 2
Midlands	25,912	189	0 8
East	13,581	51	0 4
South-east	24,478	155	0 7
South-west	12,380	62	0 5
Total for the rural districts	104,017	789	0 7

TABLE 26

CHILDREN OVER 14 YEARS REMAINING VOLUNTARILY AT SENIOR SCHOOLS IN THE COUNTY URBAN DISTRICTS IN EACH REGION

REGIONS, COUNTY URBAN DISTRICTS	AGE GROUP 10–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN SENIOR DEPARTMENTS	PERCENTAGE
North	44,341	1,681	3 8
Midlands	18,924	475	2 5
East	5,999	416	7 0
South-east	36,956	2,399	6 5
South-west	6,582	326	5 0
Total for the county urban districts	112,802	5,297	4 7

The proportions relating to the areas of the Part III Authorities are shown in Table 27

It ranged from 2 7 to 11 3, being least in the south-west The east and the south-east had the highest Of the total number more than one-half were attending senior schools in the south-east The north and the Midlands had proportions below the average

The figures relating to the areas of the county boroughs are shown in the following Table 28

In the county boroughs the proportion ranged from 3 1 to 24 2, having the widest diversity amongst the types of areas The county boroughs in the south-west had an exceptionally high proportion, there about one-quarter of the children in the elementary schools, between 10 and 11, remain voluntarily in senior departments after attaining the age of exemption The south-east had the next highest The east and the north had about the average The Midlands had the lowest

Now, the proportionate numbers relating to each type of area in a region have been synthesised in Table 29.

TABLE 27

CHILDREN OVER 14 YEARS REMAINING VOLUNTARILY AT SENIOR SCHOOLS IN THE AREAS OF THE PART III AUTHORITIES IN EACH REGION

REGIONS, BOROUGHS AND URBAN DISTRICTS	AGE-GROUP 10–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN SENIOR DEPARTMENTS	PERCENTAGE
North	25,757	1,262	4 9
Midlands	13,642	689	5 0
East	2,494	281	11 3
South-east	41,823	4,174	10 0
South-west	4,535	121	2 7
Total for the boroughs and urban districts	88,251	6,527	7 4

TABLE 28

CHILDREN OVER 14 YEARS REMAINING VOLUNTARILY AT SENIOR SCHOOLS IN THE COUNTY BOROUGHS IN EACH REGION

REGIONS, COUNTY BOROUGHS	AGE-GROUP 10–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN SENIOR DEPARTMENTS	PERCENTAGE
North	110,415	7,021	6 3
Midlands	50,770	1,593	3 1
East	6,459	418	6 5
South-east	25,205	2,611	10 4
South-west	4,453	1,077	24 2
Total for the county boroughs	197,302	12,720	6 5

Here we find that the proportion, when the whole of the region is considered, ranged from 2 7 to 13 0 Of the total number slightly over one-half were attending senior schools in the south-east including London The north had about one-third of the total number, but this when related to the age group 10–11 in elementary schools appeared small, even below the average for the whole of the country Two other regions—Midlands and east—had proportions below the average The proportion in the south-west represented the average figure for England

As to causes of the diversity it was found that, generally speaking, the greater the proportion of children in voluntary schools the lesser the number of children who remain at school beyond the age of exemption[1], hence, the high proportion in London and the south-east, and the low proportion in the east, north and the south-west, the only exception was the Midlands, in which both were low Economic conditions of an area and the diversity in the provision made by education authorities no doubt affected the proportions

The diversity of the proportionate numbers was even greater from one county to another in a region In the north it ranged from nil (Westmor-

[1] Compare Table 29 on next page with Table 7, page 933.

TABLE 29

CHILDREN OVER 14 YEARS REMAINING VOLUNTARILY AT SENIOR SCHOOLS IN EACH REGION (ALL AREAS)

ALL AREAS	AGE GROUP 10–11	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN SENIOR DEPARTMENTS	PERCENTAGE
North	208,179	10,296	4 9
Midlands	109,248	2,946	2 7
East	28,533	1,166	4 1
South-east	128,462	9,339	7 5
London	56,968	7,386	13 0
South-west	27,950	1,586	5 7
Total for England	559,340	32,719	5 8

land) to 9 1 (Cumberland) Durham had also a high proportion, and this is more significant because there the absolute number was also large , about one-quarter of the total children were attending schools of that county Cheshire (5 9), and Lancashire (4 7) had proportions slightly below the average for the county, though the latter had over one-third of the total number in its schools Northumberland (4 3) and Yorkshire (3 1) had proportions below the average, the latter having about one-fifth of the total number

In the Midlands the proportion ranged from nil (Herefordshire) to 6 1 (Gloucestershire) All the counties except Gloucestershire had proportions below the average for the whole of the country Five of them—Warwickshire (1 2), Worcestershire (1 3), Shropshire (1 3), Leicestershire (1 7) and Northamptonshire (1 8)—had between 1 0 and 2 0 In the remaining counties—Nottinghamshire (2 5), Staffordshire (3 3) and Derbyshire (4 1)—it varied between 2 0 and 4 0

In the east Huntingdonshire had none, and Rutland had as high as 11 1, though there the absolute number was below 30 0 The only county with a really high proportion was Cambridgeshire (7 3), where in the administrative county it was even higher (11 3) In the remaining it ranged from 3 3 (Norfolk) to 4 9 (Suffolk)

In the south-east only two counties had very low proportions, Bedfordshire having 2 3, and Buckinghamshire as low as 0 6 , the proportion in each of the remaining counties was higher than the average for the country, ranging from 5 6 (Hampshire) to 8 6 (Essex) Isle of Wight (9 3) had a still higher proportion, though the actual number was less than one hundred London's very high proportion (13 0) has been mentioned before Each of the counties surrounding London had a proportion higher than that of any other outside county in the region , of these the highest proportion was found in Surrey (11 4), Middlesex (7 4) and Essex (8 6) had slightly less , as a matter of fact, more than one-half of the total number in this region were attending schools of these three counties , Kent and Hertfordshire had slightly less than 7 0 Outside the home counties four counties —Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hampshire and Sussex—had about the same proportion, slightly below 6 0

In the south-west Devonshire had as high as 11 8, and Wiltshire as low as 1 1 , the remaining counties—Somersetshire (2 7), Dorsetshire (3 1) and Cornwall (3 2)—had about 3 0 each

Generally speaking, then, counties with greater proportions of children in voluntary schools had lesser proportions of children who stayed on at school beyond the age of exemption , as for example, Westmorland in the

north, Herefordshire, Shropshire in the Midlands, etc Another probable cause was to be found in the relative juvenile unemployment positions in different counties Take, for instance, the two counties Durham and Yorkshire , the juvenile unemployment norms tell us that in the latter there was a greater demand for the services of young persons in industry, and we find that that county had a lesser proportion of children over 14 who remained at school It seems reasonable, then, to infer that the proportion is least where demand for the services of young persons is greatest

Cost per Child of Elementary Education

The following statements relating to the cost per child of elementary education in different parts of the country are based mainly on List 43,[1] recently published by the Board of Education The net expenditure incurred by the L E A s in 1933–4 was £57,041,316, or £12 3*s* 9*d* per child The cost was highest in London (£17 12*s* 11*d*) and lowest in the areas of the county councils (£10 17*s* 5*d*), it was slightly higher in the areas of the Part III Authorities (£12 2*s* 3*d*) than in those of the county boroughs (£12 0*s* 3*d*) Of the total net expenditure London realised 34 4 per cent from the central authority , the Part III Authorities 48 6 per cent , the county boroughs 50 1 per cent , and the county authorities 52 3 per cent Now, it is of some interest to compare the figures relating to the net expenditure per child in each type of area with those relating to (1) voluntary school children,[2] and (2) children remaining at school beyond the age of exemption [3] Generally speaking, then, as is anticipated, a greater proportion of children (1) in voluntary schools tends to decrease the cost and (2) over 14 years of age remaining at school tends to increase it We will see to what extent this statement holds good when applied to regions covering all types of areas The following table shows the net expenditure in each region

TABLE 30

EXPENDITURE FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION PER CHILD IN 1933–4

REGIONS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	TOTAL NET EXPENDITURE	COST PER CHILD		
			£	*s*	*d*
North	1,753,349	20,192,771	11	10	4
Midlands	933,459	10,296,328	11	0	7
East	237,494	2,454,882	10	6	9
South-east	1,025,560	12,831,714	12	10	3
London .	496,542	8,761,314	17	12	11
South-west	234,222	2,504,307	10	13	10
Total for England	4,680,626	57,041,316	12	3	9

Thus, the cost ranged from £10 6*s* 9*d* to £17 12*s* 11*d* It was highest in London and lowest in the east Next to London the south-east had the highest amount In the south-west it was slightly higher than in the east The cost in the north was about ten shillings higher than that in the Midlands

In the main, these figures seem to fluctuate in accordance with the proportions of children in non-provided elementary schools [4], thus the areas with low proportions of children in voluntary schools—London and south-

[1] Cost per child *Elementary Education* (1931–2, 1932–3, 1933–4).
[2] See Table 7, page 933
[3] See Table 29, page 957.
[4] See Table 7, page 933.

east—spent most, and vice versa (east and the south-west) As regards the other factor only two areas—Midlands and south-west—were exceptions[1], the former retained a lesser proportion of children over 14 years 3 months of age, though the cost per child was fairly high, the latter retained a fairly large proportion of such children though somewhat less The relatively high cost in the Midlands may be partly due, no doubt, to its good progress in carrying out the reorganisation scheme[2] The same may explain the above anomaly in the south-west, which did not have as many children in the reorganised departments London's very high cost was no doubt partly due to success in reorganisation on Hadow lines, and developing selective central schools On the whole, then, the rate of the progress of reorganisation of schools has had some effect on the cost

The local economic conditions must also be taken into account in explaining the divergence Since the cost depends directly on the amount of rates raised by local authorities in their respective areas, it seems reasonable to anticipate that the cost will be higher in those areas which will raise more rates per head of population A comparison between Table 2 (page 928) and Table 30 indicates clearly that it was so London raised the highest amount of rates (£6 14*s* per head), and consequently the cost there was the maximum (£17 12*s* 11*d* per child), on the other hand, the average amount of rates raised in the east was the lowest (£2 10*s* per head), and as a consequence the cost there was the minimum (£10 6*s* 9*d*), the cost per child in the other regions also varied in accordance with the average amount of rates raised per head of population

Next, we will proceed to study the cost per child of elementary education in each county

In the north it ranged from £10 14*s* (Durham) to £12 5*s* (Lancashire) In the former it was higher in the county area (£11 7*s*) and in one borough (Durham), but below £10 in the areas of most of the L E A s In Lancashire amongst the areas of the county boroughs it was highest in Manchester (£13 18*s*) The West Riding of Yorkshire and Cheshire spent about £12 per child, though in both, the county areas spent much less than most of the associated county and non-county boroughs, two of the Part III Authorities (Todmorden and Shipley) in the former spent most (over £14), and amongst the county boroughs it was higher (over £13) in Bradford and Halifax than in Leeds and Sheffield (about £12) The cost in the North Riding (£9 17*s*) was even below that of Durham The other counties spent about £11 each Northumberland (£10 17*s*), Westmorland (£10 16*s*), Cumberland (£11 1*s*) Amongst the county areas in the north, Durham received the highest grant from the Board (60 8 per cent), and Cheshire the lowest (49 per cent), amongst the county boroughs the following had received over 60 per cent St Helens in Lancashire (64 7), South Shields in Durham (62 8) and Middlesbrough in Yorkshire (60 7), the following had less than 40 per cent Wallasey in Cheshire (40 4), Southport (31 6) and Blackpool (27 8) in Lancashire

In the Midlands the cost per child ranged from £9 9*s* (Herefordshire) to £12 3*s* (Warwickshire) Next to the latter, Leicestershire had the highest (£11 14*s*) One-half of the counties in this region spent about £11 each Gloucestershire (£11 3*s*), Nottinghamshire (£10 19*s*), Northamptonshire (£10 14*s*), Staffordshire (£10 11*s*) and Worcestershire (£10 10*s*), the cost in the remaining counties was slightly over £10 Derbyshire (£10 6*s*), Shropshire (£10 4*s*) Now, the cost in the areas of individual authorities, as in the north, varied within a county, as for example, in Warwickshire the county authority spent £10 10*s* 4*d*, whereas the Birmingham County Borough Committee spent much more, i e £12 17*s* 4*d*, in Gloucestershire the cost in the county area was only about £10, but in Bristol it was about £12 Unlike the county areas in the north, those in this region received more or less the same percentages of their total net expenditures from the central authority, three of them received over 57 per cent Herefordshire (57 6), Gloucestershire (57 5) and Shropshire (57 2), two over 56 per cent;

[1] See Table 29, page 957. [2] See Table 10, page 938.

Staffordshire (56 7), Nottinghamshire (56 5), three over 55 per cent Worcestershire (55 8), Derbyshire (55 7), Northamptonshire (55 8), and the remaining two between 53 0 and 55 0 Leicestershire (54 8) and Warwickshire (53 7)

The cost in the east was the least in the country, in the majority of the counties it was about £10 or slightly over Huntingdonshire (£9 12*s*), Lincolnshire (£9 19*s*), Suffolk (£10 6*s*), Cambridgeshire (£10 8*s*), in the other two it was about £11 or slightly over Norfolk (£10 17*s*), Rutland (£11 9*s*) In Lincolnshire the cost in the county area (£8 8*s*) was very much less than that in Lincoln, the same was found in Cambridgeshire, the county area's cost was below £11, but Cambridge spent over £12 per child There was some diversity in the rate of the Board's grant from one county area to another It ranged from 53 7 per cent (Rutland) to 63 4 (Holland), though the majority of the counties received over 55 per cent of their expenditure from the Board

In the south-east the cost ranged from £10 13*s* (Buckinghamshire) (Isle of Wight had still less, £9 8*s*) to £14 6*s* (Middlesex) London's highest cost has already been mentioned, all the counties surrounding it, except Hertfordshire (£11 1*s*), spent more than other areas in this region, of these Essex (£13 13*s*) spent slightly less than Middlesex, Kent and Surrey over £12 Outside the home counties it was highest in Sussex (£11 14*s*) and Oxfordshire (£11 13*s*), the cost in the remaining counties was about £11 Berkshire (£11 2*s*), Bedfordshire (£10 14*s*), Hampshire (£10 17*s*), Buckinghamshire (£10 13*s*) The cost within a county varied from the areas of one authority to those of another, as for instance, in Middlesex the cost in the county area was only £13 7*s* 10*d*, which was exceeded by those in the areas of most of the Part III Authorities, being highest in Tottenham urban district (£16 7*s* 7*d*), and four others spending over £15 per child Willesden (£15 17*s* 6*d*), Acton (£15 12*s* 11*d*), Wood Green (£15 9*s* 7*d*) and Brentford-Chiswick (£15 6*s* 5*d*) This diversity was even greater in Essex, there it ranged from £10 (Harwich) to over £17 (East Ham), the cost in the county area being slightly below £11, amongst the county boroughs it was least in Southend-on-Sea (£12 9*s* 6*d*), West Ham (£16 18*s*) spending slightly less than East Ham, amongst the boroughs it exceeded £16 only in Leyton and Walthamstow In Surrey the cost exceeded £14 only in Richmond and Wimbledon, in the rest of the areas in the county it was about £12 In Kent the cost was over £15 only in Beckenham and Erith urban districts, over £13 in Bromley, Margate and Penge, in the rest of the areas it was below £12 The rate of the Board's grants to the county areas was least in this region, only two county areas received slightly over 50 per cent Bedfordshire (53 2) and Oxfordshire (51 7), all the rest had less than 50 per cent, and two of these—Middlesex (36 6) and Surrey (36 4)—had received much less

In the south-west the cost per child did not vary much from one county to another, it was lowest in Cornwall (£9 7*s*) and about £11 in others Somerset (£11 1*s*), Devonshire (£11), Wiltshire (£10 19*s*) and Dorsetshire (£10 10*s*)

There was not much diversity from one area to another in this region, only in Cornwall the county area spent much more (£9 9*s* 10*d*) than one of the boroughs, Falmouth (£7 7*s* 2*d*) The Board's grants ranged from 49 4 (Devonshire) to 57 2 (Cornwall), the three others received over 50 per cent of their total net expenditure

The causes mentioned above in connection with regional diversity of cost are equally applicable to explain this variation from one county to another Firstly, we will compare these cost figures with those relating to the proportionate numbers of children in the voluntary schools It will be then seen that in the north, Westmorland had the highest proportion of children in voluntary schools and did not spend much per child It was just the reverse in Yorkshire Of course, there were exceptions, as for instance, in Lancashire, the cost per child was high, though there was a large percentage of the total elementary school children in attendance at

voluntary schools; on the other hand, in Durham, despite the large council school population, the cost per child was very low, the minimum in the north The same relation was found in the Midlands, the three counties Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire had a very high proportion of children in voluntary schools, and the cost in each was low, on the other hand, Warwickshire did not have as many children in voluntary schools, and the cost was highest The same was found to be true in the south-east, especially in the counties surrounding London, all except Hertfordshire have relatively very small voluntary school populations, and the cost per child in each was comparatively high, being lowest in Hertfordshire

Secondly, we will take into account the rate of the progress of the reorganisation scheme In the north this seems to explain the high cost in Lancashire, where the proportionate number in the reorganised schools was highest The cost in Westmorland and Cumberland was low, and neither of them had made good progress in reorganising their schools In the Midlands, Leicestershire and Warwickshire spent most and had the largest proportion of children attending reorganised schools It was the reverse in Shropshire and Herefordshire In the south-east this is very clear The cost in Middlesex was highest and the proportion in reorganised departments was also highest On the other hand, in Buckinghamshire the cost was lowest and the progress of reorganisation of schools there was least The same relation between these two was found in the south-west, Cornwall spent least and had a minimum number of children in reorganised departments; whereas, the counties—Devonshire and Somerset—that made good progress had to spend most

Generally speaking, then, the diversity in the amount of cost per child of elementary education can be attributable, partly at least, to the proportion of children attending voluntary schools and to the rate of progress in reorganising elementary schools on the lines of the Hadow Report

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CHAPTER THREE

Secondary School Population

IN the autumn term of 1934, there were 1,227 grant-earning secondary schools containing 419,913 pupils (224,085 boys and 195,828 girls) Of this number, 45,546, or approximately 11 per cent , were under 11 years of age, and 34,494, or about 8 per cent , were aged 16 and over

In addition, there were 65,404 pupils (32,895 boys and 32,509 girls) in attendance at other secondary schools not in receipt of grants, but recognised by the board as " efficient " Of this number, 11,045 were under 11 and 13,462 were over 16, girls predominating in the lower age-group and boys in the upper [illegible]

Thus, as shown in Table 31, the proportion of the children between 11 and 16 attending secondary schools seems to have been definitely higher than the level of ten years ago [1]

TABLE 31

PUPILS AGED 11 AND OVER IN ATTENDANCE AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS RECOGNISED BY THE BOARD (AUTUMN TERM, 1934)

TYPE OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF PUPILS AGED 11 AND OVER	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF THE AGE-GROUP 11–16 [2]
Grant-earning secondary schools	374,367	11 7	9 9
Non-grant-earning " efficient " schools	40,897	1 3	1 1
Total for England	415,264	13 0	11 0

These summary figures will be more illuminating when they are supplemented with those based on a regional survey, as conditions are known to vary considerably from one part of the country to another

The school year 1933–4 has been selected for this purpose, though it has not been possible to include statistics relating to the non-grant-earning secondary schools In that year there were 403,689 pupils in attendance at the grant-earning secondary schools, of whom 373,479 were over 11 years of age Table 32 shows the distribution of these children in each type of area

Thus slightly over half the number were in districts administered by the county council authorities, about 40 per cent were attending schools in the county boroughs, and roughly 10 per cent were in London schools The proportions, as expressed for 1,000 population, were highest in the areas of the county boroughs, and lowest in London Expressed as percentages of the age-group 11–16, the results were much the same

Table 33 tells us a slightly different story In this, the number of pupils in secondary schools are shown according to the type of area where they had their residence

[1] *The Education of the Adolescent*, page 46

[2] Mid-1934 population, worked out by the author from the Census Reports, 1931, and verified in the Registrar-General's office

TABLE 32

PUPILS AGED 11 AND OVER IN ATTENDANCE AT GRANT-EARNING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF PUPILS AGE 11 AND OVER	PERCENTAGE OF THE AGE-GROUP 11–16	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION
Counties	197,128	11 2	9 4
County boroughs	142,248	12 8	11 1
London	34,103	9 8	8 1
Total for England	373,479	11 6	9 9

TABLE 33

PUPILS RESIDENT IN EACH TYPE OF AREA ATTENDING GRANT-EARNING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF PUPILS ALL AGES	PERCENTAGE OF THE AGE-GROUP 11–16
Counties	232,303	13 3
County boroughs	134,876	12 1
London	35,176	10 1
Total for England	402,355	12 5

Thus, of the number resident in England, 58 per cent came from the areas of the counties, 33 per cent from those of the county boroughs and slightly over 9 per cent from London Expressed as percentages of the age-group 11–16, the proportions were reversed in the first two types of areas, being higher in the areas of the counties than in those of the county boroughs This shows that county boroughs recruit a certain proportion of their secondary school pupils from adjoining areas, the authorities of which, no doubt, make payments to them in respect of such children, when called upon to do so

The proportions of the children between 11 and 16 found in secondary schools in different parts of the country will now be noted

The figures relating to the distribution of secondary school population in each of the geographical regions are shown in Table 34

Thus the proportion was definitely highest in the south-west Next to London, the Midlands had the lowest That in the east was slightly above the average for the whole of the country In the other two regions (north and south-east) the proportions as expressed per 1,000 population were much the same, but the percentage of the age-group 11–16 was higher in the south-east region than that in the north, because of the smaller child population

The variations were, however, considerable within most of the regions. In the north the proportions expressed as percentages of the age-group 11–16 ranged from 7 9 in Durham to 18 2 in Westmorland, but these two extreme figures were rather exceptions In the rest of the counties it varied

TABLE 34

SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION (AGE 11 AND OVER) IN EACH REGION (1933–4)

REGIONS	NUMBER OF PUPILS AGE 11 AND OVER	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF THE AGE-GROUP 11–16
North	133,363	10 2	11 4
Midlands	65,918	9 4	10 6
East	19,307	10 5	12 0
South-east	97,334	10 1	13 1
London	34,103	8 1	9 8
South-west	23,454	11 4	14 2
Total for England	373,479	9 9	11 6

between 10 2 in Northumberland and 13 6 in Cheshire It was interesting to observe that in Durham the proportion in the area of the county was higher than the average for those of the county boroughs, though one of the towns (Darlington) had an exceptionally high proportion (20 0) The high proportion in Westmorland was, no doubt, due to the small population —which was even less than that of Darlington The Northumberland figure would have been much smaller had it not been for the large secondary school population in Newcastle-upon-Tyne In Cheshire the average percentage for the county boroughs was twice as high as that of the county, and even amongst these it varied considerably, from 15 0 in Stockport to over 33 0 in Chester In Yorkshire the highest percentage was in the city of York (27 3), mainly because of the non-local character of some of the schools, and this was corroborated by the lesser proportion (20 6) of York children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools Next to York, the West Riding had the highest percentage, ranging from about 11 0 in the area of the county to 15 5 in the county boroughs, the county figure, though smaller than the average for the county boroughs, nevertheless, does not fall far short of the average for all the county areas in England, and exceeds those of other county areas in the north, except Cumberland, and then quite a good many of West Riding children attend secondary schools elsewhere, thus the proportion was found to increase to 13 7 In the three large towns in the West Riding—Sheffield, Leeds and Bradford—the former had an exceptionally low proportion (9 0), Leeds had 15 3, representing the average for the county boroughs, Bradford had the highest proportion (26 9) The Lancashire figure (11 1) fell rather short of expectations; it ranged from 10 7 in the county area to 11 4 in the county boroughs, in the two large towns—Liverpool and Manchester—the percentage in the latter (11 9) was higher than that of the former (9 3).

The variation was even greater in the Midlands There the counties could be divided into three groups · (1) those in which the proportion was definitely higher than the average for the region Gloucestershire (15 9), Herefordshire (14 2), Shropshire (14 5) and Leicestershire (13 8); (2) those in which it was slightly over the average Northamptonshire (11 9), Worcestershire (11 9) and Warwickshire (10 9); (3) those in which it was lower Derbyshire (9 6), Nottinghamshire (8 7) and Staffordshire (6 8) It will be interesting to observe that each of the groups occupies a distinct part of the region; the first group occupies the eastern part, the only exception being Leicestershire, which shows a high proportion because of the non-local character of some of the schools in Leicester, where the proportion was found to decrease from 17 3 to 15 1 when only the local children were taken into consideration, the second group occupies the southern part; and the

third group with the minimum proportion is in the north With regard to the proportions in the two types of areas in each geographical county, it has been found that where the population was greater the proportion was invariably smaller Thus Bristol and Birmingham had lower proportions than those of the Gloucestershire and Warwickshire county areas respectively , and, on the other hand, Nottingham, Derby, Dudley and Northampton had higher percentages than those of the counties with which they are associated

The proportions of the children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools varied, in the east, only within certain limits It was found to be highest in Huntingdon (17 8) and lowest in Norfolk (9 8) With the exception of the latter, all the counties had percentages well above the average for the whole of the country In Norfolk it was in the county area where it was as low as 7 1, whereas the proportion in the chief town, Norwich, was considerably higher (17 0) Of the three county areas in Lincolnshire it was highest in the western part, Kesteven (15 4), and lowest in the north, Lindsey (11 0), though in one of the associated county boroughs, Lincoln, it was as high as 25 0 In Rutland the secondary schools were non-local in character, and thus the proportion was found to decrease from 15 5 to 11 2 when only the Rutland children were taken into consideration

Unlike the east, the south-east region had a great diversity from one county to another The proportion there ranged from 9 8 in Buckinghamshire to 19 1 in Bedfordshire, ignoring the still smaller percentage in the smallest county off the coast With the exception of Essex, all the counties surrounding London had percentages above the average , this probably accounts for the small proportion found in London proper, owing to the migration of the residential population to adjoining areas Expressed per 1,000 population, the proportion was only 11 4 in Middlesex, but this increased by 2 2 more than usual when the number of secondary school pupils was related to the child population between 11 and 16, and there was a further increase to 19 1 when all the Middlesex children in attendance at the grant-earning secondary schools were taken into account The high proportion in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire could, to a certain extent, be attributed to the non-local character of some of their schools, as in both of these places the proportions in relation to the local children were found to decrease slightly Surrey (14 0) and Kent (12 9), the counties with considerable populations, were well provided with secondary schools, and hence the proportion was uniformly high throughout these counties, though the associated county boroughs—Croydon (18 0) and Canterbury (32 0)—had higher proportions The unusually high figure for the latter town was undoubtedly due to the non-local character of its schools, and it dropped to 19 0 when only the local children were taken into consideration Now, in the home counties with the low proportion, it is two of the three associated county boroughs—East Ham (7 0) and West Ham (7 0)—that had rather smaller secondary school populations, though the proportion in the former rose to 11 3 when estimated on the total number of local children in attendance at the grant-earning secondary schools Besides Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire (13 9) was the only county outside the counties surrounding London which had a percentage higher than the average, owing mainly to schools in Oxford similar to those in Bedford and elsewhere, and thus, as would have been anticipated, there was a drop from 20 0 to 16 0 when only the Oxford children were included In the rest of the counties the proportion was lower than the average, the lowest being in the two counties Buckinghamshire (9 8) and Berkshire (9 9), though from each of these a certain number of children went to attend secondary schools outside their native counties In Hampshire the average percentage for the three county boroughs (14 4) was about twice as much as that for the county area (8 7) Within the county of Sussex there was a great diversity Firstly, West Sussex (11 7) had a higher proportion than East Sussex (10 2), and, secondly, in the latter area it was the county boroughs (14 4) which were better provided with secondary schools than the area under the county

council (6 4), though a good many children from the latter went to attend schools in the former

Amongst the regions, the greatest uniformity in the number of places in the grant-earning secondary schools was found in the south-west There, three of the counties—Cornwall, Somerset and Wiltshire—had their proportion between 13 0 and 14 0, and the other two—Devonshire and Dorsetshire—had it slightly higher, between 14 0 and 15 0 The county boroughs—Exeter in Devonshire and Bath in Somerset—had each about 20 0, much higher than those of the county areas with which they were associated It is worth mentioning that schools in Swindon contributed largely in raising the proportion for the whole of the Wiltshire county

To conclude, not much divergence was found in two of the five regions—east and south-west—and both of these had high proportions of children between 11 and 16 in attendance at the grant-earning secondary schools The Midlands and the south-east showed the greatest diversity, not only within the regions, but even within counties, the former with the lowest proportion, and the latter holding the second highest in England In the north it varied within certain limits from one county to another, only two of them—Westmorland and Durham—had extreme figures

Causes of the Diversity of Secondary School Population in Different Parts

There is a fairly widespread demand for secondary school accommodation throughout the country, and, generally speaking, most of the schools are full, except perhaps some of the newly erected ones Clearly, then, the present diversity cannot be attributed to a dearth of pupils wishing to take advantage of secondary school education Secondary school population is highest in the areas where the provision of school places is most generous Some of the local education authorities like Bedfordshire, Rutland, Wallasey, etc, are fortunate in having within their area endowed secondary schools, but most of them had to begin from the foundations, and, in a fast-growing industrial town it was almost impossible to maintain the proportion in relation to the population That is why the number of pupils in attendance at secondary schools in large towns, like Sheffield and Liverpool in the north, Birmingham in the Midlands and London in the south-east, seems to be small when it is related to the total number of the local children between 11 and 16 But the rate of the growth of the secondary schools, so far as it can be judged by the number of pupils in them, was not the same throughout the country, here the human factor probably played a large part, about which no precise statement can be made, but, nevertheless, economic conditions in an area had some bearing on it, and its acceleration or retardation was more or less effected by changing prosperity With this in mind, let us now proceed to account for the divergence Firstly, we will see whether an increase in the rateable value per head of population means an increase in the proportion of secondary school places or not For this purpose, it is better to select, as has been done before, the two county boroughs, between which the comparison will be made, from the same geographical county, and the county areas from the same region, as conditions under which these figures have been obtained depend considerably on geographical position

The figures quoted in Tables 35 and 36 show clearly that in each pair the one with a greater amount of rateable value per head had a higher proportion of pupils in secondary schools, though the amount of variation was not subject to any general rule Thus, no doubt should exist as to the advisability of taking into account local economic conditions in explaining the present differences in educational provision

In Table 37, we will use the other index based on the unemployment figures, embracing all the classes of the community

Thus these figures prove the same thing The regions with the lowest unemployment index—south-east, south-west and east—had the highest percentages of secondary school pupils The only exceptions were found

TABLE 35

RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACES AREAS UNDER COUNCILS OF COUNTY BOROUGHS

COUNTY BOROUGHS	RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD	PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE AGE-GROUP 11–16
	£ s	
Liverpool	7 15	9 1
Manchester	8 15	10 2
Sheffield	5 17	8 1
Leeds	7 10	12 1
Birmingham	6 13	9 1
Bristol	7 8	11 0

TABLE 36

RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACES (AREAS UNDER COUNTY COUNCILS)

COUNTY AREAS	RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD	PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE AGE GROUP 11–16
	£ s	
North		
Durham	3 11	7 8
West Riding	4 14	10 6
Midlands		
Staffordshire	3 15	5 4
Herefordshire	5 0	14 2
East		
Norfolk	3 11	7 1
Cambridgeshire	6 0	15 0
South-east		
Essex	6 9	10 5
Hertfordshire	7 15	15 7
South-west		
Wiltshire	5 0	13 2
Devonshire	6 13	14 3

in London and the Midlands But no discrepancy is to be seen when London figures are compared with those of the south-east

Now we will select the north, where the unemployment position was most acute, with a view to seeing how far this statement holds good when applied to different counties within a region. (Table 38).

TABLE 37

UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACES IN EACH REGION

REGIONS	SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS, PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUP 11–16	UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX
North	11 4	15 1
Midlands	10 6	10 9
East	12 0	9 8
South-east	13 1	6 8
London	9 8	9 9
South-west	14 2	7 1

TABLE 38

UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX AND SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION IN THE NORTH

GEOGRAPHICAL COUNTIES IN THE NORTH	UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX	NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS PER 1,000 POPULATION
Durham	18 6	8 6
Lancashire	16 7	9 5
Northumberland	14 9	9 9
Cumberland	12 7	11 4
Yorkshire	12 5	11 1
Cheshire	12 5	11 2
Westmorland	4 2	14 5

The above table shows very clearly, without any exception, that the greater the number of unemployed the lesser the number of secondary school pupils The above generalisation has its obvious limitations, and it must not be taken to mean that the former is the direct cause of the latter, rather both are effects of the sum-total of various factors operating in the area.

TABLE 39

THE NATURE OF OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS AND SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION IN EACH REGION

REGIONS	SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS, PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUP 11–16	PROPORTION PER CENT OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS	PROPORTION PER CENT OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES
South-west	14 2	8 9	25 5
South-east	13 1	8 3	25 4
East	12 0	5 4	23 3
North	11 4	4 0	43 2
Midlands	10 6	3 9	45 5

Another cause of the diversity of secondary school population can be traced to the nature of occupations of parents living in different areas [1]

It was found that the proportions of the children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools was highest in those regions in which the relative number of the industrial workers was moderate and the number of persons engaged in various professions was relatively high The following table in which the regions are arranged in order of their respective secondary school populations exemplify the above statement.

Number of New Admissions in Direct Grant-earning Secondary Schools

The proportion of secondary school pupils in attendance at the direct-grant-earning schools might throw some light in regard to the diversity of secondary educational provision in different areas, as all these schools are non-provided, and more or less independent of the varying local conditions In October 1934 secondary schools receiving grant direct from the Board admitted 13,624 [2] pupils, or roughly 15 per cent As shown in Table 40, the proportion was highest in the areas of the county boroughs and lowest in those of the county councils.

TABLE 40

NUMBER OF NEW ADMISSIONS IN DIRECT GRANT-EARNING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER ADMITTED	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ADMISSIONS
Counties	4,455	9 5
County boroughs	8,153	24 8
London	1,016	13 4
Total for England	13,624	15 6

Thus the positions of the first two areas in the above table are the same as in Table 32, page 963

The figures relating to the distribution of these pupils in each region have been tabulated in Table 41.

Generally speaking, the regions with greater proportions of admissions in the direct-grant schools had relatively higher proportions of the children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools, the only exception being the north

This diversity was very noticeable within a region from one county to another

In the north two of the counties—Cumberland and Westmorland—had none In the remaining counties the percentages ranged from 10 9 in Durham to 25 7 in Cheshire It should be noted that both these counties with the extreme proportions were found to show the same characteristics when considered in connection with the number of pupils attending the grant-earning secondary schools [3]

[1] See pages 930–1 and 950.

[2] This does not include the numbers admitted in the following schools : Derbyshire 1, Exeter 3, West Ham 1, Lancashire 4, Blackburn 1, Liverpool 8, Burton-upon-Trent 1, Middlesbrough 2.

[3] See page 963

TABLE 41

NUMBER OF NEW ADMISSIONS IN DIRECT GRANT-EARNING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH REGION IN 1933-4

REGIONS	NUMBER ADMITTED	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ADMISSIONS
North	5,455	17 3
Midlands	1,953	12 8
East	668	14 3
South-east (excluding London)	3,738	16 0
London	1,016	13 4
South-west	794	13 1
Total for England	13,624	15 6

In Cheshire in the area of each Part II L E A there had been admissions in such schools, the highest being in Chester Both Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire showed the same features, having as low as 3 0 in the area of the counties and uniformly high in those of the county boroughs In Yorkshire the percentage was highest in the City of York (43 4) In Northumberland the average figure would have been considerably lower but for that of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (41 3)

There was a great diversity in the Midlands from one county to another Of the ten counties only three—Gloucestershire (28 5), Staffordshire (20 9) and Northamptonshire (17 4)—had percentages above the average for England In the remaining counties it ranged from 6 1 in Shropshire to 12 6 in Nottinghamshire It is worth mentioning that the majority of the administrative counties had none at all, and thus the average proportion for the region would have been much smaller, had it not been for the relatively large number of admissions in county boroughs

In the east the diversity was the widest, ranging from 0 to 100 Two counties—Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire—had none On the other hand, Rutland had 100 In the more eastern part of the region it was above the average, ranging from 32 2 in West Suffolk to 35 3 in the administrative county of Cambridge

In the south-east, the divergence, [illegible] wide as in the east, was considerable, ranging from 0 to 66 [illegible] had the highest (66 0), Buckinghamshire and the Isle of Wight had none Besides Bedfordshire three other counties—Surrey (31 6), Hertfordshire (25 6) and Berkshire (22 9)—had percentages well above the average Oxfordshire (16 3) and Hampshire (16 5) had slightly above the average It was decidedly lower than the average in the following counties Sussex (4 1), Middlesex (4 8). London (13 4) and the two surrounding counties—Essex (13 5) and Kent (11 5)—had slightly below the average.

In the south-west only in the two counties Devonshire (16 3) and Somersetshire (17 1) was the proportion slightly above the average for England, in the remaining counties it ranged from 0 in Dorsetshire to 9 1 in Cornwall.

Admission Age in Grant-earning Secondary Schools

The majority of the children admitted for the first time in secondary schools are between 11 and 12 years of age Thus of the 71,264 children admitted in the autumn term 1934, 42,189, or about 60 per cent, were between 11 and 12, 19,715, or roughly 30 per cent, were under 11, of whom 13,292, or 70 per cent, were between 10 and 11, and the remaining 10 per cent were over 12 Table 42 shows the distribution of the newly admitted children of three age-groups in each type of area.

TABLE 42

NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS ADMITTED IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

TYPE OF AREA	AGE UNDER 11	PER-CENTAGE	AGE 12 AND OVER	PER-CENTAGE	AGE 13 AND OVER	PER-CENTAGE
Counties	10,716	28 2	4,797	12 7	1,549	4 1
County boroughs	7,461	26 8	3,720	13 2	880	3 2
London	1,538	28 1	843	15 4	465	8 5
Total for England	19,715	27 7	9,360	13 1	2,894	4 1

It appears that the age-range was widest in London In the areas of the county councils it was wider than in those of the county boroughs, though the proportion of children aged 12 and over was greater in the latter

The figures relating to each region are shown below

TABLE 43

NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS ADMITTED IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH REGION IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

REGIONS	AGE UNDER 11	PER-CENTAGE	AGE 12 AND OVER	PER-CENTAGE	AGE 13 AND OVER	PER-CENTAGE
North	6,433	24 5	3,961	15 0	877	3 5
Midlands	3,806	30 1	1,535	12 2	336	2 9
East	1,214	35 0	419	12 8	122	3 7
South-east	5,240	29 1	1,987	11 2	815	4 7
London	1,538	28 1	843	15 4	465	8 5
South-west	1,484	31 9	615	11 1	279	6 1
Total for England	19,715	27 7	9,360	13 1	2,894	4 1

The age-range was found to be highest in the east and lowest in the north In the north the percentage of the age-group under 11 was minimum, but that of the higher age-group maximum Generally speaking, the same relation holds good in the other regions as well With regard to the number of the children aged 12 and over admitted in secondary schools, the highest proportion as previously noted was found in the north, and the lowest in the south-west Now, it will be interesting to remember that the highest and lowest proportions in the direct-grant schools were found in the same regions,[1] though it cannot be definitely stated to what extent the one had influenced the other

In the north the proportions of children under 11 years of age in secondary schools were higher than the average for England in all the counties except Northumberland and Durham, ranging from 24 8 in Cumberland to 36 9 in Cheshire The same counties with one more exception, Westmorland, had higher proportions of children aged 12 and over, though the positions of the counties were slightly changed, the highest being in Yorkshire (18 5)

As in the north, the lower age-group proportion in the Midlands was also

[1] Compare Table 41 with Table 43

higher than the average in the majority of the counties, ranging from 29 5 in Northamptonshire to 43 6 in Shropshire The three counties with the lower proportions were Nottinghamshire (18 0), Herefordshire (23 1) and Warwickshire (24 1). There was greater diversity in the proportions relating to the higher age-group, ranging from 5 0 in Leicestershire to 20 3 in Herefordshire One-half of the counties had percentages below the average Leicestershire (5 0), Nottinghamshire (9 0), Derbyshire (9 6), Gloucestershire (7 7), Staffordshire (10 2)

In the east the lower age-group proportion was below the average only in Rutland , in the rest of the counties it varied between 26 0 (Norfolk) and 45 6 (Suffolk) The higher age-group figure varied more widely, from 7 0 (Cambridgeshire) to 61 0 (Rutland)

In the south-east only one county (Middlesex) had the lower age-group proportion much below the average (10 4) Two other (Oxfordshire 20 1, Hampshire 23 1) counties had slightly lower , in the remainder it ranged from 31 5 (Essex) to 46 1 (Kent) The higher age-group percentage was below the [illegible] the counties surrounding London with only one exception [illegible] 15 6) Outside the home counties it was lowest in Sussex (12 4) and highest in Oxfordshire (33 8)

In the south-west the first proportion ranged from 24 1 (Wiltshire) to 37 7 (Cornwall) The second proportion was lowest in Cornwall (10 4) and highest in Devonshire (15 0)

Ex-Public Elementary School Children in Attendance at Secondary Schools

Before the Education Act of 1902 it was unusual for any pupil from an elementary school to be transferred to a secondary school In the course of thirty years a great change has been brought about , and in 1933–4 the majority of the pupils, about 80 per cent admitted for the first time in secondary schools, had received their primary education in public elementary schools When considered by type of authority it was found that the proportion was lowest in London and was slightly higher in county boroughs than in county areas, as shown in Table 44

TABLE 44

NUMBER OF EX-PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOLARS RESIDENT IN EACH TYPE OF AREA ENTERING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF EX-PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOLARS ADMITTED IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN 1933–4	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ADMISSIONS IN 1933–4
Counties	36,371	77 0
County boroughs	22,309	81 0
London. . .	4,878	73 0
Total for England .	63,558	78 0

When considered by region, it was found highest in the north and lowest in the south-east, as shown in Table 45.

It will be remembered that though the south-east had the lowest proportion, a relatively high proportion of elementary school leavers entered secondary schools [1]

Now, in the north the proportion was more or less the same in each

[1] See Table 20, page 950

TABLE 45

NUMBER OF EX-PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOLARS RESIDENT IN EACH REGION ENTERING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN 1933–4

REGIONS	NUMBER OF EX-PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOLARS ADMITTED IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN 1933–4	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ADMISSIONS IN 1933–4
North	24,461	85 0
Midlands	11,749	82 0
East	3,155	75 0
South-east	15,250	69 0
London	4,878	73 0
South-west	4,065	76 0
Total for England	63,558	78 0

county except in Durham and Cheshire In the former it was as high as 96 0, and in Cheshire it was only 71 0

In the Midlands the proportion in the majority of the counties was about 80 0 Derbyshire had the highest (88 0), and Staffordshire and Warwickshire had each 85 0

In the east the highest was in Huntingdonshire (79 0) and lowest in Suffolk (70 0), the rest had slightly above or below the regional average

In the south-east Essex had the highest percentage (79 0) and Surrey had the lowest (52 0) The following counties had proportions below the average for the region Surrey (52 0), Hertfordshire (53 0), Sussex (60 0), Bedfordshire (61 0), Kent (63 0) The following had percentages over 70 0 Berkshire (71 0), Hampshire (72 0), Buckinghamshire (74 0), Oxfordshire (75 0), Middlesex (76 0), Essex (79 0) Thus, about one-half of the counties in the south-east region did not admit a large percentage of ex-public elementary school boys in their secondary schools, though nowhere did the percentage fall below 50 0

In the south-west only one county—Wiltshire (86 0)—had a percentage over the average for the county. In the rest it varied between 73 0 and 75 0

Boarders in the Grant-earning Secondary Schools

The majority of the pupils in the grant-earning secondary schools were day scholars In October 1934, of the 419,913 pupils there were only 12,383 boarders, or roughly 30 per 1,000 pupils Their distribution in each type area is shown in Table 46

Thus it appears that the majority were in the areas of the county councils where the population is more scattered than elsewhere

Table 47 gives the distribution of the boarders in each region.

This shows that about 30 per cent of the boarders were in schools in the south-east, approximately 20 per cent in each of the two regions, north and south-west, and roughly 15 per cent. in the other two remaining regions But the numbers when related to the total number of pupils gave different results It will be interesting to observe that the percentages of the children in attendance at the grant-earning secondary schools [1] in different regions were definitely affected by the proportion of boarders in them, though perhaps it may be argued that the latter was not sufficiently high to influence the former However, Table 47 shows clearly that the highest proportions were found in the south-west and east, the regions best provided with grant-earning secondary schools. Of the remaining counties, the south-east

[1] See Table 34, page 964

TABLE 46

NUMBER OF BOARDERS AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF BOARDERS	PROPORTION PER 1,000 PUPILS
Counties	9,433	43 0
County boroughs	2,721	18 0
London	229	6 0
Total for England	12,383	29 0

TABLE 47

NUMBER OF BOARDERS AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION IN EACH REGION IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

REGIONS	NUMBER OF BOARDERS	PROPORTION PER 1,000 PUPILS
North	2,666	18 0
Midlands	1,798	24 0
East	1,570	72 0
South-east (excluding London)	3,630	34 0
London	229	6 7
South-west	2,490	93 0
Total for England	12,383	29 0

occupies the same position in Table 47 as in Table 34 Only in the north and Midlands are the proportions slightly reversed, though in none of these were they higher than the average for England

In the north all the counties except Westmorland had the proportions below the average, ranging from 2 in Northumberland to 24 in Yorkshire Besides Westmorland two other counties—Yorkshire (24 0) and Cumberland (23 0)—had figures above the average for the region, and as a matter of fact it was Yorkshire that contributed most in raising the average to 18 0 The exceptionally high proportion in Westmorland (115 0) was due to its scattered population

In the Midlands it ranged between 11 0 and 95 0 Of the ten counties, one-half—Gloucestershire (49 0), Herefordshire (95 0) Shropshire (31 0), Worcestershire (33 0), Northamptonshire (31 0)—were found to exceed the average for England, and these had a relatively large number of secondary school places The counties with the lowest figures, such as Staffordshire (11 0), Nottinghamshire (11 0), Derbyshire (14 0) had also the lowest proportions of the children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools [1]

In the east each of the counties had a proportion well above the average, ranging from 40 0 in Norfolk to 791 0 in Rutland Both the secondary schools in Rutland are non-local in character and contained about 80 per cent boarders ; hence the exceptionally high proportion

In the south-east it varied between 3 0 (Middlesex) and 114 0 (Bedfordshire) In Bedfordshire the majority of the boarders (80 per cent) were

[1] See page 963.

recruited from elsewhere, including a large percentage from abroad (30 per cent) London had only 6 0 Of the counties surrounding London, the predominantly urban counties—Middlesex (3 0) and Surrey (15 0)—had very few boarders, in the other three, the proportion was above the average, being highest in Hertfordshire Of the remaining counties, Oxfordshire (54 0), Berkshire (65 0), and Hampshire (31 0) each had a proportion higher than the average, and Buckinghamshire (10 0) and Sussex (25 0) had lower

In the south-west the proportion ranged from 53 0 in Wiltshire to 150 0 in Somerset, being well above the average in each of the counties

Award of Special Places in Secondary Schools

The new system of awarding " special places " in place of " free places," which, in case of financial need, carry total or partial exemption from school fees to enable boys and girls to enter a secondary school and remain until the completion of the course, was first introduced in the country in 1933 The Boards' regulations for secondary schools provide that the number of special places to be awarded in a secondary school is subject to prescribed minimum and maximum limits, that is to say, between 25 and 50 per cent of the previous year's admission, and that special places to the minimum number of 25 per cent of the previous year's admission are to be awarded to those who have been under instruction in a public elementary school for at least two years immediately before entering the secondary school

The special places are awarded annually by the Part II L E A s on the results of a competitive examination which, generally speaking, consists of two stages (1) Preliminary examination which qualifies the candidates to sit for the final, some authorities like Cheshire award special places without any further examination to the candidates who have done exceedingly well in this (2) Final examination viva voce tests and in many areas intelligence tests play a large part in this examination

The nature and scope of the examination and the results obtained therefrom vary considerably from one area to another, but it is not within the scope of this paper to deal with them exhaustively

Now, it is worth mentioning that the introduction of the " special place " system did create in the beginning a good deal of uneasiness amongst the L E A s, as it was thought that it might have the effect of reducing the number of pupils in secondary schools by preventing many children, especially of the poorer parents, from entering such schools But in the course of the following years the Board by its wise and generous policy had been able to alienate the fear from the minds of L E A s,[1] and have gone as far as granting 100 per cent of special places in secondary schools in the areas of several L E A s, such as Essex, Middlesex, Wiltshire, Isle of Wight, Manchester, Burnley in Lancashire, Huddersfield in the West Riding, Norwich in Norfolk, Birmingham in Warwickshire, etc

In October 1934, the number of special places awarded in secondary schools was 45,089, or 51 5 per cent of the previous year's admission Their distribution in each type of area has been shown in Table 48

Clearly then the prescribed minimum limit has been far exceeded when the country as a whole is considered It was highest in the areas of the county boroughs and lowest in London The figures relating to each region have been tabulated in Table 49

Thus there was not a very great diversity from one region to another The north and the south-east had approximately the same proportions Of the other regions it was highest in the Midlands and lowest in the east

The variations in the amount of help, so far as it can be judged by the number totally exempted from fees, are shown in Tables 50 and 51

London was most generous in granting total remission of fees to a very large percentage of " special place " holders The proportion was higher in the areas of the county boroughs than in those of the county councils

[1] Annual report, Hertfordshire County Council, 1935 Annual report, Gloucestershire County Council, 1935.

TABLE 48

AWARD OF SPECIAL PLACES IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF SPECIAL PLACES	PERCENTAGE OF PREVIOUS YEAR'S ADMISSIONS
Counties	23,029	49 1
County boroughs	18,657	56 6
London	3,403	44 8
Total for England	45,089	51 5

TABLE 49

AWARD OF SPECIAL PLACES IN EACH REGION IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

REGIONS	NUMBER OF SPECIAL PLACES	PERCENTAGE OF PREVIOUS YEAR'S ADMISSIONS
North	16,895	55 0
Midlands	7,760	52 0
East	1,880	41 3
South-east	12,329	54 1
London	3,403	44 8
South-west	2 822	47 6
Total for England	45,089	51 5

TABLE 50

SPECIAL PLACE HOLDERS TOTALLY EXEMPTED FROM PAYING FEES IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER TOTALLY EXEMPTED	PERCENTAGE OF SPECIAL PLACES
Counties	16,954	73 6
County boroughs	14,540	77 9
London	3,065	90 0
Total for England	34,559	76 7

The proportion of the number totally exempted from paying fees was more or less the same in the north and the east, thus the former exempted a very large percentage from fees though awarding the largest percentage of special places, whereas the latter, though most generous in granting total remission of fees, did not award as many special places Of the two regions—the south-east and the Midlands—the former awarded relatively more special places, but granted exemptions to a lesser number, the percentage being the lowest in the whole of the country The south-east occupied rather low positions in both of the ladders

Before describing in some detail the diversity of the proportions of special places within each region, it will be interesting to compare some of the tables

TABLE 51

SPECIAL PLACE HOLDERS TOTALLY EXEMPTED FROM PAYING FEES IN EACH REGION IN THE AUTUMN TERM, 1934

REGIONS	NUMBER TOTALLY EXEMPTED	PERCENTAGE OF SPECIAL PLACES
North	14,234	84 2
Midlands	6,033	77 7
East	1,642	87 3
South-east	7,596	61 6
London	3,065	70 0
South-west	1,989	70 5
Total for England	34,559	76 7

given here with those relating to the proportionate numbers of secondary school pupils,[1] with a view to seeing how far one gets affected by the other Table 48, when compared with Table 32, page 963, shows that the type of Part II authority that awards the relatively maximum number of special places has the maximum proportion of the children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools, the other authorities occupy the same positions in both tables

Though there are various factors influencing secondary school population, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that a generous award of special places does help to increase it A comparison between Table 34 and Table 49, pages 964, 976, shows the same features, when adjoining regions are considered Thus, of the two regions—the north and the Midlands—the one that awarded the higher percentage of special places had a relatively higher secondary school population The same relation holds good between the east and the south-east This generalisation breaks down only in case of the south-west region, which despite the award of a small number of special places had a relatively maximum number of secondary school pupils

Since the special place system was primarily designed for necessitous children, a large percentage of whom have their early education in the public elementary school, it seems reasonable to expect that areas awarding the larger percentage of special places will have correspondingly higher proportions of ex-public elementary school children in attendance at secondary schools Generally speaking, it has been found so The proportion of ex-public elementary school children in secondary schools was found to be higher in the areas of the county boroughs than in those of the county councils, and lowest in London [2], these three types of areas occupy the same positions in regard to special place awards The same relation holds good in each of the regions,[3] except the south-east, the north and the Midlands awarded the highest percentages of special places, and had the highest proportions of the ex-public elementary school children in attendance at secondary schools, the east and the south-west occupy the bottom positions in both the ladders, the south-east awarded a very high percentage of special places, but had the lowest proportion of ex-public elementary school children, this shows that there the policy of awarding special places was more liberal so as to cover children other than those who have been under instruction in a public elementary school, or, a critic might argue that public elementary school children in the south-east do not get as much advantage from the special place system, as similar children living elsewhere.

[1] See pages 962–4 [2] See Table 44, page 972
[3] Compare Table 49, page 976, with Table 45, page 973.

As to the diversity of the number of special place awards within the regions, we find that in the north the percentages ranged from 35 1 (Westmorland) to 64 7 (Durham) It will be remembered that the positions of these counties were found in a reversed order in regard to secondary school population, owing mainly to prevailing economic conditions Besides Durham, Yorkshire (63 3) was the only county whose awards had decidedly exceeded the average for England , as a matter of fact, it was Yorkshire, or, to be more precise, West Riding, that had contributed most in raising the average for the region to 55 0, the percentages being more or less the same in the areas of both types of Part II Authorities In this respect, West Riding as a whole is more generous than Durham, as in the latter the awards made by the county boroughs were relatively much smaller Cheshire's awards (36 5) fell far short of the average, in spite of the fact that it had the largest proportion of children between 11 and 16 in attendance at secondary schools This, together with the fact of having the lowest proportion of ex-public elementary school children in secondary schools, may be taken to mean that Cheshire did not care as much for children of the poorer parents, who could not take advantage of secondary education In Lancashire, the county boroughs awarded a fairly high percentage of special places, the average being 50 9 , in the two largest towns—Liverpool and Manchester—the latter awarded higher percentages of special places than the former, though in each the percentage was below the average for the county boroughs

As to the proportion of special place holders totally exempted from fees, it ranged from 76 0 to 83 0 It was highest in the three counties Yorkshire, Durham and Westmorland Cheshire, Lancashire and Cumberland can be grouped together, each exempting about 83 per cent of special place holders from tuition fees It was lowest in Northumberland

In the Midlands the proportion of special place awards ranged from 29 1 (Herefordshire) to 72 9 (Warwickshire) The high percentage in Warwickshire is due to 100 per cent of special places awarded by the Birmingham L E A Staffordshire had the next highest percentage (52 9) The rest of the counties, except Nottinghamshire (49 5) and Leicestershire (49 7), had proportions much below the average

Generally speaking, it was found that counties awarding higher percentages of special places were more strict in exempting special place holders from tuition fees , thus Warwickshire had the lowest proportion, and counties that occupied lower positions in the former ladder had higher places in the latter

In the east, the award was highest in Norfolk (53 0) and lowest in Rutland (11 9) In the rest of the counties it ranged from 36 1 (Suffolk) to 39 6 (Lincolnshire)

The same generalisation in regard to the proportion of total remission of fees made above holds good in the east It was lowest in Norfolk (84 0) and highest in Rutland (100)

Of all the regions the diversity of the proportions of special places from one county to another was widest in the south-east It was highest in Middlesex (91 9) and lowest in Bedfordshire (23 6) Of the counties surrounding London, besides the one already mentioned, Essex had a high proportion (71 1), the other three had a low proportion, ranging from 25 9 (Surrey) to 34 3 (Kent) Outside the home counties it was highest in Oxfordshire (66 4), the Oxford authority contributing the most (92 0) Next was Hampshire (50 0) In the three remaining counties—Sussex (32 6), Berkshire (35 1) and Buckinghamshire (42 1)—the proportion was found to be much lower than the average

The proportion of special place holders wholly exempted from fees also varied considerably in the south-east, ranging from 50 0 (Essex) to 90 0 (Sussex and Oxfordshire) Of the counties surrounding London, Middlesex (54 0), Hertfordshire (68 0) and Essex (50 0) had a lower proportion , it was higher in the other two Surrey (76 0), Kent (82 0). Outside the home counties, Bedfordshire (59 0) and Hampshire (58 0) had the lowest.

In the south-west the percentage of special places was below the average in all the counties except Wiltshire (91 4) Dorset (48 6) and Devonshire (43 2) had more or less the same percentages , in the latter, the percentage was considerably higher in the areas of the county boroughs (56 4) than in those of the counties (32 9) Somersetshire (32 9) and Cornwall (35 4) can be grouped together in regard to special place awards

It will be interesting to observe that the percentage of special place holders exempted from tuition fees was lowest in Wiltshire, the county that awarded the highest number of special places In the other counties it was over 80.

Causes of Diversity in the Number of Special Place Awards

One of the main causes is, no doubt, the domestic policy of the local authorities The case of Bootle can be quoted as an example In 1929 the Bootle Education Authority had applied to the Board for permission to grant 100 per cent of free places, but three years later the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme , their awards fell below the prescribed minimum limit, and the Board had to intervene in the matter

However, economic conditions play no doubt a certain part in shaping the policy in the majority of the areas An attempt has been made below to show this From each of the regions two county areas have been selected for this comparison, one of these having a higher amount of rateable value per head of population than the other

Thus, in each of the groups, the one that had a higher amount of rateable value per head awarded a lesser percentage of special places, though the proportion varied from one region to another It will be interesting to observe that the rate in the pound levied for general purposes was, as would have been anticipated, higher in the areas with a lesser amount of rateable value , and that the rate for secondary education was invariably higher in the areas that awarded a higher percentage of special places, there being only one exception—Cambridgeshire

Secondary School Leavers between 11 and 15 and over 17 Years of Age

A very large percentage of pupils in the grant-earning secondary schools leave when they are between 16 and 17 years of age, completing a five-year course , a certain percentage continue beyond that age , and notwithstanding the fact that the parents are required to give a definite pledge that their children shall remain at school until they complete the course, a certain percentage leave before completing, especially in areas where there has been some depression in industry, which causes parents to seize the first opportunity of finding employment for their children , and also owing to the fact, as is thought by some L E A s, that children are admitted to secondary schools at a comparatively early age, when they are immature, and may not fulfil early anticipations later However, it will be encouraging to observe that the proportion of children who leave secondary schools before 15 is smaller than that of children remaining at school beyond 17 In 1933–4 73,627 pupils left grant-earning secondary schools , of this number, 25,504 were between 16 and 17 , 23,565 aged 17 and over , 11,654 between 11 and 15 It seems reasonable to anticipate that the latter group left school before completing the course, though probably a certain number leaving school between 15 and 16 years of age also did not complete it Now we will examine the distribution of children of the second and third age-groups, first in each type of area and then in each geographical region covering all areas (Table 53)

Thus, generally speaking, in each type of area the proportion of children over 17 leaving school was twice as much as that of children under 15 There was very little diversity of the proportion of children under 15 leaving schools from one type of area to another , the other proportion was highest in London, and more or less the same in other areas. Table 54 shows the corresponding figures relating to each region

TABLE 52

ECONOMIC INDEX AND SPECIAL PLACE AWARDS (COUNTY AREAS)

COUNTY AREAS	AMOUNT OF RATEABLE VALUE PER HEAD OF POPULATION	RATE IN THE £	SECONDARY SCHOOL RATE IN THE £ (APPROX.)	SPECIAL PLACES (PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ADMISSIONS)
North				
Durham	£3 11*s*	15*s* 7*d*	1*s*	91 6
Cheshire	£5 18*s*	10*s* 3*d*	5*d*	30 6
Midlands				
Staffordshire	£3 15*s*	12*s* 9*d*	10*d*	40 5
Herefordshire	£5	8*s* 10*d*	9*d*	29 1
East				
Norfolk	£3 11*s*	14*s* 1*d*	7*d*	50 5
Cambridgeshire	£6	9*s* 7*d*	11*d*	28 6
South-east				
Essex	£6 9*s*	12*s* 11*d*	9*d*	73 3
Hertfordshire	£7 15*s*	10*s* 3*d*	4*d*	29 5
South-west				
Wiltshire	£5	11*s* 3*d*	11*d*	91 4
Devonshire	£6 13*s*	9*s* 3*d*	7*d*	27 4

TABLE 53

SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS OF DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS FROM EACH TYPE OF AREA IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREA	NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	AGE 11 AND UNDER 15	PERCENTAGE	AGE 17 AND OVER	PERCENTAGE
Counties	37,903	5,773	15 2	12,253	32 5
County boroughs	28,511	4,694	16 5	8,409	29 5
London . .	7,213	1,187	16 4	2,903	40 2
Total for England	73,627	11,654	15 8	23,565	32 0

The proportion of school leavers under 15 ranged from 11 8 to 17 7, being lowest in the east and highest in the Midlands, the north, the south-west and London had about the same proportion, it was slightly lower in the south-east It is of some interest to observe that the other proportion was in a reverse order with one exception (London had the highest proportion leaving school beyond 17, though the other proportion was not correspondingly low), thus the proportion of pupils over 17 leaving school was highest in the east and lowest in the Midlands.

TABLE 54

SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS OF DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS FROM EACH REGION IN 1933–4

REGIONS	NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS	AGE 11 AND UNDER 15	PERCENTAGE	AGE 17 AND OVER	PERCENTAGE
North	26,364	4,210	16 0	8,264	31 3
Midlands	13,014	2,311	17 7	3,712	28 5
East	3,606	426	11 8	1,208	33 5
South-east	18,678	2,752	14 7	6,105	32 7
London	7,213	1,187	16 4	2,903	40 2
South-west	4,752	768	16 1	1,373	28 9
Total for England	73,627	11,654	15 8	23,565	32 0

Next we will proceed to study these proportions in each county In the north, the proportion of secondary school leavers between 11 and 15 ranged from 8 8 (Cumberland) to 23 5 (Westmorland), Northumberland (16 4), Lancashire (16 9), and Yorkshire (16 9) had more or less the same, Durham (12 7) and Cheshire (13 7) had about 13 0 each The proportion of leavers of the higher age-group ranged from 27 6 (Yorkshire) to 44 0 (Cumberland), in the following counties the variation was slight Durham (35 7), Lancashire (34 2), Westmorland (33 9), and Northumberland (33 1), Cheshire (31 5) had a slightly lower proportion

In the Midlands the former proportion ranged from 10 8 (Herefordshire) to 23 9 (Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire), Leicestershire had a fairly low proportion (14 6), the remaining counties had over 15 0, Warwickshire (16 3), Staffordshire (17 2), Derbyshire (18 1), Gloucestershire (18 2) and Shropshire (21 9) The latter proportion varied between 22 0 (Leicestershire) and 34 7 (Shropshire), the majority of them had over 30 0 Gloucestershire (30 5), Derbyshire (32 7), Worcestershire (32 8), Herefordshire (33 0) and Staffordshire (33 8), the following had below 30 Nottinghamshire (26 0), Warwickshire (24 9) and Northamptonshire (23 7)

In the east the proportion of children under 15 ranged from 6 0 (Rutland) to 13 8 (Huntingdonshire), two other counties had about 13 Norfolk (13 3) and Cambridgeshire (12 5), Lincolnshire (11 2) and Suffolk (11 1) had slightly lower On the whole, then, in the east, the proportion of children under 15 leaving secondary schools was fairly low in all the counties The other age-group proportion was uniformly high throughout Rutland had an exceptionally high proportion (56 9), Huntingdonshire had the lowest (27 5), Cambridgeshire (42 2) and Lincolnshire (36 7) had slightly above or below 40 the remaining counties had over 30 Suffolk (31 3), Norfolk (32 3)

The south-east did not show much diversity in the first proportion from one county to another, seven of them had between 12 and 15 Hampshire (12 1), Hertfordshire (12 9), Kent (13 0), Surrey (13 6), Oxfordshire (14 1), Berkshire and Buckinghamshire (14 8), the remaining had over 15 Bedfordshire (15 9), Sussex (16 7) and Middlesex (17 0) The proportion of leavers over 17 years of age ranged from 22 9 (Buckinghamshire) to 43 9 (Bedfordshire) Of the counties surrounding London, Kent (39 4) and Hertfordshire (38 5) had high figures, Surrey fairly high (36 2), Essex (33 7) and Middlesex (26 8) relatively low The remaining counties in the region had about 30 or over Sussex (29 0), Hampshire (32 1), Oxfordshire (33 0), Berkshire (34 9)

In the south-west the former was highest in Dorsetshire (20 6) and lowest in Wiltshire (11 8), the other counties had about 15 each Somersetshire (14 9), Cornwall (15 5), and Devonshire (17 5) The proportion of children

over 17 leaving schools was much the same in each county, slightly above or below 30 Dorsetshire (27 7), Devonshire (29 8), Cornwall (30 2), Somersetshire (30 3) and Wiltshire (30 3)

It was thus found, generally speaking, that the greater the proportion of school leavers over 17, the lesser the proportion under 15

There are various factors operating to produce this diversity, the chief being, no doubt, related to economic conditions, which has already been referred to

It is of some interest to compare the figures relating to leavers between 11 and 15 with those relating to (1) secondary school population aged 11 and over and (2) special place awards Then it will be seen, firstly, that the greater proportion of children under 15 leave schools from areas that show relatively high secondary school population, as, for example, in the north, Westmorland and Durham had the highest and lowest proportionate number respectively in grant-earning secondary schools, and, as has been shown here, the highest proportion of leavers under 15 in the north was from the former, whereas not as many such children left schools from the latter, in the south-east, Middlesex and Hampshire prove the same thing Secondly, generally speaking, the greater the proportion of special place holders in an area, the lesser the proportion who leave schools before completing the course, Westmorland and Durham can be quoted as examples from the north, Bedfordshire and Hampshire from the south-east, Wiltshire and Devonshire from the south-west, and so on

Both these generalisations were subject to exceptions, for obvious reasons

Number of Pupils pursuing a Course in the Grant-earning Secondary Schools beyond the Stage of First Examination

Not all those pupils who left secondary schools at 17 + were pursuing an advanced course To get an idea as to the provision for advanced courses in different areas, it is better to take into account the number of pupils definitely pursuing a course beyond the stage of first examination In 1933–4 the number of such pupils was 30,238 Expressed as a percentage of the age-group 14–15 attending grant-earning secondary schools, it was 38 5, that is to say, about 40 per cent of the children between 14–15 remain at school after passing the first examination The distribution of these pupils in each type of area is shown in Table 55

Thus it was highest in London and lowest in the areas of the county councils Table 56 shows the numbers relating to each region

The north and the Midlands had higher proportions than the east, south-east and south-west It will be seen[1] that in the south-west the number of secondary school leavers over 17 + was also small, but it was higher in the east and south-east than in the north and Midlands, which probably indicates that in the former pupils take the first examination at a later age

The variation of this proportion was greater within a region from one county to another

In the north it ranged from 28 0 (Westmorland) to 47 0 (Cumberland) Three others had over 40 0 each Lancashire (44 7), Durham (42 0), Northumberland (41 4), Yorkshire and Cheshire had about 37 0 each In some the proportion in the county areas was higher than that in the county boroughs, as, for example, Lancashire (county area 41 7, average for the associated county boroughs 46 7) In others it was higher in the county area, as in Durham (county area 46 0, average for the associated county boroughs 37 0) It is worth mentioning that of the total number more than three-fourths were in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the former having over 4,000 and the latter slightly below 4,000, though the proportionate numbers do not indicate this

In the Midlands, the proportion ranged from 32·2 (Warwickshire and

[1] See Table 54.

TABLE 55

PUPILS PURSUING AN ADVANCED COURSE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH TYPE OF AREA IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREA	AGE-GROUP 14–15	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE
Counties	41,771	15,337	36 7
County boroughs	29,616	11,780	39 8
London	7,188	3,121	43 4
Total for England	78,575	30,238	38 5

TABLE 56

PUPILS PURSUING AN ADVANCED COURSE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EACH REGION IN 1933–4

REGIONS	AGE GROUP 14–15	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE
North	27,672	11,258	40 7
Midlands	13,781	5,383	39 1
East	4,030	1,475	36 6
South-east	20,832	7,215	34 7
London	7,188	3,121	43 4
South-west	5,072	1,786	35 2
Total for England	78,575	30,238	38 5

Northamptonshire) to 47 1 (Shropshire), though the former had the largest absolute number (about one-fifth of the total for this region) The majority of the counties, however, had over 40 0 Derbyshire (41 0), Worcestershire (41 5), Nottinghamshire (41 7), Herefordshire (42 4), Staffordshire (44 6), each of the remaining had over 35 0 Gloucestershire (38 0) and Leicestershire (35 3) In four the proportions in the areas of the county councils were higher than those in the associated county boroughs, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire, in the other four counties it was reversed Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire (though in the county area of Soke of Peterborough it was as high as 50 per cent)

In the east the proportionate number in Rutland was as high as 62 5, though actually there were only thirty pupils Cambridgeshire had the next highest (52 0), though the county of Cambridgeshire had 60 0, Lincolnshire had over 40 0, though in Kesteven it was about 50 0 Norfolk and Suffolk had below 30 0 It was lowest in Huntingdonshire (22 1)

In the south-east it ranged from 26 8 (Buckinghamshire) to 46 0 (Bedfordshire) Of the counties surrounding London it was highest in Kent (41 3), and lowest in Middlesex (27 0), though the absolute number in each of the four—Kent, Surrey, Middlesex and Essex—was practically the same, being slightly over 1,000 Hampshire had a fairly high proportion (44 0), there the figure for the county boroughs (47 0) was much higher than that of the county area (40 0) The remaining counties had slightly over or below 30 0 Sussex (32 2), Berkshire (31·0), Oxfordshire (28 0)

In the south-west it was highest in Devonshire (38 0), and lowest in Dorsetshire (30·0) Somersetshire and Wiltshire had slightly below those of the former and latter respectively Cornwall had 34 0

When a comparison is made between one region and another regarding the proportions of pupils remaining at school beyond the stage of first examination and leaving school at 17 +, it is found that the increase of one will not necessarily mean the increase of the other, for the reason stated above, but within a region, generally speaking, one conforms with the other

Cost per Pupil in Grant-earning Secondary Schools

From the point of view of finance, the Board of Education does not make any distinction between secondary schools and institutions providing other forms of higher education, such as colleges for the training of teachers, technical schools, etc , hence it is a matter of considerable difficulty to allocate the exact proportion of the total expenditures for higher education to secondary However, the Board have been good enough to place the summary figures showing gross and net expenditures during the year 1933–4 for secondary and other forms of education at the disposal of the writer, from which the following information relating to secondary school expenditures have been extracted

The expenditures, as shown below, cover all types of secondary schools on the grant list, such as council schools, those maintained by (1) other L E A s for higher education, (2) local authorities not being L E A s for higher education, and (3) other bodies or persons

The expenses are shown as totals of four main heads, viz (1) salaries of teachers , (2) tuition fees paid by L E A s to various school authorities , (3) maintenance allowances recognisable for grant under Grant Regulation No 4 at secondary schools , and (4) loan charges Besides these, there were other items of expenditure administration and inspection, medical inspection, etc , which were not shown separately and hence could not be taken into account in calculating the cost For purposes of comparing the cost from one place to another, however, their exclusion will not constitute a great source of error—though this point should not be overlooked in making comparisons with similar expenditures incurred by other countries

Table 57 shows gross and net expenditures [1] separately in each type of area

Thus the gross expenditure per pupil was about the same in London and in the areas of the county councils, though the net expenditure in the former was much higher than the latter The expenditure, both gross and net per pupil, was lowest in the county boroughs

The total figures are analysed in Table 58

Both net and gross expenditure per pupil was highest in London, and lowest in the south-west The cost per pupil in the east was slightly higher than that of the latter In the two regions north and south-east the net expenditure was slightly higher in the former, but the gross was higher in the latter , the Midlands had lower figures than each of these. It will be interesting to compare this table with Table 30 showing cost per child of elementary education , then it will be seen that one follows the other, that is to say, where the cost per pupil for elementary education was high, that for secondary was equally high, and vice versa

The diversity in the amount of expenditure per pupil for secondary education from one area to another was even greater than that for elementary education

In the north the gross cost ranged from £21 8 (Northumberland) to £27 6 (Yorkshire) , the net from £16 5 (Cheshire) to £24 1 (Durham) It will be seen that among large areas the difference between gross and net was least in Durham and most in Cheshire, owing to the fact that the former awarded many more " special places " than the latter.[2] In Westmorland this difference was slightly smaller than that in Durham, though there is reason to believe that the amount on which the gross cost is based did

[1] Gross expenditure less all income other than grants and rates; this extra income is mainly derived from tuition fees paid by pupils.

[2] See page 976.

TABLE 57

EXPENDITURE FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION IN EACH TYPE OF AREA INCURRED BY THE L.E.A.s IN 1933–4

TYPE OF AREAS	NUMBER OF PUPILS	GROSS EXPENDITURE	COST PER PUPIL	NET EXPENDITURE	COST PER PUPIL
		£	£	£	£
Counties	211,660	6,117,498	28 9	4,924,174	23 3
County boroughs	154,523	3,288,886	21 3	2,653,187	17 2
London	37,506	1,075,810	28 7	1,009,883	27 0
Total for England	403,689	10,482,194	26 0	8,587,244	21 3

TABLE 58

EXPENDITURE FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION INCURRED BY THE L E A.s IN EACH REGION IN 1933–4

REGIONS	NUMBER OF PUPILS	NET EXPENDITURE	COST PER PUPIL	GROSS EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL
		£	£	£
North	143,174	3,056,295	21 1	25 8
Midlands	71,574	1,454,896	20 3	25 0
East	21,110	407,519	19 3	23 9
South-east	105,048	2,186,144	20 8	27 1
London	37,506	1,009,883	27 0	28 7
South-west	25,277	471,807	18 6	22 5
Total for England	403,689	8,587,244	21 3	26 0

not include certain items not coming within the purview of official recognition In Yorkshire both gross and net were very high in the county area of the West Riding, and low in the North Riding Both gross and net costs were slightly higher in Cumberland than in Lancashire The net cost in Northumberland was about £1 higher than that in Cheshire, though the gross was £2 more in the latter Thus we find that in the north the gross cost per pupil was about £25 or over in the following Yorkshire (£27 6), Durham (£26 8), Cumberland (£25 8) and Lancashire (£24 9); it was below £25 in Cheshire (£23 7), Westmorland (£22 9) and Northumberland (£21 8), the net was over £20 in the following Durham (£24 1), Cumberland (£22 9), Yorkshire (£22 8), Lancashire (£21 1), Westmorland (£20 9), it was below £20 only in two counties Northumberland (£17 7) and Cheshire (£16 5)

In the Midlands the gross cost per pupil ranged from £16 2 (Gloucestershire)[1] to £33 3 (Derbyshire); the net from £15 1 (Gloucestershire) to £25 4 (Derbyshire) The former cost was over £25 in the following Leicestershire (£29 4), Shropshire (£28 8), Staffordshire (£27 6), Worcestershire (£26 2), it was below £25 in the remainder. Northamptonshire

[1] In the county area it was over £22, but the county boroughs had low cost, probably for the same reason as in Westmorland. The same may explain the abnormally low figures in two other counties—Bedfordshire and Rutland.

(£24 6), Warwickshire (£23 6), Nottinghamshire (£23 5) and Herefordshire (£21 3) As to the net cost, it was found to exceed £20 in the following four. Derbyshire (£25 4), Shropshire (£24 1), Staffordshire (£23 5), Warwickshire (£21 1) and was slightly below that in Worcestershire (£19 6), Nottinghamshire (£19 4), Leicestershire (£19 4), and over £15 in Herefordshire (£15 1) and Northamptonshire (£17 1)

In the east the gross cost ranged from £18 8 (Huntingdonshire) to £25 9 (Suffolk), the net from £13 7 (Cambridgeshire) to £22 3 (Lincolnshire) As to gross expenditure per pupil, Suffolk (£25 9) and Lincolnshire (£25 6) had exceeded £25, Norfolk (£22 1) and Cambridgeshire (£21 2) over £20 The net cost was about the same in Norfolk (£19 1) and Suffolk (£18 8), and was slightly less in Huntingdonshire (£17 3) It is worth mentioning that in Lincolnshire it was highest in Kesteven, and in Suffolk higher in the eastern part than in the western

In the south-east the gross cost ranged from £21 1 (Surrey) to £37 2 (Middlesex), the net from £11 1 (Hampshire) to £28 1 (Middlesex) It will be seen that the former was over £20 in each county, about £30 in Oxfordshire (£29 8), Berkshire (£28 9) and Sussex (£28 3), over £25 in Kent (£25 6), Oxfordshire (£26 0) and Essex (£26 6) Only the remaining three had below 25 0 Hertfordshire (£23 2), Hampshire (£22 8) and Surrey (£21 1) The net cost was over £20 in the majority of counties Buckinghamshire (£23 2), Essex (£22 1), Oxfordshire (£21 7), Kent (£21 4) and Sussex (£20 7), slightly below £20 in Berkshire (£19 9) and Surrey (£16 8), below £15 in Hertfordshire (£14 6), Hampshire (£11 4) and Bedfordshire (£9 4)

In the south-west Wiltshire had the highest (gross, £26 7, net, £24 3), mainly due to the high cost of Swindon schools In other counties the gross cost was about the same in each (about £22) Somersetshire (£21 4), Devonshire (£21 7), Cornwall (£21 8) and Dorsetshire (£22 5) The net cost was lowest in Cornwall (£15 7) and slightly below £20 in the others Dorset (£19 5), Somersetshire (£18 8) and Devonshire (£17 9)

There were various causes[1] which, operating in each individual area, made expenditure comparatively high or low, and in a county where there was more than one authority, favourable factors in one might have counterbalanced unfavourable factors in the other, making an explanation for the high or low cost, in the county as a whole, still more difficult However, the following factors have a bearing on the cost. (1) the geographical characteristics of the area affecting distribution of schools, (2) the relative prosperity of the area resulting in high or low income from special pupils and determining the amount of fees to be charged from fee-payers, both in the preparatory department and upper classes, (3) percentage of the special place awards to the total admission, and the nature of the income scale adopted, (4) foundation funds, (5) size of schools and (6) ratio of staff to number of pupils

S P. CHATTERJEE.

[1] See page 958, the effect of local economic conditions on the expenditure per pupil for elementary education

SECTION III

Survey of Finance in the United Kingdom

CHAPTER ONE

SURVEY OF EDUCATION EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Total Expenditure

THE YEAR BOOK for 1933 contained a detailed survey of expenditure in England and Wales between 1923 and 1933 Last year, the main outlines of this survey were brought up to date, and we propose to do the same this year, though still more briefly Readers will find the figures of the years 1924–5 to 1929–30 in the two previous volumes

The table on page 988 shows the growth of educational expenditure during the past twelve years, with an analysis of the burden falling on the central government and the local authorities respectively (Table 1) This table does not cover all the expenditure borne on the estimates of the Board of Education It excludes expenditure on museums and on miscellaneous items It also excludes the Board's direct expenditure on Aid to Students This last item is, however, referred to below As the figures of the Board's grants to local education authorities are figures of the grants due to local authorities *for* the year, only 90 per cent of which are payable in the year, the figures cannot be exactly reconciled with the returns of the Board's actual expenditure in any given year Figures of grants for the year, however, are the only basis on which to estimate the trend of educational expenditure

Central Expenditure

The conclusions to be drawn from these figures can be briefly summarised Central expenditure has increased by £2,922,000 (line 13 of the table), but of this total £978,000 is accounted for by the increase in the Board's net expenditure on Teachers' Pensions (line 8) under the contributory superannuation scheme To this £978,000 should be added the Board's grants to local authorities in respect of their contributions to this superannuation scheme, i e 50 per cent of the sum of lines 4 and 5 for 1935–6, i e £1,225,000 It must be remembered that these contributions from local authorities represent a burden transferred from the central government to the local authorities in 1928–9 Apart, therefore, from teachers' pensions, central expenditure is only £719,000 more than fourteen years ago

This increase in central expenditure is made up as follows .

	£	£
Increase in the Board's grants to local authorities	2,747,000	
Less Board's grants in respect of pension contributions . .	1,225,000	
Net increase in Board's grants to local authorities for purposes other than pensions . .		1,522,000
Less reduction in the Board's grants to non-local authority institutions (mainly a transfer from taxes to rates, owing to these institutions electing to receive grant from the local authorities instead of from the Board) and . .	549,000	
Reduction in the Board's administrative expenditure	254,000	
		813,000
Net increase in central expenditure . . .		£719,000

TABLE 1

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

(£000's)

	—	1930–1	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5 [3]	1935–6 [3]
	L E A 's Expenditure						
1	Elementary	59,732	58,430	56,705	57,366	58,600	61,857
2	Higher . .	15,358	15,286	14,739	14,884	15,595	16,393
3	Administration	3,609	3,507	3,366	3,409	3,375	3,470
	Contributions to Teachers' Pensions						
4	Elementary Teachers	2,109[2]	2,029[2]	1,935[2]	1,948[2]	2,000	2,118
5	Higher Teachers	290[2]	288[2]	282[2]	287[2]	337	332
	Board's Grants to Non-L E A Institutions						
6	Elementary	74	75	70	64	65	67
7	Higher	1,567	1,573	1,535	1,441	1,409	1,471
8	Board's Net Expenditure on Teachers' Pensions	93	836	1,419	1,449	1,674	2,529
9	Board's Expenditure on Administration and Inspection	676	647	632	624	633	651
	Total Expenditure	83,508	82,671	80,683	81,472	83,688	88,888
	ANALYSIS CENTRAL AND LOCAL EXPENDITURE						
	Exchequer Grants to L E As [1]						
10	Elementary	35,316	33,089[2]	30,220[2]	30,359[2]	31,498	33,701
11	Higher	8,037	8,223[2]	7,669[2]	7,770[2]	8,138	8,571
12	Board's Other Expenditure above	2,426	3,144	3,656	3,578	3,781	4,718
13	Total Central Expenditure	45,779	44,456	41,545	41,707	43,417	46,990
14	Expenditure from Rates	37,729	38,215	39,138	39,765	40,271	41,898

[1] *Grants for the year including grants in respect of local expenditure on administration and contributions to teachers' pensions*

[2] *From* 1928–9 *the Board's grants include grant on local authorities' contribution towards teachers' pensions, which may be roughly estimated at about* 50 *per cent. of the contributions*

[3] *Estimates figures.*

To this increase, however, must be added an increase in the Board's expenditure on aid to students in the fourteen years from £182,993 to £214,720, an increase of £31,727, which is more than accounted for by an increase of expenditure on State scholarships at universities from £18,906 to £114,300

Local Expenditure

Meanwhile, expenditure from rates has increased by £8,277,000 or, excluding pension contributions, by £7,052,000. This increase of £7,052,000 is accounted for as follows .

	£
Increase in local expenditure . . .	8,574,000
Less Increase in Board's grants as above .	1,522,000
Total added burden on the rates . .	£7,052,000

TABLE 2

EXPENDITURE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES: ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

(£000's)

The figures in italics represent cost per unit of average attendance

—						ASSUMED FOR BOARD'S ESTIMATES	
	1921–2	1930–1	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6
Teachers' Salaries	41,603 *160s 7d*	42,387 *171s 11d*	40,706 *162s 8d*	38,814 *153s 9d*	39,047 *154s 2d*	40,183 *165s 9d*	42,665 *179s 1d*
Loan Charges on Schools	3,063 *11s 10d*	3,270 *13s 3d*	3,189 *12s 9d*	3,095 *12s 3d*	3,078 *12s 2d*	3,225 *13s 4d*	3,250 *13s 8d*
Administration	2,912 *11s 3d*	2,868 *11s 9d*	2,722 *10s 10d*	2,609 *10s 4d*	2,627 *10s 4d*	2,600 *10s 9d*	2,650 *11s 1d*
Other Expenditure	9,258 *35s 9d*	9,546 *38s 9d*	9,548 *37s 9d*	9,289 *36s 10d*	9,579 *37s 10d*	9,600 *39s 7d*	10,200 *42s 10d*
Special Services [1] (including loan charges)	3,559 *14s 10d*	4,025 *16s 4d*	4,300 *17s 2d*	4,599 *18s 2d*	4,697 *18s 6d*	4,597 *18s 11d*	4,772 *20s 0d*
Maintenance Allowances	—	67 *0s 3d*	76 *0s 1d*	68 *0s 3d*	61 *0s 3d*	70 *0s 3d*	70 *0s 3d*
[illegible] ture, 1929–31	—	139 *1s 9d*	701 *2s 10d*	840 *3s 4d*	904 *3s 7d*	925 *3s 10d*	900 *3s 10d*
Employers' Pension Contributions	-	2,109 *8s 6d*	2,029 *8s 1d*	1,935 *7s 8d*	1,948 *7s 9d*	1,999 8 *8s 3d*	2,118 *8s 11d*
Total	60,695 *234s 3d*	64,709 *262s 6d*	63,181 *252s 5d*	61,249 *242s 7d*	61,941 *244s 7d*	63,199 8 *260s 8d*	66,625 *279s 8d*
[1] Divided as follows Provision of meals	951	343	106	513	557	450	500
Other Services	2,908	3,680	3,894	4,086	4,110	4,147	4,272

TABLE 3

EXPENDITURE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES: HIGHER EDUCATION

(£000's)

						ASSUMED FOR THE BOARD'S ESTIMATES	
	1921–2	1930–1	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6
Training of Teachers	457	307	274	240	244	250	265
Secondary Schools [1]	5,295	6,842	6,698	6,333	6,503	6,800	7,977
Technical Schools	3,670	4,313	4,126	3,909	3,983	4,120	4,461
Loan Charges	640	1,383	1,551	1,679	1,665	1,760	1,780
Administration	672	741	785	757	782	775	820
Aid to Students	1,383	2,283	2,417	2,407	2,309	2,420	1,660
Other Expenditure	334	230	220	171	180	245	250
Employers' Pension Contributions	—	290	288	282	287	337	332
Total	12,451	16,389	16,359	15,778	15,953	16,707	17,545
[1] Cost per pupil in Maintained Secondary Schools (omitting loan charges, aid to students, administration)					(PROVISIONAL)		
Gross Expenditure	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s
Salaries	20 10	20 7	18 19	17 16	17 15	—	—
Other	6 5	6 17	6 12	6 4	6 5	—	—
Employers' Pension Contributions	—	1 0	19	18	18	—	—
Total Gross Expenditure	26 15	28 4	26 10	24 18	24 18	—	—
Receipts	5 18	7 1	6 15	6 18	6 16	—	—
Net Expenditure	20 17	21 3	19 15	18 0	18 2	—	—

Tables 2 and 3 (pages 989 and 990) analyse the local expenditure on elementary and secondary education respectively, including administration. A comparison between these tables will show that the total increase of £11,024,000 in local expenditure is made up of an increase of £593,000 on elementary and an increase of £5,094,000 on higher education, including administration in both cases

The increase on elementary education is distributed as follows

	Increase £
Teachers' Salaries	1,062,000
Loan Charges	187,000
Administration and other Expenditure	680,000
Special Services	913,000
Maintenance Allowances	70,000
Reorganisation Expenditure, 1929–31	900,000
Employers Pension Contributions	2,118,000
Total	£5,930,000

In considering the salary bill for teachers' salaries during the period under review, it should be borne in mind that half the " cut " was remitted as from July 1st, 1934, and the remaining half as from July 1st, 1935 The Board's estimates for 1935–6 accordingly provide for salaries at 95 per cent of the Burnham scales of 1925 for three months and at 100 per cent for nine months

The increased expenditure by L E A s on higher education is distributed as follows

	£
Training of Teachers	192,000 decrease
Secondary Schools and Aid to Students	2,959,000
Technical schools	791,000
Loan Charges	1,140,000
Administration	148,000
Other Expenditure	84,000 decrease
Employers' Pension Contributions	332,000
Net Increase	£5,094,000

CHAPTER TWO

Survey of Education Expenditure in Scotland

THE Year Book for 1935 contained a detailed survey of expenditure in Scotland It is not possible to reproduce this survey in full, but it is proposed to offer a brief summary of expenditure and income

I Incidence of Contributions towards Expenditure on Education

During the period under review, the total expenditure has risen from £11,582,000 (1923–4) to £13,868,000 (Estimates 1934–5), i e an increase of £2,286,000, which has been met as follows

	£ (000)
Increases	
Grants	989
Rates, etc	1,188
Fees	49
Teachers' Contributions towards Pensions	47
Other Local Income .	13
Total Increase .	2,286

Transfer of Burdens from Taxes to Rates

The " Geddes " economies prior to 1923–4 had resulted in a definite transfer of burden from taxes to rates Similarly, as a result of the economy measures of 1931 there is evidence of a small transfer from taxes to rates since the original estimates of 1931–2 The above figures show that taking the whole period from 1923 to 1934—a good period for purposes of comparison, inasmuch as it marks the changes between the lowest levels of two " economy " periods—there has been some reduction in the measure of State aid In 1923–4 the education grants met 56 2 per cent of the expenditure from public funds The corresponding figure for 1933–4 was 54 9 per cent The estimates for 1934–5 indicate a slight fall to 54 4 per cent , but it is doubtful whether the out-turn figures will show so low a percentage Owing to the abolition in 1931 of the " deficiency " grant to local education authorities in England and Wales, there has been a transfer of burden from taxes to rates The corresponding reduction of Scottish grants by approximately £200,000 under the eleven-eightieths arrangement has led to a similar transfer of burden from taxes to rates It should be noted, however, that since 1923–4, the State has provided a large contribution to all rate-borne expenditure by means of the derating grants under the Act of 1929 Upwards of one and a half million pounds annually of this Exchequer contribution is applicable to rate-borne expenditure on education in Scotland.

II. Expenditure of Education Authorities

Apart from the expenses of teachers' superannuation the greater part of the expenditure aided from the Education (Scotland) Fund is reflected in the revenue accounts of the education authorities Accordingly, the expenditure shown in these accounts for recent years has been analysed in Table 5 in order that tendencies to fluctuation may be examined under the main subheads of expenditure.

During the period 1923–4 to 1933–4 the expenditure of education authori-

TABLE 4

TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND AIDED FROM THE EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) FUND [1]

YEAR	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	MET FROM EDUCATION GRANTS: TO LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, ETC [2] — AMOUNT	TO LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, ETC [2] — PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE	CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION AND INSPECTION (SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT)	DEFICIT FALLING TO BE MET FROM RATES AND DERATING GRANTS	FEES	OTHER LOCAL INCOME (ENDOWMENTS, ETC.)	TEACHERS' CONTRIBUTION TO SUPER-ANNUATION
	£ (000)	£ (000)		£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)
1913–4	5,176	2,609	50 4	71	2,022	194	177	103
1921–2	12,536	7,355	58 7	130	4,425	397	229	—
1922–3	11,489	6,155	53 5	113	4,319	413	201	288
1923–4	11,582	5,854	50 6	111	4,647	411	198	361
1924–5	11,934	6,222	52 1	114	4,619	414	197	368
1925–6	12,427	6,342	51 0	118	4,953	418	206	390
1926–7	12,820	6,481	50 5	118	5,199	427	211	384
1927–8	12,890	6,477	50 3	117	5,269	438	196	393
1928–9	13,158	6,530	49 6	117	5,482	430	195	404
1929–30	13,623	6,605	48 5	120	5,854	431	199	414
1930–1	14,020	6,965	49 7	121	5,843	437	231	423
1931–2	13,713	7,299	53 2	118	5,241	435	210	410
1932–3	13,316	6,827	51 3	114	5,342	453	181	399
1933–4	13,272	6,609	49 8	113	5,528	463	166	393
Estimates 1934–5	13,868	6,840	49 3	114	5,835	460	211	408

[1] *Expenses of central administration and inspection (Scottish Education Department) are also included*

[2] *Includes grants towards Training and Superannuation of Teachers, Central Institutions and expenses of the Leaving Certificate Examination.*

TABLE 5

EXPENDITURE (REVENUE ACCOUNT) OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

MAIN SUBHEADS OF EXPENDITURE	1913–4[1]	1923–4	1925–6	1927–8	1929–30	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4	ESTIMATES 1934–5	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE BETWEEN 1913–4 AND 1933–4	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE BETWEEN 1923–4 AND 1933–4
	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	%	%
Administration .	168	360	375	403	395	404	385	379	394	126	5
Teachers' Salaries, etc .	2,694	7,021	7,419	7,643	8,022	7,747	7,506	7,516	7,868	179	7
Employers' Contributions for Teachers' Superannuation	49	136	183	369	388	371	371	360	380	(Not comparable)[3]	
Other Expenses of School Maintenance [2] .	701	1,597	1,773	1,821	1,973	1,874	1,789	1,814	1,942	159	14
Loan Charges and Capital Expenditure met from Revenue	557	615	675	717	760	951	960	935	926	68	52
Assistance to Pupils and Students (Bursaries, etc)	66	225	261	255	251	242	207	185	194	180	(*Decrease* 18)
Contributions to Voluntary Schools, Training of Teachers, Central Institutions, etc	—	131	135	166	158	166	165	154	164	(Not comparable)	18
Medical Examination and Treatment	50	125	139	153	168	177	173	171	178	242	37
Meals and Clothing	7	50	54	66	86	141	142	132	130	1,786	164
Approved Schools [4]	34	54	49	59	46	42	40	37	48	9	(*Decrease* 32)
Miscellaneous	72	132	183	194	233	252	239	249	312	246	89
Totals	4,398	10,446	11,246	11,846	12,480	12,367	11,977	11,932	12,536	171	14

[1] *The expenditure shown for* 1913–4 *includes expenditure of School Boards, Secondary Education Committees and Managers of the Voluntary Schools conducted under the Code*

[2] *This subhead covers fuel, light, cleaning, repairs, rent, taxes, insurance, books, apparatus, etc*

[3] *See Table* 13

[4] *Formerly known as Reformatory and Industrial Schools*

ties increased by £1,486,000, or 14 per cent (see Table 5) This increase may be accounted for as follows

	£ (000)	£ (000)
Increases ·		
Teachers' Salaries, etc	495	
Employers' Contributions to Superannuation	224	
School Maintenance . .	217	
Loan Charges, etc .	320	
Administration	19	
Contributions to Voluntary Schools, etc	23	
Meals and Clothing	82	
Medical Services	46	
Miscellaneous	117	
Offset by decreases .		
Bursaries, etc	40	
Approved Schools	17	
		57
Net Increase		1,486

III. Teachers' Salaries and Superannuation

The following notes refer to events of current interest in connection with teachers' salaries and superannuation

(*a*) *An increase from* 1934 *onwards owing to the Government's decision to restore the salary "cuts" (one-half of the "cuts" were restored from July* 1*st,* 1934, *and the remaining half from July* 1*st,* 1935)

The estimates of expenditure for 1934–5 show an increase of nearly £600,000 on the low level expenditure for the previous year This increase is mainly accounted for by teachers' salaries, but the relaxation of economy measures is also evidenced by an upward tendency under other subheads of expenditure It is not yet possible to offer reliable estimates for the year 1935–6, but there is little doubt that the expenditure for this year will be at least £500,000 in excess of the estimates for the previous year A new "peak"—at the hitherto unrecorded figure of 14½ millions—appears to be in prospect

(*b*) *The issue in* 1935 *of the reports by the Government Actuary on the contributory schemes for teachers' pensions in England and Wales and in Scotland*

It has been explained above that while the expense of teachers' pensions is met from current revenue (Exchequer grants and contributions of teachers and employers), the contributions are regarded as the actuarial equivalent of the benefits payable The Superannuation Acts accordingly make provision for the preparation of an account which shows the effect of funding the contributions as if all balances were invested to produce interest at the rate of 3½ per cent The account is subject to actuarial investigation at intervals of seven years for the purpose of determining whether the contributions are sufficient to support the benefits payable The first account covered an exceptional period of eleven years, viz from June 1st, 1922, to March 31st, 1933, and the results of the investigation were published in the Government Actuary's Reports in 1935 In the case of Scotland, the Actuary's valuation balance sheet as at March 31st, 1933, reveals a *surplus* of £245,374 The total assets (including present value of future contributions) was stated to be £21,291,794 The Actuary's conclusion was therefore that the present rates of contribution (5 per cent from teachers and 5 per cent from employers) are sufficient to support the benefits payable under the Scottish scheme On the other hand, in the case of England and Wales, the Actuary reports a *deficit* on the valuation balance sheet amounting to nearly £9,974,642 (total liabilities £144,472,005). The report suggests

that an increase in the rates of contribution from 5 per cent to 6 per cent. in the cases of teachers and employers would be justified This curious difference between the financial positions of two similar schemes of teachers' superannuation is mainly accounted for by two factors In the first place, the rates of mortality experienced by Scottish teachers are found to be somewhat higher than those of teachers in England and Wales Secondly, the average age of retiral of Scottish teachers on the grounds of age (63 years) is greater by about one and a half years than the corresponding average age for retiral of their English colleagues

(*c*) *Restoration of pensions which were awarded on a reduced basis owing to the effects of temporary salary reductions following the economy measures of* 1931 *and subsequent years*

As the amount of pensions is calculated as a proportion of the average salary of a teacher during the last five years of service, the pensions of teachers who retired during the period of salary "cuts," or who may retire within the next five years, would be adversely affected From the teachers' point of view it seemed unjust that the effect of temporary salary "cuts" should be permanently projected into the pensions of those teachers who had been unfortunate enough to retire during, or shortly after, the period of national emergency But from the point of view of the actuarial basis of the contributory scheme, it was clear that there had been considerable loss of income by the calculation of teachers' and employers' contributions on the reduced salaries paid during the economy period If the temporary salary cuts were to be ignored in the calculation of pensions, the actuarial basis of the scheme could only be maintained by collecting contributions in respect of the *unreduced* salaries After discussions between representatives of the Government and the teachers, a settlement was reached which has now received legislative sanction under the Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1935 The Act secures that no pension which has or might have been affected by the temporary salary reductions shall, from July 1st, 1935, be less than 98 per cent of the amount which would have been awarded if no salary reductions had been imposed

CHAPTER THREE

FINANCE NORTHERN IRELAND

THE income available for education in 1935–6 is estimated as follows

	£	£
(1) *Parliamentary Grants*		
(*a*) Salaries and expenses of Ministry of Education .	65,886	
(*b*) Elementary education, including training colleges, salaries, building grants, etc	1,378,137	
(*c*) Secondary education	174,750	
(*d*) Technical instruction	73,600	
(*e*) Queen's University	40,000	
(*f*) Teachers' superannuation	93,500	
(*g*) Grants in aid of Local Education Authorities	177,500	
(*h*) Juvenile instruction centres	1,188	
(*i*) Adult education classes	150	
(*j*) Special school (defectives)	750	
	2,005,461	
Deduct		
(*a*) New education rate £140,000		
(*b*) Appropriations in aid 2,700	142,700	
		1,862,761
(2) *Local Rates, etc*		
(*a*) Education rate . .	140,000	
(*b*) Rates spent directly by Local Education Authorities [1] .	110,000	
(*c*) Derating grants .	65,000	
(*d*) Other receipts of L E A's (fees, etc) (*not* from public funds)	40,000	
		355,000 [1]
(3) *General :*		
Endowments, pupils' fees, expenditure on voluntary schools, etc . . .		250,000 [2]
		£2,467,761

[1] Including rate of one farthing in the £ contributed by County and County Borough Councils to the University under the Act of 1908.

[2] These figures are approximate.

The funds distributed by the local education authorities in the year ended March 31st, 1934, were derived from the following sources.

	£
(*a*) From Ministry of Education	
(i) Attendance, Incremental and Other Direct Grants	70,474
(ii) Grant-in-aid (Education Act, [N I], 1923, Sect 76)	172,270
Total from Ministry of Education	242,744
(*b*) From Ministry of Home Affairs. Derating grants	64,077
(*c*) Students' Fees, Parents' Contributions, etc.	} 137,627[1]
(*d*) Balance met from Local Rates	
Total	£444,448

The *distribution* of these funds between the different heads of expenditure in the same year was as follows

(*a*) Administration	34,360
(*b*) Elementary Education	106,510
(*c*) Secondary Education	30,638
(*d*) Technical Instruction	176,582
(*e*) University Scholarships	4,136
(*f*) Health and Well-being of Scholars	28,841
(*g*) Care of Afflicted Children	4,652
(*h*) Miscellaneous (Loan Charges, etc.)	58,729
	£444,448

The distribution of costs between the State and the education authorities is seen in the following table

COST OF EDUCATION

	FROM PARLIAMENTARY VOTE	FROM LOCAL SOURCES	TOTAL
	£	£	£
1925–6	1,901,167	63,896	1,965,063
1926–7	1,833,172	77,950	1,911,122
1927–8	1,858,450	110,410	1,968,860
1928–9	1,888,404	117,403	2,005,807
1929–30	1,967,591	132,343	2,099,934
1930–1	1,981,663	154,475	2,136,138
1931–2	1,929,688	179,290	2,108,978
1932–3	1,942,012	196,255	2,138,267
1933–4	1,947,807	201,704	2,149,511

The progressive increase in the amounts raised from local sources shows the gradual extent to which the activities of the new education authorities developed, according as more elementary schools were transferred to their control from the voluntary managers and as their programmes of new school buildings came into operation It must, however, be pointed out that since and including the year 1929–30 the amounts include the *derating grants*, that is, grants paid to the education authorities by the Government

[1] Equivalent to a rate of 7*d.* in the pound over the area of Northern Ireland

to make up for the loss of rates consequent on the derating of agricultural land and, in part, of industrial property These grants, granted for the relief of farmers and industrialists from the oppressive burden of local rates, are reckoned here as contributions to education from local sources, though in reality contributed from the Parliamentary vote, it will be seen, therefore, that the real burden on local ratepayers is much less than indicated in the table The actual distribution is shown thus

	DERATING GRANTS	FROM LOCAL SOURCES	TOTAL
	£	£	£
1929–30	36,392	95,951	132,343
1930–1	48,512	105,963	154,475
1931–2	56,562	122,728	179,290
1932–3	64,485	131,770	196,255
1933–4	64,077	137,627	201,704

The disproportion as compared with Great Britain of the distribution of educational expenditure between the Exchequer and the rates has proved a serious handicap to the improvement and extension of educational facilities While in Great Britain the cost is shared approximately on a " fifty-fifty " basis, in Northern Ireland the relative proportions in 1935–6 are estimated at 86 per cent State expenditure against 14 per cent from the rates The charge on the Exchequer has thrown a heavy burden on the finances of the Province, and the situation has been tolerable only because, as was stated by the Parliamentary Secretary lately, where Great Britain spends £3, Northern Ireland endeavours to implement a similar service with £2 In these financial circumstances the considerable educational reforms secured in Northern Ireland since 1922 reflect great credit on its Government

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE BORNE ON THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE

	ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	SECONDARY EDUCATION	TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	GRANT IN AID TO LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES
	£	£	£	£	£
1925–6	1,556,982	116,026	65,142	36,000	69,040
1926–7	1,452,033	108,970	64,406	36,000	110,960
1927–8	1,461,769	115,653	67,256	36,000	137,417
1928–9	1,466,884	128,866	68,738	38,000	137,374
1929–30	1,469,893	142,548	69,140	40,000	162,708
1930–1	1,467,892	156,521	71,421	40,000	164,301
1931–2	1,369,058	160,033	71,075	40,000	177,155
1932–3	1,376,743	155,679	67,954	40,000	173,816
1933–4	1,360,269	163,016	69,273	40,000	173,160

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The following abbreviations are used throughout this Subject Index

I F S	= Irish Free State
L E A	= Local Education Authority
N Z	= New Zealand
N I	= Northern Ireland
P E S	= Public Elementary School
S A	= South Africa
U S A	= United States of America
U S S R	= Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

N B —All entries refer to England and Wales unless otherwise stated

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