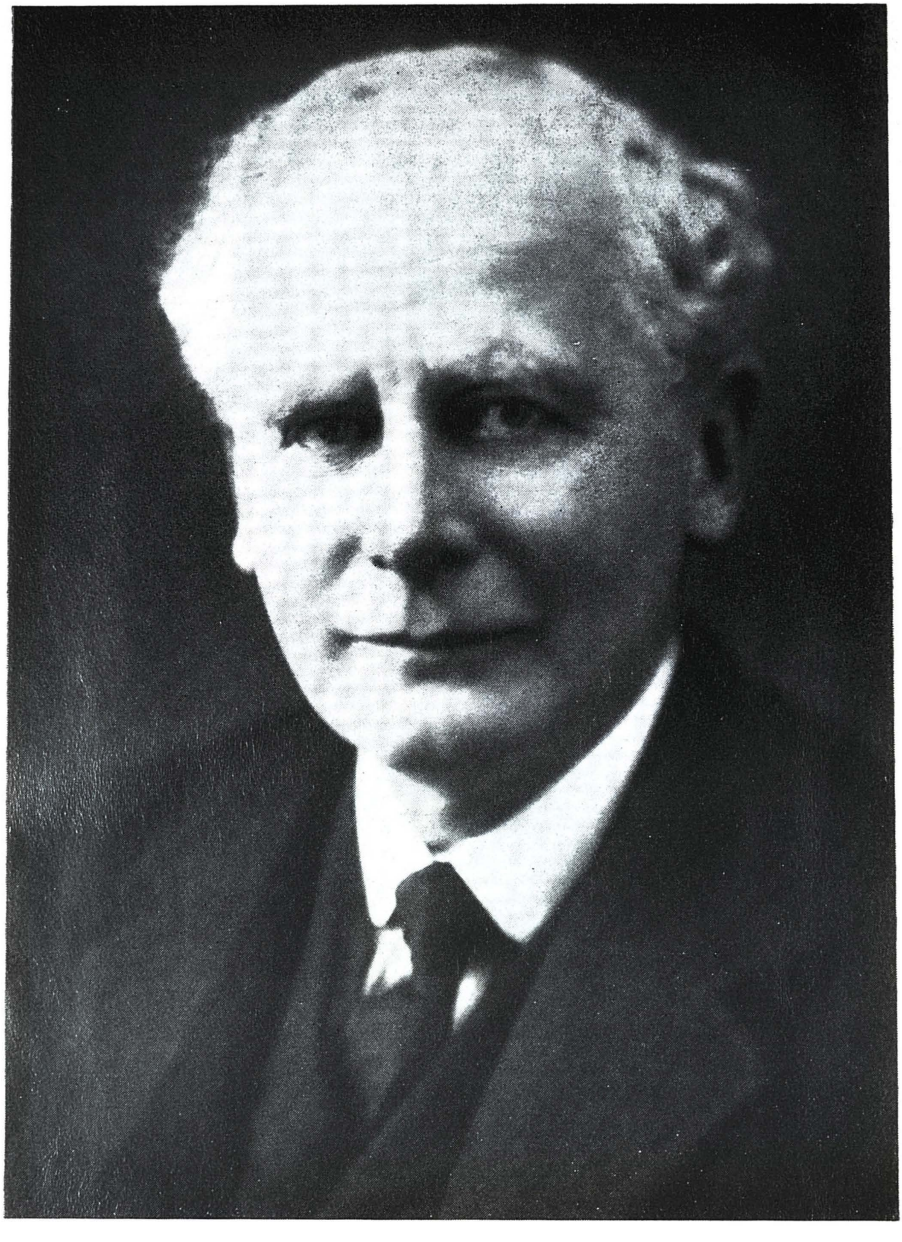
ACHIEVEMENT IN EDUCATION



ACHIEVEMENT IN EDUCATION

The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler 1885-1935

by

LYNDA GRIER M.A. C.B.E.

With an Introduction by
SIR JOHN MAUD K.C.B. C.B.E.
and a frontispiece

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Issued by the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports under the direction of M. E. Sadler. 11 vols. H.M.S.O.

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Thornton Butterworth

INTRODUCTION

by SIR JOHN MAUD

Michael Sadler put new life into all sorts and conditions of men: into artists, craftsmen, shopkeepers, industrialists; but, most of all, into the kind of people who constantly and specially need new life because their work is education. And so what he did for each society of learning that came under his influence during the fifty years from 1885 to 1935 was to leave it richer, happier, more civilised than he had found it. By the time he retired from the Mastership of University College, Oxford (of which I was a very junior Fellow during his last five years) the buildings of the College had become, under his subtle, unobtrusive touch, more handsome than at any time in its recorded history and its common life had been no less permanently enriched by a new access of intellectual and artistic vigour (there was now a College Musical Society for the Captain of the still victorious College football team to animate; there were sculptures by Henry Moore to excite the Senior Fellows as they walked in the garden in the cool of the day, and Chinese prints to console our audiences in the College lecture room). During the same period, and by like ingenious methods, Michael Sadler induced the City and the University of Oxford to understand and appreciate each other as they had not done before. He was the first College head of modern times to be made a Freeman of the City—and that was right.

I mention these achievements because I saw them for myself: but in his life as a whole there were many others that were more notable. Though he went to India only for eighteen months, as Chairman of a Commission on one University, few Englishmen have done more for Indian education than he. In English education, an outstanding achievement of the last

hundred years has been the rise of civic universities, and to this no Englishman contributed more than Michael Salder.

But the Englishmen who have been most active in University education have, as a rule, done least for the schools. Those, again, who have seen most clearly the virtue of the independent schools have not usually been the keenest or most knowledgeable in fostering the schools that draw support from public funds. Nor have men nurtured in the classical tradition been often the foremost advocates of scientific or technical education. To all these rules Sadler was a triumphant exception. His enthusiasm for one kind of education—adult, university, professional, scientific, technical, grammar, public or private, whole-time or part-time—so far from blinding him to the claims of other kinds, fired him with enthusiasm to meet them too. Indeed, what chiefly distinguished his work, both in the philosophy and in the practice of education, was its comprehensive generosity.

Achievement in education is beyond the wit of man to measure. It is rarely discernible, even at some distance of time. But if clear signs of it appear and can be recorded, they are immensely valuable, both for their own sake and because they point the way and encourage the struggling traveller toward new heights. This book is itself a notable achievement in education. It is Miss Grier's achievement, but of course it is also a part, a continuation and extension of Michael Sadler's. And it will lead, I believe, to more, for it is full of wisdom for those continuing the struggle for educational advance.

If Michael Sadler were in the prime of life to-day, he would be deeply engaged (no-one who knew him could doubt it) at all the crucial points of current educational controversy. Hitherto those of us who knew him have had to rely on our own memories and imagine what he would be saying and doing if he were alive—his enthusiastic opening of some Secondary Modern School, for example; his balanced mixture of caution

and encouragement in discussing experimental schools of 'comprehensive' or 'multilateral' type; his contribution, distinguished (as few others are) by knowledge of both universities and technical colleges, to the debate on higher technological education; his quick defence of the Arts Council of Great Britain against ham-handed critics; the pains he would have taken to help UNESCO through its teething troubles; or the light he would have thrown on our present problems of 'selection', whether of boys and girls for the grammar school or of undergraduates for the University, and on the perennial question of external examinations. But now, by writing this book, Miss Grier has made it possible for all of us engaged in education, whether or not we have personal memories of Michael Sadler on which to draw, to consult him, as we could not do before, and use his wisdom and his work in our own present labours.

The scale of his achievement during his life time was more than insular. He was moved always by concern for the living people of his own country and he drew special inspiration from our own history. But he was 'involved in mankind'. Any excellence anywhere might inspire him; he was constantly discerning relevance in educational experience abroad, and he could speak, out of our British experience, to the condition of Indians, Africans, Germans or citizens of the United States.

So it is not only teachers in every kind of British school, university and training college, nor educational administrators only in our own central and local systems of government, that will have reason to thank Miss Grier for this book. Throughout Europe, the United States and all parts of the British Commonwealth men and women of good will are to-day struggling to respond to various educational challenges, which take a unique form in each locality but have some fundamental character in common. How can we reconcile the professional and academic freedom of the teacher with the just claims of public

authority? On what conditions can public money be rightly used in aid of the schools and colleges of religious denominations? Can educational opportunity be equal for all kinds of citizen and at the same time the needs of the exceptional child be fully met? As a society becomes industrialised, how can we prevent its progressive division into the two 'nations' of scientist and non-scientist, lacking means of communication between them? And as knowledge grows, how can we strike a due balance between specialist and general education? These are the questions that must be answered, in Britain and elsewhere, if there is to be further achievement in education. And these are the questions with which Michael Sadler struggled magnificently for fifty years.

Because he loved scholarship and study, he showed how the arts of the scholar and the student could be used in this struggle. But because he loved justice he wrestled also against principalities and powers. The benevolence of the wrestler concealed, except from the discerning, the shrewdness of his judgment both of allies and of adversaries. Irrepressible courtesy adorned, but did not dim, his fighting spirit. Once for all he proved that education need not make bores or dullards of its practitioners, and that a man of first class scholarship and rare creative energy can give his life to it with growing zest, and even gaiety, for fifty years. And so before he died he had achieved for education more, I dare to say, than any other man of his day. Now, with the publication of this record, he takes a new lease of life: the good work can go on.

Michael Sadler could never have fitted easily into the frame of any one profession or calling. I can imagine him (if I try hard) as a Bishop or Archbishop in the Church of England, or as the Permanent Secretary of an Education Department, or (more easily) as a Minister of Education. But none of these frames would have fitted him comfortably. He would have felt unduly constrained by the dogmas of any Church, by the

conventions of the Civil Service or by the necessities of collective Cabinet responsibility.

And whatever the setting within which in fact he chose to work—a Government commission or the Board of Education, a College or a University—he overflowed it: the good measure of himself that he poured into each of his successive offices was pressed down and running over. So too with his published writings. They were wide-ranging and profound; but though he long planned a full-scale work on the history of education he could never bring himself to concentrate his powers within the framework of a single masterpiece.

Miss Grier has done for him what he could not do for himself. She has brought his life into focus by writing of him as what, in all the variety of his work, he always chiefly wished to be: a protagonist for education, at once the man of action and the man of faith—believing obstinately both in his neighbour's power to excel and his own power to help his neighbour, and acting obstinately in that belief.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book owes much to the generous help of those who knew Sir Michael Sadler and his work. My direct knowledge of him did not begin until 1915 when I joined the staff of the University of Leeds for four years. It was deepened during the years after 1923 when we were both working in Oxford. For the periods in which I did not know him, and indeed for those in which I did, but learned only a fraction of his activities, I have relied on others. First and foremost I owe thanks to his son, at whose instance I have written this book. He has placed at my disposal every type of material which could conceivably be of use, and has answered every request for information, however trifling, fully and speedily. He has also supplied the chronology (pages xxv and xxvi) and in his memoir of his father not only provided an invaluable work of reference but given me and all who read it enriching knowledge of my subject. Secondly I wish to thank Sir John Maud, both for his goodness in writing so vivid an introduction, and for the generosity he showed in giving his time in telling me of Sir Michael as Master of University College, Oxford. Thirdly I should like to record my gratitude to three of Sir Michael's personal secretaries, Mrs Cobb, Miss Selby, and Mrs Broadley. They knew, perhaps better than anyone, the extent and variety of his work. Fourthly I am much indebted to the chief Librarians of the Ministry of Education, first Miss Shuckburgh and later her successor Miss Downie, who not only made it easy to obtain information from the library but at times made investigations for me. Fifthly I received much help from officials of the University of Leeds, notably from the present Vice-Chancellor, Dr Charles Morris, and from Miss Illingworth, until recently a member of the Registrar's office. They placed University records at my service and gave me much informa-

tion. Sixthly I wish to pay special tributes to Lady Hartog who read and improved the chapter on India and to Dr R. Fitzgibbon Young who kindly checked the historical accuracy of a portion of the book.

Many others have talked or written to me, some supplying actual contributions which are embodied in the book. Among those who gave help in this way I owe a particularly great debt to: the late Professor Cobb: Professor G. D. H. Cole: Mr Mansfield Cooper, Registrar of the University of Manchester: Sir Edmund Craster: the Rev. Alexander Fraser: Professor C. M. Gillespie: the late Professor A. J. Grant: Miss F. E. D. Green: the Rev. Canon Grensted: the late Sir Philip Hartog: Professor John Harvey: Dr T. E. Harvey: Dr P. S. Havens: Mr Hilton: the late Mr Hindmarsh: Mr Hogg: Professor Kandel: Sir David Keir: Mrs Kenneth Leys: Dr D. W. Logan: Dr Albert Mansbridge: Sir John Maud: the late Dr G. J. Milne: Dr R. Offor: Mr Harry Plowman, Town Clerk of Oxford: Mrs Redman King: Dr Maud Royden Shaw: Sir Arthur Salter: Mr Alfred Stirling: Mr Twentyman: the Very Rev. John Wild: Professor Sir E. L. Woodward.

LYNDA GRIER

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

'For more than fifty years the study of education has been the meridian of my thoughts. What has filled this place in my mind is reflexion upon education as an instrument of social welfare, as a political problem; as, therefore, a part (and not the least difficult part) of public administration; as an aspect of State action which perforce raises questions of beliefs, of allegiances, of the duty of the parents in the family, of Government, and of collective authority over personal inclination or conviction. In education, whether national, or tribal, or confessional, or even racial—the influences of tradition, of habit and of self-conscious impulse need to be taken into account as well as the complex efforts of administrative compulsion and of economic sanction.' (Note by Sadler found among his papers after his death.)

The life of Michael Sadler (1861–1943) spanned the period of greatest progress in English educational history. State provision for elementary education was made while he was still a child. The comprehensive Education Act of 1944 was passed the year after his death. An attempt is made in this book to tell something of his contributions to education between these two great forward steps, and a brief summary may not be out of place.

As a young man he flung himself into the adult education movement, setting the Oxford Extension lecture work on lines from which it has never departed, contributing to it new methods which have been adopted throughout the country and, all the while, pressing and pressing successfully for increased facilities for University education.

Then, convinced that fruitful progress in adult education depended on the provision of sound secondary education, towards which the State was making no formal or general

contribution, he devoted the major part of his energies from 1893–1911 to secondary education. He moved the University of Oxford to take unprecedented steps in pressing for legislation on the matter. When the University prevailed on the Government of the day to set up a Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Sadler became an active, apparently the most active, member of the Commission, which made recommendations some of which were embodied in the Act of 1902, and others in later legislation. More than any other man Sadler had roused forces which made Government action inevitable.

Meanwhile at the end of the nineteenth century he was responsible for the production of a magnificent series of publications which were the beginning of a formal study of comparative education throughout the world, the best of the studies coming from his own pen. Scholars in education still speak of his studies in comparative education as models for students in the subject, and still derive both inspiration and knowledge from them.

Sadler was not responsible for the rigidities of the Act of 1902 or the regulations which followed it, or for its omissions. But in the years which followed the passing of the Act he did what he could to soften the rigidities and repair the omissions through practical advice given to and accepted by several local authorities whose secondary education he set on a sound footing. Then he worked for a solution of sectarian problems by means of an agreed settlement which might be embodied in new legislation. Although there was no new legislation, so much good understanding was evolved among the protagonists that controversy died down.

For technical education he did much, advocating at an early stage views which are generally accepted to-day, namely that 'higher' technical education should be based on and not be a substitute for a good secondary education, that all schools, primary, secondary, of all types, should embody good manual

training in their curricula and that interesting experiments in manual training schools should be encouraged.

From a very early stage Sadler had been greatly concerned about the adolescent, and put forward scheme after scheme not only for supplying suitable education for children whose parents could not afford to keep them at school beyond the age of 15, but for continuation education. He did not live to see the fruits of the pioneer work he did in this matter.

Then, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, he wrought a transformation. Under his guidance the University became great, honoured in the City of Leeds, in the County of Yorkshire and among the Universities of England. It became known as one of the most efficient and progressive, one of the most scientific and humane Universities in the country.

As President from 1917–1919 of the Commission on the University of Calcutta, Sadler exercised a profound influence on Indian education. Universities other than that of Calcutta were transformed in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission. The foundation of other Universities followed swiftly on the publication of the report. School education was affected immediately by the acceptance of recommendations transferring work hitherto done in Universities to schools and intermediate colleges. And there is no doubt that the insistent pleas of the Commissioners for good primary education had their effect. So brilliant and cogent were the volumes of the report that it is agreed that Sadler made a Blue Book into a great essay on education.

As Master of University College, Oxford, from 1923–1934, from the age of 62–73, it might have been expected that Sadler would rest on his laurels. But his concern was still with action, not laurels. His pioneering spirit was once more to the fore in the promotion of plans and securing of funds for the New Bodleian, in the work of the Oxford Preservation Trust, in the bringing together of town and gown. In the College many

speak of the warmth he infused into relations between senior and junior members, of his numerous devices for reawakening the interest of former members of the College, of his introducing into the lives of the undergraduates something of the great world, and of the widening of their horizons.

These things can be known and to some extent assessed. What many will know but none can assess is the extent to which the achievements of others in the educational world have been due to his inspiration, though some idea of it may be gleaned from the following pages.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF M. E. SADLER

1861	(July 3)	Born in Barnsley, Yorkshire
1871	(Sept.)	Sent to North Hill House School, Winchester
1875	(Sept.)	Enters Rugby School
1876	(Summer)	Wins high scholarship at Rugby
1880	(Michaelmas)	Enters Trinity College, Oxford, with a Classical Scholarship
1882	(July)	'First' in Honour Mods.
1884	(Aug.)	'First' in Greats Engaged to Mary Harvey
1885	(April 30)	Elected Secretary of the University Extension Lectures Sub-Committee
	(July 14)	Marriage
1886	(March)	Appointed Steward of Christ Church
1888	(Dec. 25)	Birth of a son
1891	(Jan. 28)	Re-elected Steward of Christ Church
1892		Became Secretary of the Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching Beyond the Limits of the University which replaced the Extension Lectures Sub-Committee
1895	(Spring)	Resigns from the University Delegacy to become Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports under the Committee of Education
		Appointment of Robert Morant as Assistant Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports

1896	(Summer)	Settles his family in Weybridge
1899	(July)	Withdrawal of Morant from the Office of Special Inquiries to become private secretary to Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Committee on Education
1903	(May 11)	Sadler resigns from the Board of Education
	(Autumn)	Appointed to part-time Professorship in the History and Administration of Education at Manchester University
1903–1906		Investigates the educational needs of nine educational areas and drafts reports and recommendations for the use of Local Authorities
1911	(Oct.)	Appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds
1917	(Oct.)	Sails to India as Chairman of the Calcutta University Commission
1919	(April)	The Commission arrives home
	(June)	Created K.C.S.I.
1923	(June)	Installed as Master of University College, Oxford
1931	(March 16)	Death of his wife
	(May)	Freeman of the City of Oxford
1934	(Sept.)	Retires from the Mastership, and moves to Headington
	(Dec. 18)	Marries Eva Gilpin
1940	(June)	Death of his second wife
1943	(Oct. 14)	Dies at his home

ACHIEVEMENT IN EDUCATION

I · PIONEER WORK IN ADULT EDUCATION

1885–1895

Michael Sadler left Trinity College, Oxford, in the summer of 1884 at the end of a successful academic career. He had come up with a scholarship from Rugby where it is reported that the headmaster said that he managed the school pretty well by following the advice of Michael Sadler when head of school house. Sadler was placed in the first class in Classical Honour Moderations and in the final Honour School of Literae Humaniores. He had thrown himself into all that was best in the life of the University. He became at an early stage President of the Union Debating Society, having been, with one exception, the only man to hold that position who had not served an apprenticeship in any minor office. He had been a prominent member of many literary and philosophical societies, to which he contributed numerous papers, especially on the works of Clough and Ruskin, two of his great heroes. He lived a rich social life as well as a hard-working one, for invitations had poured in on him from the best-known people in the graduate as well as the undergraduate world. Sport did not play much part in his life, but then, as always, he was a great walker and made and cemented many friendships with the companions of his walks round Oxford.

This, and much more, is told in his son's personal biography.[1] For the purpose of this book the only further point which calls for attention in his undergraduate days is the marked interest which he already showed in education. He had been in Oxford less than a year when he moved and carried a motion in the Union in favour of the higher education of women, by a speech ablaze with undergraduate

[1] *Michael Ernest Sadler*. A memoir by his son.

fireworks. And a note written at the beginning of his second year was found among his papers, embodying a motion in favour of promoting the education of manual workers.

No convincing explanation of this early and rare interest in an unpopular subject is forthcoming. It was not due to any special love for children; he did not seek their society in preference to that of others. And his first work was for adults. But, from whatever cause it arose, education remained the dominating passion of his life. Consistently, for sixty years, he gave to it his thoughts, his labours, his ingenuity, his eloquence. Work in fields more likely to bring him advancement was frequently offered to him, but again and again he turned aside from the paths of wealth and preferment, even when the temptation to pursue them was strong, and kept doggedly to his chosen work.

He was the descendant of, and related to, men and women devoted to public service, who recked nothing of whether others thought their activities absurd or not. With such a heredity and family tradition it was natural that one of his generous nature should devote himself to social work; it may not be stretching a point too far to suggest that because education was, to his mind, the most neglected and also the greatest of the social services, he was drawn to it. Chivalry may have been the mainspring. He could not endure the thought that multitudes were deprived of privileges he had enjoyed.

It is just possible that something was due to consideration for his wife. He had leanings towards socialism in his early days, and in the eighties socialism was somewhat disreputable. Education might be the Cinderella of the social services, but at least it was respectable in the eyes of his wife. Within a year after leaving college he was married to Mary Ann Harvey, who came of Quaker stock. She was a person of utter unworldliness, and almost staggering sincerity, outspoken to a degree, whether agreeing with or differing from her husband.

It is common for Quakers to be philanthropic rather than socialistic, and she was no exception. She had considerable respect for education, as some of her most revered relations had been concerned with its promotion. So, although her husband, younger than herself by nine years, would not sink his opinions on art or anything else because of her disapproval, his devotion to her may have encouraged him in spending his life in working for something in which he could claim her sympathy. Not that she would even here follow him all the way, for her interest was more in him than in his work. And she did not like the Workers' Educational Association to which he gave wholehearted support because she said that its members were too cocksure. In these matters her husband laughed and went on his way, doing everything he could to support such movements, though he would perhaps keep their representatives away from her.

Much has been said of her influence. None could say more than he did of the debt he owed to her sagacity, her character, her devotion. But, though she spoke her mind and was encouraged by him to do so on every matter, it was his judgment which prevailed in major issues. He valued her opinion more than that of anyone else, but he did not give way to it when it ran contrary to his own convictions.

Whatever the origin of Sadler's devotion to the cause of education, it was clear to everyone when he left Trinity that he would take up some form of educational work. It was also evident that his creative power would not find its outlet along conventional lines. The right opening did not occur immediately and he refused various invitations to go to different posts. One of these deserves mention because of the terms in which it was couched. It was made to him by D. S. MacColl,[1] his senior by two years, a distance in age which is apt to be

[1] D. S. MacColl, D.Litt. Oxon.: Art Critic. Head successively of Tate Gallery, Wallace Collection.

antagonistic to admiration. MacColl for family reasons had refused a Professorship in the Moslem College (now the Muslim University) of Aligarh of which Theodore Beck was Principal. He wrote to Sadler saying that in suggesting someone other than himself for the post he naturally turned first to the most missionary spirit he knew and the likest to Theodore Beck in practical enthusiasm. He added: 'If you took it into your head to go I should have done a much better turn for Theodore and his Mohammedans than if I had gone myself. My only doubt is whether it is not too expensive a thing to put you and him into one corner of India.' He explained that the object of the college was to qualify the students for Government posts and to establish an example of true human relationships with the people of India. He paid Sadler the compliment of mentioning the disadvantages of the post as though they would be attractions to him. 'It leads to nothing. There is no Society. No one can live there. It is a Quixotic enterprise.'

But Sadler was about to marry, and was not prepared either to leave his bride, or to take her to a place in which no one could live. Moreover there was another post on the horizon concerned with two things which had already roused his interest, the education of manual workers, and the education of women. In May 1885 he succeeded Arthur Acland[1] as Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Delegacy for Local Examinations, for lecturing and teaching in large towns.

Much important work had been done in adult education before the Universities took a hand in it. There were Philosophical Halls in many of the great cities, especially in the North; there were adult schools, for which the Quakers were largely responsible, which provided classes in various subjects; there were evening classes, often provided by the ministers of

[1] A. H. D. Acland, 1847–1926. Steward of Christchurch. 1885 Liberal M.P. West Riding of Yorkshire. 1892 Vice-President of Committee on Education.

religious denominations; there was, perhaps most important of all, the educational work of the Co-operative movement, which the Rochdale pioneers had put in the forefront of their programme, and which provided lectures for their members. With these movements the Universities had no concern, though as early as 1850 Mr Sewell, Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, had written to the Vice-Chancellor of the day proposing that Oxford and Cambridge should take some responsibility for carrying education to the masses of the people who could not be brought to the Universities, and that first, 'by way of experiment, professorships and lectureships should be founded say at Manchester and Birmingham, the great centres of the manufacturing districts, and in the midst of the densest populations. By originating such a comprehensive scheme, the Universities would become, as they ought to be, the great centres and springs of education throughout the country, and would command the sympathy and affection of the nation at large, without sacrificing or compromising any principle which they are bound to maintain'. Sadler was never weary of quoting these words, for he believed passionately that the Universities should be the servants of the whole community. Educational isolation was to him as abhorrent as educational unity was precious.

But for some time the Universities made no concession to the idea of responsibility for education outside their own purlieus save that both Oxford and Cambridge founded delegacies for local examinations, so coming into contact with some of the schools from which they drew their students. The first movement for helping adult education through the Universities was made in 1873, when Professor James Stuart persuaded the University of Cambridge to sanction Extension lecture work for adults under the committee for local examinations. The University of London followed suit in 1876, and the University of Oxford in 1878, when it passed a statute

saying that the 'Delegates for Local Examinations shall receive proposals for the establishment of lectures and teaching in the large towns of England and Wales, and shall be authorised to appoint lecturers and teachers to carry out such proposals'.

Arthur Acland had been the first secretary of the new sub-committee of the Delegacy, but had little time to give to it. He was eager to resign almost from the first, and hailed with delight the possibility of getting Sadler to take on work which was still in the pioneering stage in 1885. Its framework had been determined in the other Universities which had been ahead of Oxford in promoting the movement, but there was still plenty of scope for new ideas as well as for carrying the work into new fields.

Sadler found in existence well established arrangements, which continue to this day, for the sending of University lecturers to give systematic courses in great centres of population, each lecture being followed by classes for the more earnest students. At the end of each course there was an examination for any who cared to enter for it, the examination papers being assessed by some University teacher other than the lecturer. The work was organized locally by a committee with a secretary who secured a guarantee for money to cover the costs of the course. And at the University end the secretary of the University committee provided lecturers and general guidance for the conducting of the courses and the examinations. Close touch between the local centres and the University was essential, and there was in this alone any amount of scope for the work of an enthusiastic secretary, who by visits to the various proposed centres could make all the difference to their actual beginning and much to their success when begun.

The movement was one of importance for the Universities as well as for the outside world. Sadler eagerly supported Professor Stuart's contention that the Universities would be before

long subjected to a fire of criticism, and that any contribution they made to the needs of a wider area would strengthen their position. He was as anxious as any to safeguard the Universities as places of research, and the time of the lecturers for the promotion of higher studies, but argued that services to learning and to the community were not only not incompatible but complementary. By 1892, in a speech delivered in Philadelphia to the first annual meeting of the American National Conference on University Extension, he was able to confirm his contention by showing how in Oxford the movement had been 'accompanied by a concentration and development within the University itself. The movements for University Extension and University Intension are concurrent elements in the history of the University. And by itself superintending the diffusion of knowledge the University familiarizes the public with the idea of, and so protects the higher interests of, research'.

Four types of student made a special appeal to Sadler, and he did what he could to make them appeal to others. First there were those who 'on the very threshold of University life, have been called back by claims of domestic duty or stopped by sudden loss of means. . . . In how many lives has there not been some secret unselfishness which pushed aside, in deference to duty, the bright ambition of study, which sacrificed—though no-one knew the bitter cost—the one chance of higher learning? Have we no pity, no help for these?' Secondly there were the vast numbers of busy people 'who cherish the desire of combining with the education of business the education of books. . . . What Sunday is to the religious life, the lecture night may become to the intellectual, an orderly, appointed breathing-space set aside by practice for the duties of a liberal education.'

Thirdly there were women for whom in those days opportunities of University education were few. How eagerly were the lectures attended by women 'anxious to equip them-

selves either for equal converse with cultivated people or for the better discharge of the duties connected with the education of children'.

Finally, and there is a sort of crescendo in his arguments, as though he were leading from small groups to greater ones, 'behind all these is the great mass of the people, tired by the day's work, fagged by the insistent duties of bread-winning and yet each year more directly charged with the ultimate settlement of great problems, each year feeling a greater need for judgment and for the judgment which comes from knowledge.' Therefore, Sadler urged, among the wisest uses to which public revenue could be put was generous provision of adult education.

Some of the methods used by lecturers had their origin in the special needs of women and of manual workers. To the audiences of women were due at an early stage the introduction of the syllabus, which proved to be of the greatest use for the more difficult lectures. And the weekly exercise was also brought in to encourage women, who were at that time frequently shy of expressing themselves before others, to show what they had understood and to make a definite contribution to the courses. To the audiences of working men, who presented a very different problem by their readiness to heckle the lecturers, was due the invention of the class, which gave them an opportunity of heckling at leisure and discussing seriously the points which troubled them.

Sadler brought to the work of University Extension buoyant enthusiasm, unflagging energy, eloquence, personal charm and a gift for inspiring others that can seldom have had its equal. The list of names of those whom he secured for the venture shows something of his persuasive genius and his swift power of summing up the gifts of others. Such a list would in any case be impressive, for men and women who see beyond their immediate work to the larger issues involved, and have the

energy and desire to take on work of great social significance, are people whose minds are set in no narrow groove, and whose lives are likely to be eminent, but there can be little doubt that Sadler added many names to it. Among early Oxford Extension lecturers were C. G. Lang,[1] Walter Raleigh,[2] Hubert Llewellyn Smith,[3] to mention only three distinguished in church, in letters, in the Civil Service.

Among a host of others there were two whose devotion to the work and immersion in it deserve special mention. Both, like Sadler, had been Presidents of the Union Debating Society. One was the Rev. G. W. Hudson Shaw,[4] one of the most popular lecturers, and faithful supporters of Extension work. Sadler's letter to him asking for his help, written in February 1886, has been handed to me by his widow, Dr Maude Royden Shaw. Passages from it show the manner in which Sadler set about securing those whom he knew could best help him.

After describing the rapid growth of the work, he wrote:

'We have now reached a critical point: the lectures are becoming widely known, the idea is taking root in Oxford and out of it, but we need a staff—I mean a permanent group of trusted lecturers on whom we can rely for some years of increasingly efficient and practical service, and to whom we can look with confidence for good work and aid in the further extension of the movement.

'The most interesting details come from every side to show the energy of the students. In one place working men walked 3 miles each way to and from the lectures; in another in order that the lectures may end at 10 p.m. the gas has to be turned out. One man has organized two classes in Lancashire ...

[1] Later Archbishop of Canterbury.

[2] Later Sir Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford.

[3] Later Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith and Permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade.

[4] The Rev. George William Hudson Shaw. Fellow of Balliol 1890–1899.

after 12 hours a day as secretary to a store. In a fourth place the night of the exams was wet, the men who came for it, all being artisans, were soaked when they arrived: in spite of this they simply took off their coats and wrote for three hours, though they had miles to walk back afterwards.

'In fact if we can only seize the right moment it seems as though the University might provide a rational education for masses of men in connection with the great Co-operative Societies of Lancashire and Yorkshire. In so doing it justifies its own existence and brings help to hundreds of men who are otherwise debarred from higher education. The students find help in thinking and guidance in reading from the lecturers, who in turn have an unrivalled opportunity of watching the facts of industrial life from a point of view otherwise inaccessible to them.'

Sadler then outlined plans for raising enough money to pay a man who would take up a post as staff lecturer in the north of England, and judging his correspondent accurately, he added: 'the work is stimulating and useful. It brings a man into contact with many bracing influences. It leaves him free to say his mind while giving him the distinction of a University appointment. It enables him to do good work and to help men who much need guidance and sympathy. In fact it is missionary work on a broad basis welcomed by all sets and classes.' He concluded with immediate practical points, which he never neglected, saying that Hudson Shaw's name had proved acceptable to the Vice-Chancellor, and suggested that if the idea was welcome they should go together to some of the places in Lancashire where it was thought desirable to institute courses, so that Hudson Shaw might give some preliminary lectures, all expenses being paid.

Thus persuaded, Mr Hudson Shaw became one of the greatest stalwarts of the Extension movement, inspiring many generations of students with a love of learning.

The other doughty henchman of the movement whom

Sadler brought from a distance to help with the work was Halford Mackinder,[1] the eminent geographer, who was quickly made a student of Christchurch, and was, as will be seen presently, the spearhead of a great further development.

To his gift for securing the right men Sadler added that of confidence in all men. His confidence was at that time undimmed by contact with those whose standards were not the same as his own. It is perhaps a true indictment of the Universities that they teach the young to believe that all men mean well, so that they are bewildered and shocked when they emerge into a world in which some men do not in any effective sense mean well and a few mean evil. Sadler naturally saw the best in everyone and so secured the best from each. It was always fun to work with him. Something was always happening. The work might be hard, but it was never dull and the generous appreciation which flowed from him encouraged its recipients to give far more than they or anyone else thought possible. Often breathless, but constantly inspired by his faith in the cause he was promoting and in their ability to help it, they performed prodigies of labour.

At that stage he did not notice cynicism much, though later he came to hate it. He probably took it for a cloak thrown over idealistic feelings and could be amused by caustic remarks which at a later period, when he had been wounded by envy and evil, he would loathe. For the time being he treated everyone he met to what has been described by a great educational pioneer as 'that enveloping approval which is like nothing on earth'. His colleagues, treated to such enveloping approval, found it an exhilarating experience, and for the whole ten years of his Oxford Extension work it was probably never withdrawn from any. In after life when he had suffered from the buffets of

[1] Sir Halford John Mackinder. Principal University College, Reading, 1892–1905. Director London School of Economics 1903–1908. P.C. 1926. Kt. 1920.

mean men it was sometimes withdrawn, but in these early days nothing shook his faith in human nature. He did not mind opposition, which he frequently met, for he took it for granted that the hearts of his opponents were in the right place and never suspected that their attitude could be influenced by indolence or exclusiveness, still less by ill will.

It is not easy to determine what were the actual contributions made by Sadler to the Extension movement, for no man ever so sedulously avoided claiming credit for anything he did, or more wholeheartedly insisted on giving the credit to others. He sincerely believed that any new idea, and he was full of new ideas, approved by a friend with whom he was talking, sprang from the brain of his companion, and would say to the next person he met 'So and so has had such a brilliant notion: he suggested' this, that or the other. And the joy of it was that he truly thought he was speaking the truth, whereas in reality his companion had merely had the sense to recognize a good idea when he met it. Something, however, of his work may be guessed just from the things which happened when he took over the responsibility for the Extension work.

There had been little growth in the work until he shouldered it. He attributed this to the fact that whereas Cambridge had begun its earlier work among the great towns of the North of England where there was already a pretty vigorous intellectual life and a vast population to draw on, 'for the great majority of towns in England, University Extension was before its time. And this was especially true of the less populous manufacturing centres and the smaller country towns'. Universal elementary education had at that time only touched the younger adults, and a considerable proportion of the population was illiterate. Moreover in districts which were poor the cost of the courses was well-nigh prohibitive. The Oxford Committee therefore instituted shorter courses which went far towards halving the cost, and offered something to centres

which were not yet fully aware of the advantages of University Extension. There was opposition to this on the ground that nothing less than a course of twelve lectures could be worthy of University lecturers. Cambridge resisted the shorter courses, but in Oxford the arguments for doing something for the poorer centres prevailed, and most successfully, for not only did the number of courses increase from 27 in the winter of 1885–1886 (the first year for which Sadler was responsible) to 67 in the following winter and to 172 in 1891–1892, but the average length of the courses rose steadily.

The next change in Oxford, also introduced in 1885, consisted of the introduction of travelling libraries. By this scheme each centre was provided with a fair selection of books recommended by the lecturer for study during the course. This was of the greatest value in small centres where there were seldom any libraries, still less any bookshops. For serious students intending to take the examinations at the end of the courses the importance of the Extension libraries could hardly be exaggerated. Other Universities immediately recognized their value, and they became a part of the essential equipment of Extension lecturers from whatever University they came.

The next great contribution made to Extension work by Oxford was the institution of summer schools. Sadler disclaimed credit for the invention, saying the idea was consciously copied on the suggestion of Mr J. L. Paton from a summer school for teachers which he had attended at Chatauqua in the United States, where a considerable number of teachers enjoyed a brief period of University life by means of scholarships offered by friends of the movement. The Oxford School was not confined to teachers, but thrown open to all who cared to come. The response was immediate and great. More than 900 students attended the first, held in 1888. The second held in the following year had 1000 students, and lasted more than a month, this period being divided into two parts

to meet the convenience of those students whose duties prevented them from being present during the whole meeting.

After the very early days Sadler himself did not give regular courses in the winter at the various centres, there being too many other demands on his time, but he frequently gave lectures and sometimes courses at the summer schools, many of his lectures being, rather surprisingly, on economic subjects. There are still people living who remember his lectures and the way in which he was the life and soul, indeed to many the idol, of the summer meetings. His gaiety, his delight in the work and its success, his sympathy with all and sundry—for he never seemed to find anyone a bore or a nuisance however much they pestered him with questions—endeared him to individuals as well as to audiences. And having no interest in his own ideas as such, he was for ever open to the suggestions of others, and so able to meet their wishes to a remarkable degree.

The earliest summer schools were arranged by Mr W. A. S. Hewins, one of the Extension lecturers, but after 1890 Michael Sadler, who secured the assistance of J. H. Mackinder, became the organizing secretary, and a student who had been present at all the schools declared that the one held in 1891 was more successful than any of its predecessors. The schools were an annual event until Cambridge, which had at first run them on somewhat different lines, adopted the Oxford methods, and after 1892 they were held in alternate years in the two ancient Universities.

Home-reading classes were started in 1888, not as substitutes for, but in preparation for, and continuation of, the work of the lectures. At least that was what Sadler conceived to be their purpose. But Dr Percival, President of Trinity, who gave up his Oxford position to become headmaster of Rugby about the time the scheme which was due to his initiative was launched, thought of it as something greater. It had its own

committee, of which Sadler was a member, and Mr Sadleir has told how painful an issue arose between the two men over different conceptions of the scheme. The dissolution of the separate committee inaugurated by Dr Percival followed, and Sadler took on the work of organizing home-reading classes. It was perhaps the only occasion on which he was ever known to have seen things on a smaller scale than did those with whom he worked. In the long run Dr Percival proved to be right, for he founded a Home-reading Union on national lines, which Sadler was the first to acknowledge to be a great success, whereas the reading classes run in conjunction with the Extension movement were not. They proved too heavy a burden even for the indefatigable secretary.

As though he had not enough to do otherwise, he produced and edited an Oxford Extension Gazette, which appeared every month. The paper, which was of considerable dimensions, did not deal only with Extension work, but contained articles on various educational matters, including close studies of any new incursions by the State into education, any interesting private venture in the same field, and any advance in the Universities towards the admission of women.

He also had conferences of local organizers from the various districts in which Extension lectures were given. He presided over these, securing full discussions of their work and their problems, and bringing full reports of them to the University committee of which he was secretary. Dr Jowett, Master of Balliol, who was Vice-Chancellor when Sadler took office, was chairman of that committee. He had been an early supporter of the Extension lectures work, having done much to make the University take a hand in it, and Sadler attributed a good deal of its origin and its progress to him. Half the committee, apart from the Vice-Chancellor, consisted of heads of houses, prominent among whom was Dr Percival, until he went to Rugby, who had so recently been head of the col-

lege in which Sadler had been an undergraduate. Notable among the four who were not heads of colleges were A. H. D. Acland, who had preceded Sadler as secretary and was shortly to become head of the Education Department, with a seat in the Cabinet, and Dr E. B. Poulton, well known later among England's scientists. Few young men just down from college can have had the luck to work under such a committee. Sadler was just the man to appreciate his luck and use it to the best advantage. He inaugurated fortnightly meetings of the committee, which was very fully attended and had constantly to consider suggestions for new work and fresh approaches to it.

In 1890 yet more work came the way of the Extension committee and its secretary. In that year the Local Taxation Act enabled the County Councils to use what was commonly known as the 'whiskey money' for promoting technical education. The original announcement made by Mr Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the money should be available for 'intermediate, technical and agricultural education' had raised high hopes in the minds of those responsible for University Extension work, and there was considerable disappointment when the word intermediate was finally omitted. The omission has had an evil effect on English education since it emphasized at an early stage the divorce between technical and other forms of education, which has left a murky trail across educational thought and practice. In the book already quoted by Sadler and Mackinder there is a passage on this subject the gist of which appears so often in Sadler's other writings that it is worth quoting in full. In writing of the dangers of the divorce between different forms of education the authors say:

'If general education is left to one set of authorities, and technical education is left entirely to another, there will arise a competition between them and finally a conflict of vested interests which will ultimately be deeply injurious to both.

Rigid technical education, apart from the general principles of science and art, is likely to do more harm than good, by stereotyping present conditions instead of leaving the power of rapid and intelligent adaptation to our ever changing conditions. General education, in this country at any rate, has already suffered by its too academical character, by its want of touch with life. While, however, the Universities cannot undertake the teaching of handicraft—a very important branch of technical education, to which many of the County Councils are rightly devoting much of the funds at their disposal—we believe that no other bodies can give the training in the principles of science and art with more advantage to themselves and the community.'

This is not only a manifestation of Sadler's early and unquenchable desire that the Universities should take a hand in all educational progress, but the first evidence of his eagerness to integrate technical with other forms of education at the highest possible level.

In the meantime, partly to bridge the gap so disastrously opened, and partly because of his desire to help everything which needed help, his committee, like other Extension committees, provided the County Councils with lecturers until they could procure a staff of their own.

All this work, organizing and keeping in touch with 172 lecture courses, their centres and their secretaries, holding conferences for them, providing 222 more courses for the County Councils, running annual summer schools, editing a monthly magazine, holding fortnightly meetings of his committee, was done by himself, one full-time secreary and a clerk, in a single room in the examination schools, where there was trouble with the curators because the schools closed at 4 p.m. and it was impossible to conclude the work of the committee by that time. The cost for 1891–1892 was just under £610. Sadler and his helpers received an extra £132 for running the summer school, but as the school showed a substantial balance

after that and all other costs had been paid, it cannot be added to the expense of the work.

Something must be said of Sadler's financial gifts, which were considerable. He always seemed able to do things more cheaply than anyone else, largely because he did so much himself and inspired others to work so hard. But there was never a touch of meanness about his monetary dealings. On the contrary, generosity was almost the keynote of his character, and he was for ever trying to get better pay for the lecturers, promoting schemes for specially generous rates for those who gave full time to the work or undertook posts of special responsibility. Funds were started for benevolent purposes, to which he himself contributed generously and to which he induced others to subscribe to a surprising extent. And always he was anxious that no student should be deprived of a chance of attending Extension courses for lack of means, and so launched scholarship funds for the help of poor students, in summer schools as well as in regular courses. He had himself been poor, and he never forgot the lessons he had learned in the days in which he had been anxious not to be a burden on his family. He would always see to it that anyone who took any part in the work should have his expenses fully paid. Such details might have been left to others, but he had to make sure of them, even when he became Vice-Chancellor of a University.

The labour involved in the Extension work was stupendous and his office organization was superb. Every letter was answered by return. No enquiry was neglected. Careful notes and minutes were kept of every event and proposal. Emissaries from several educational bodies abroad were received and told of the manner and progress of the work. Every request for help was welcomed. If it be asked how all was done with so minute a staff the answer lies chiefly in the energy of the secretary. If the day were not long enough to get everything done

he would work all through the night and none could guess in the morning that he had done so, for his buoyancy seemed unaffected by lack of sleep. There were those who thought him superficial because they could not conceive that any man could do so much and be thorough. No greater mistake could be made. Only those who worked with him knew with what care he prepared every speech and lecture, with what diligence he verified every quotation, with what attention he checked every document which went out of his office. His power to do so much must be attributed partly to a magnificent constitution, but also to a selfless delight in his work and the gift of inspiring others with the same delight. Those who worked for him knew that rather than turn a deaf ear to any request for help he would answer it himself if they could not do it for him. He met every fresh demand with glee: 'Isn't it splendid? So and so wants us to do this' was his natural reaction to any fresh call on his time, instead of the bored response of others in similar circumstances: 'Isn't it a nuisance? So-and-so wants this.' So work with him was a never-ending joy and excitement and he gave to all who worked with him the fullest meed of confidence and appreciation. His helpers were inclined to run all the time, not because he asked them to do so, but because he ran himself and it was amusing to see whether it was possible to keep up with him.

There were moments in which even his energy flagged before the tasks to which he devoted himself, for it has to be remembered that the Extension work took only part of his time, as he became Steward of Christchurch almost immediately after his return to Oxford. The salary was considerably higher than the one he received from the Extension work and enabled him to give up some of the lecturing work he had done earlier. It even appears from Mr Sadleir's account of his father in the late eighties that he appeared to enjoy for the only time in his life a fair amount of leisure. But by 1891 he was

writing to his wife that he thought he could not carry on both jobs for much longer and she was becoming much concerned about his health. The work at Christchurch involved regular office hours there, and the dealing with a number of knotty personal problems and difficult people, of whom 'Lewis Carroll' was by no means the easiest. That he discharged the duties of this office to the satisfaction of everyone concerned is apparent from the many tributes paid to him. Those duties are described in some detail in his son's memoir and there was never any suggestion that he at all neglected them because of his other work. But his doubts as to the possibility of carrying on the two jobs seem soon to have vanished, possibly because he secured more help and possibly because he was stimulated by the recognition on the part of the University that the Extension work was too great to be carried on by a sub-committee of any other body, and in 1892 created a Delegacy for extension education work only. Some stimulus may also have been gained from a visit to the United States at the end of 1891, where, after a short period in which he found it difficult to come to terms with his audiences, he was immensely popular as a lecturer.

Further expansions of the work of the Oxford Delegacy came rapidly on to the horizon. Sadler always had his eye fixed on the greater issues. He had encouraged short courses to help those who could not otherwise come into touch with higher education. He did what he could to 'interest the uninterested', as one of the summer school students defined the work of the Oxford as compared with the Cambridge movement. But he regarded all this as intermediate work intended to lead on to other things. He was not content with what he would at one moment advocate as the path to something greater, and at another, if anyone spoke of them as an end in themselves, stigmatize as 'driblets of lectures'. Well attended courses, enthusiastic summer schools were all very well in their way,

but they should be the foundation of something more permanent, something more far-reaching, something more thorough. Writing in the *Paternoster Review* in 1890 he said: 'It is possible that before another generation has passed away, we shall see in a hundred English towns a foundation devoted to the higher education of its citizens.' That was the sort of thing which he hopefully anticipated from the movement for which he worked. It was on those lines that he defended the work from its numerous critics. In an article written for the University Handbook published in 1893 he, on the one hand, castigated the 'academic Philistine' who scorns the occasional lectures and courses and, on the other, advocated the founding of University Colleges. He wrote that the academic Philistine:

'despises a course of lectures, but can understand a college. That is to say, his own experience helps him in the one case, but he does not get properly helped by his imagination in the other. . . . He does not see that occasional courses of lectures may be more adapted to the needs of rather timid, self-distrustful, adult hearers than the more pompous apparatus of a college with which he is himself familiar. He does not understand that if you want to spread the love of learning you must yourself use weapons which are appropriate to the situation'.

And again:

'Somebody said a few years ago that the University Extension system was the Salvation Army of education. I remember that we were rather put out by the remark at the time, but there was a grain of truth in it after all. Our work lies among those who have hitherto lain outside the influence of University life and our task is to win them, through their instinctive sense of all that is good and noble and of good report in human learning, to a new appreciation of the worth of knowledge and a new respect for the dignity of laborious self-culture. To do this we must never fail to cultivate the missionary spirit—the spirit of sympathy—which is indeed the spirit which maketh alive.'

That extract summarises his attitude. Unless the Extension movement led on to true appreciation of the world of knowledge and to laborious self-culture, it was futile. But none should sneer at the things which gave rise to such appreciation and labour. Did men despise the Extension movement because it was popular? Well 'the Venus of Milo is popular as well as the most transient comic song'. Did critics say that sequence was lacking in the courses? It should be remembered that 'there is no such thing as an invariable sequence in higher study, any more than there is an invariable sequence in love-making. The course of intellectual development is often inscrutable, and so long as an audience is given a succession of invariably good lectures and of invariably good lecturers, some sort of sequence will be secured'.

The minutes of the Extension Delegacy are full of suggestions from Sadler for the promotion of real scholarship and real study in the movement. Not all bore fruit. The idea of settling groups of lecturers in adjacent small towns and villages, under a residential lecturer and administrator who could see that the work of the lecturers was continued and intensified, came to nothing, though for a time something of the kind was done in Cornwall in co-operation with the County Council. And nothing came of a proposal for a 'higher certificat' to be given jointly by the three Universities providing extension lectures (Oxford, Cambridge and London) to such students as had attended several courses regularly, written papers for the lecturers and passed an examination thereafter.

But the more ambitious venture of founding a University college in a comparatively small town proved a striking success. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century such colleges were rising in different large cities, sometimes as a result of the general movement which made Extension work possible, sometimes directly arising from it. Firth College, Sheffield, and University College, Nottingham, founded

respectively in 1879 and 1881, were the direct outcome of the Cambridge Extension movement. In Leeds, the Yorkshire College of Science had sprung up in 1877 on the discontinuance of lectures organized by the Cambridge committee. Until Sadler took office the Oxford committee had taken no part in promoting University colleges, though two Oxford colleges had offered to give £300 a year each towards the cost of a University College in Bristol when the inhabitants of that city made a move for its establishment.

Sadler threw himself wholeheartedly into the foundation of a University College at Reading, a town with only 63,000 inhabitants, where Oxford had its oldest Extension centre. The story of the making of Reading University has been vividly told by Dr M. W. Childs, who was its second Principal and, when it became a University, its first Vice-Chancellor. He wrote:

'It was a venture made under conditions practically without a parallel. No pious founder, alive or dead, had called it into stable being, prescribed for it a function. No buildings had been designed for it. There was no endowment and no capital. There was no guarantee of municipal support; and in a town of the size and character of Reading there could be no demand for an institution of higher education. . . . These conditions, however, had no power to reconcile us to that policy of acquiescence which so often finds favour with sensible men. The world makes too much of such sensible men. Prudence is a virtue but it lives next door to less reputable neighbours. Men do not go far on their journey if they are always waiting on the weather. They conquer circumstances by chasing visions; there is a leverage in things hoped for far more potent than any leverage in things possessed.'[1]

These words might almost have been written for Michael Sadler and a little later in his book Dr Childs said:

[1] *The Making of a University*. M. W. Childs.

'Acting on the advice of two of their members, the Rev. E. F. Sampson and Mr Michael Sadler, the governing body of Christchurch on May 21st, 1892, offered to the Extension movement at Reading the services of Mr H. J. Mackinder, student of Christchurch, in the hope of giving system and completeness to the educational work of the association and of promoting the advancement, the co-ordination and the deepening of study.'

Within a few months Mackinder had become the first Principal of the University College of Reading.

It is unlikely that anyone ever called Sadler a sensible man. Some called him foolish. The measure of their folly in so doing became evident when his achievements were compared with their own. In this matter of the University College of Reading he had, not of course expecting such consequences, induced Mackinder to return from London to Oxford to help him with Extension work, and he pressed for the making of that work permanent and substantial at Reading. The meetings of the Extension committee are full of plans for Reading. When announcing the opening of the college in the Oxford University *Gazette*, Sadler wrote that what had been little more than a dream a year before was now an accomplished fact. He continued:

'An opportunity has at length offered itself for testing the educational possibilities of University Extension. Our system has hitherto been lacking on its tutorial side. This defect is remedied by the arrangements at Reading which secure for that town the services of a distinguished staff of resident teachers, supplemented by the aid of the peripatetic instructors of the University Extension.'

That even he did not anticipate the evolution of the college into one of the most individual Universities in the country is shown by his concluding words:

'The Oxford colleges already have religious missions; why should they not have educational missions as well? Thus there

would be gradually established in the great hives of our industrial populations a new group of institutions, dedicated to the education of citizens and federated by strong ties of association and gratitude to the national Universities.'

Great as were the achievements of the Extension work, Sadler was still not satisfied. He came to the conclusion that adult education work alone could not offer to the people of England all that was needed in the way of education. And, although Albert Mansbridge, founder of the Workers' Educational Association, declares that the success among the workers was such that Sadler's name was known in every backyard in the north of England, Sadler himself felt that the appeal made by it to the manual workers was inadequate. Later he welcomed enthusiastically the Workers' Educational Association as offering to those whom he wished so much to help something better suited to their needs than the Extension provisions gave. Those he felt could not go much further without better foundations on which to build. He was faced with certain disappointments which he honestly recognized and tried to trace to their sources. Examination results were poor throughout the country, and those for Oxford especially so, for a larger proportion of the Oxford than of other candidates had attended short courses. And in spite of the sacrifices which many working men and women made to attend the courses, they were a small proportion of the total, and very few could come to summer schools, which were naturally thronged by those who could afford holidays, including teachers who got much grist for their mills by attending them. The home-reading circles petered out. There were occasional difficulties with the Co-operative movement for which Sadler had done much lecturing in early days, but which was not invariably cordial towards the work of another full-grown institution for the promotion of adult education.

Good as the movement was, Sadler came slowly but surely to

the conclusion that few were ready for it and that with general education as it was, few could be ready for it. Not until 1893 were children obliged to stay at the elementary schools until the age of 11, when, if they were particularly bright, they might leave if they had reached the top standard. And the State was making no provision for secondary education. On this Sadler's attention was more and more bent.

Like many who have joined ardently in the work of adult education, appreciating the ability of many of the students, their freshness of approach and their keenness, he found the lack of earlier training frequently stultified his efforts. Not many who had left school at 10 or 11 or earlier could make full use of their gifts or of the opportunities of adult education. Many could make some use of it. But after a while, when they had perhaps exhausted their own contribution of a ripe experience of life and work, the lack of experience in the use of definitions and of practice in keeping to them and the lack of training in keeping the mind to any subject for an appreciable length of time made many fall by the way. The survivors were the salt of the earth. But few could support the superstructure of adult education on the slight foundations of earlier education which were given at that time. And secondary education was in the hands of private persons and organizations, from the most to the least experienced. 'Secondary education,' Sadler wrote, 'which with us is at sixes and sevens, will have to be reorganized before the public seriously takes in hand the no less important task of permanently establishing higher education for adults'. His opinions on this subject were reinforced by uneasiness about technical education. Not that he despised it. Quite the reverse. He was for ever girding at the idea that uselessness was the hallmark of a liberal education. But he thought that technical education would be an arid thing if divorced from general education and make a hateful and dangerous cleavage in society.

So he plunged into the arena of secondary education, his last two years at the Delegacy, from 1893–1895, being already full of work for secondary education. His final departure in 1895 was deeply regretted both by Christchurch and by all who had worked with him in the cause of adult education. Sorrowful letters, in the case of Hudson Shaw almost heartbroken ones, poured in from every side. But for the most part there was a feeling that he had given as much of his life to the work at Oxford as could be expected and that it was natural that he should accept an offer of a post in the Education Department, which might give him greater opportunities for exercising his rare talents. This was expressed in one letter after another from colleagues and other friends.

He could look back on work well established. Henceforth it would continue on lines already laid down. Whether Sadler with his gifts would have thought of new ways of promoting and enlarging it had he stayed cannot be known. What is known is that nothing new was added by his successors. And the work, which went on, did so on a somewhat diminished scale. The Oxford University Extension *Gazette* ended its existence immediately on his departure, being merged in a general magazine for all Universities engaged in Extension work. In time the number of courses dwindled; by the session of 1938–1939 there were less than one-third of those functioning in Sadler's time, not counting those he arranged for the County Councils. Even when courses given under the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee and the Oxford, Berks. and Bucks. committees, which in course of time were established under the same Delegacy as the Extension Lectures Committee, were added, the total did not equal those given under the Extension Lectures Delegacy in 1892–1893, or reach half the total number for that year if those arranged for the County Councils be counted.

The diminution of the work is largely a proof of its success.

The Extension movement was part of a general movement for higher education which bore fruit in the establishment of Universities and University colleges throughout the country, some owing their origin to the Extension movement. All these Universities have their own adult education programmes. Moreover there are now few people in England who are not within reach of a town with a University or some other institution of higher education. The number of such Universities has made unnecessary much of the work of University Extension in England as it has in the United States where University education is so much commoner than in England. Women have now been admitted to all Universities on the same terms as men, so that a section of the community which had roused Sadler's ardent and active sympathy is largely catered for by other means.

Then early in the twentieth century the Workers' Educational Association, to which he gave enthusiastic welcome and support, met some of the needs of working men and women in a way not possible for the Extension lecture movement. Small classes, individual attention from the lecturers, regular paper work taking the place of examinations, gave something to workers with a thirst for knowledge which had been missing from the earlier movement. And substantial help from the State solved the financial difficulties of the adult education movement, which in early days had made it hard for those with small means to take advantage of Extension lectures.

How far Sadler felt that the pioneering stages in Extension work were over when he left Oxford is not known. But he was sure that the time was ripe for pioneering stages in secondary education, and accepted with delight a post which would give him an opportunity of contributing to them, beginning with an intensive study of the subject.

II · PROMOTION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

1893–1895

Sadler had his attention drawn in the first instance to secondary education because the lack of it rendered ineffective much of what was being done in adult education. But once his interest was roused he was stirred by the importance and magnitude of the problem and horrified by its neglect. Attempts had been made earlier in the nineteenth century to call attention to the question, but until 1893 there had been no full discussion of it; there was no Government scheme for giving children educational opportunities beyond the elementary stage; there was in existence no obvious machinery, central or local, competent to undertake the control of secondary education if it should become a responsibility of the State. Local authorities had recently been established throughout England which had since 1889 been in charge of technical education in their own areas, but had no experience of administering any other type of education. Sadler, who disliked over-centralization, already tended to think that the new local authorities should be made responsible for secondary education, but was sure that before any action was taken in the matter it was essential to have it fully considered and discussed and that those whose interests were likely to be affected should be consulted.

For this reason he restrained Acland, who had become Vice-President of the Committee on Education in 1892, with whom he was in constant and intimate correspondence on educational matters, from bringing in a Bill for secondary education. Swift as Sadler was mentally, he was never precipitate in matters of this kind. Neither was he behindhand in taking the preliminary steps necessary for action. He thought

that the Universities should take a hand in a movement for setting up schools from which they were likely to draw many of their students, and having already involved his own University in much participation in Extension lectures work, he proceeded to call in its aid in this new venture.

So, in 1893, he wrote personally to a large number of resident members of the University of Oxford asking them to petition the Hebdomadal Council (the governing body of the University) to invite a conference to come to Oxford to discuss secondary education. One hundred and fifty did so, a far larger number than was necessary to secure effective results. The move was entirely unprecedented. Never before, and incidentally never since, has the University taken such action. Sadler, who was more or less accustomed to carrying all before him, was not much surprised by his success. But he was a little taken aback when he found that several of those who had signed the petition thought he was hoping that the Universities would take full control of secondary education.

To correct this idea he wrote a full and masterly letter of explanation. He pointed out that if what appeared to be an inevitable reorganization of secondary education took place throughout the country, the effect would be not only greatly to increase the number of schools, but to weld them into a more powerful combination, guided by a more or less uniform code of regulations. He suggested that, if the re-organization were to take place without definite connexion with the Universities there was some danger that pressure might be brought to bear on the Universities to change their regulations in such a manner as to further the interests of the boys whose school training had not prepared them for University courses. He went on to point out that the County Councils had so far been concerned only with technical education and the School Boards had been able legally to provide education other than elementary only under the aegis of the Science and Arts

Department. He was therefore of opinion that it would be wise to secure University representation on whatever bodies should ultimately be responsible for secondary education. At any rate he wished this matter to be fully considered by the conference for which he was pressing. He was at pains to show that his views would be just the same if the new authorities for secondary education had hitherto been concerned only with a bookish and literary education, for that equally would have needed correction. A balanced curriculum which would combine essential elements must be supplied.

Nearly two hundred men and women attended the conference, representing every kind of organization concerned, or likely to be concerned, with secondary education. The gathering included representatives of the great public schools, of the Universities, of the Charity Commission, of Technical Instruction Committees, of School Boards, of City Companies, of Higher Grade Schools, of Teachers' Associations, of Polytechnics, of Educational Trusts and many other bodies. Individual invitations had also been accepted by a number of persons who were known to be interested. The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford presided at the opening session. Sadler acted as honorary secretary throughout. It had been determined from the beginning that no resolution should be put to the conference, so a proposal to ask the Government to set up a Commission on secondary education was ruled out of order. But on November 14th, 1893, the University seal was set in Convocation to a memorial addressed to Mr Gladstone, the Prime Minister of the time, begging that before any legislation was proposed on secondary education, a subject which the recent conference held in Oxford had shown to be one on which their was 'great diversity of opinion, much imperfect knowledge and some confusion and perplexity', a Commission should be appointed which should 'inquire into the present state of secondary education within the kingdom, the further

needs of Her Majesty's subjects in this respect and the best means whereby those needs may be met'.

The appeal proved irresistible, so great was the weight of opinion behind it. Early in 1894 a Commission was appointed, with Sadler as one of its members. At 33 he was full young to serve on such a body, but he was one of its most active members, and many people look on him as the chief author of its report. In an unpublished paper which he wrote many years later he gave a summary of the position in secondary education as he saw it and of the confusion which existed. He wrote:

'It will be recalled that the Local Government Act of 1888 created organs of local government whose areas covered the whole of England, the Municipal Boroughs being recognised as County Councils in towns of 50,000 and upwards. In the following year, 1889, the Welsh Intermediate Education Act pointed the way to the conferment upon the English County and County Borough Councils of powers to aid or supply secondary, technical and higher education. And in the same year the Technical Instruction Act became law in England as well as in Wales. In its earlier form the Technical Instruction Bill had proposed the School Boards as the local authorities empowered to administer the educational powers it was designed to confer. But the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888 led the promoters of the Bill to substitute in 1889 the County and County Borough Councils for the School Boards and in this form the Bill became law. This was the first statutory recognition of the County and County Borough Councils as local authorities in education. Thus, in most of the larger towns there were now two education authorities—the School Board and the City Council—with a rather ill-defined frontier delimiting their powers, each of the two authorities having the right to levy rates for educational purposes.

In 1890, when the new Technical Instruction Act had hardly been put into operation, an unexpected event gave a new turn to the wheel. Some proposals of Mr Goschen's budget met with strong opposition in the House of Commons and large

sums of money, voted as taxes and originally destined for the compensation of publicans deprived of their licences to sell intoxicating liquors, were handed over to the County and County Borough Councils, with liberty to use the residue after paying police superannuation, in aid of technical education.... This windfall, called at the time the "whiskey money", gave an immediate incentive to the encouragement of technical (which included scientific and agricultural) instruction. Most of the County Councils and the County Borough Councils took up the matter with energy and appointed able and vigorous men as directors of this new work....

It was now clear that the time was ripe for discussing the future development of secondary education in England. The Technical Education Act as it stood might distort the growth of the secondary schools and the rivalry between the City Councils and the School Boards might in some places lead to a divided effort in a sphere where unity of plan and purpose was desirable....'

The reference of the Commission on Secondary Education was simple:

'To consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available, or may be made available, for this purpose and to make recommendations accordingly.'

There were seventeen members of the Commission, which was widely representative, and for the first time women were members of such a body. They had been drawn into active work at the Oxford conference where they had made valuable contributions to the discussions.

The one member of the Commission who was younger than Sadler was H. Llewellyn Smith, who had already worked with Sadler on the Extension Delegacy and whose appointment gave Sadler assurance of wise advice and active co-operation.

The chairman of the Commission,[1] James (later Lord) Bryce, however, was not a man after Sadler's heart. Sadler did not think he knew, possibly did not think he cared, enough about the work of the Commission. Sadler was no respecter of persons and letters to his wife contain puckishly impudent comments on the great man. He thought that Bryce hurried things too much and that the work could have been better done if more evidence had been taken; more attention, and more courteous attention paid to difficulties raised by some of the members; more thought given to the intricate questions with which the Commission had to deal. It is probably true that no Commission on so wide and complicated a subject ever reported in so short a time. It was appointed in March 1894 and the report was signed in August 1895. It had nine volumes, the findings and the reasons for them being embodied in the first volume, which is still something of a Bible to students of secondary education.

The very simplicity of the reference made the work of the Commission bristle with difficulties. For there was no 'well-organised' system of any kind of education in England. And it was impossible for the Commisioners to suggest any kind of organization for secondary education without touching every other kind of education, short of adult and university education. And, simple as the reference was, it expressly laid upon the Commission the duty of considering the provision made by the innumerable bodies which, in a private capacity, were using funds which, nominally at any rate, provided education other than elementary. These ranged from the great public schools, some with considerable endowments, to the most squalid little gatherings of children, crowded together in a small room, whose fees provided men and women without teaching qualifications and often without education, with a means of livelihood under

[1] James Bryce, 1838–1922. President Board of Trade 1894. Viscount 1914.

the pretence of supplying secondary education. The fees paid were presumably part of the revenue which could be made available for secondary education.

The recommendations of the Commissioners therefore necessarily went outside the range of secondary education. Its members, being agreed on the importance of unifying the educational services of the country and bringing secondary education into close connection with other forms of education, advised that there should be a Minister for Education with central responsibility for education of all types in the country. This had already been strongly advocated by others, including Matthew Arnold.[1] The Education Department as it then existed was under the suzerainty of the Lord President of the Privy Council, who had innumerable other jobs on hand, a Vice-President of the 'Committee of Council on Education' who represented it in Parliament, but who had no guarantee of a seat in the Cabinet and rarely had one, and then, as now, there was a Permanent Secretary. Not until 1944 did the head of the Education Department become a Minister.

The Commission laid stress on the importance of creating a small Education Council to advise the Minister on matters in which the 'counsel of persons specially conversant with education and holding an independent position' might be helpful. It was suggested that one-third of the members might be selected by the Crown, one third by Universities, the remaining third by those so elected from among experienced members of the teaching profession.[2] The idea was not to relieve the Minister of responsibility in matters educational, but to assist him in a manner which it was thought would be possible only to an independent body.

[1] Matthew Arnold, 1822–1888. Son of Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby, Inspector of Schools 1851.

[2] Report of Commission on Secondary Education 1895, p. 258.

Another suggestion for the statutory registration of teachers which was strongly pressed[1] was allied with that for the setting up of the Education Council by the recommendation that the Council should have as its one independent piece of work the proper organization of the register.

It was thought that if there were official registration of teachers, the teaching profession would come into line with the other great professions and establish its own standards and its own status. Sadler in particular believed that once there was a registered body of teachers, recognized by the State, that body could itself establish suitable tests for the profession, which would be accepted by those responsible for the appointment of teachers as guaranteeing their fitness for their work. Teachers themselves would then determine, as did doctors and lawyers and architects, the necessary qualifications for the practice of their profession. To those who studied the growth of other professions that seemed the natural way for the teaching profession to attain the position to which it should be entitled, instead of relying on the examinations and approval of any outside body, however high its standing.

Both these recommendations were dear to Sadler's heart. Both were doomed to that dim measure of acceptance which is more frustrating than outright rejection. The Consultative Committee which took the place of the proposed Education Council was given no general advisory powers; it was merely authorized to consider and report on subjects on which it was specifically consulted by the President of the Board of Education. And all its members were nominated by the President. It was not thought fitting that independent universities should have the power of election even to a body with such circumscribed references. And it had nothing entrusted to it in the matter of the registration of teachers. It was many years before anything was done in that matter and then the Teachers'

[1] Ibid., pp. 318–321.

Registration Council, set up at the request of the teachers, had no official standing.

Even so curtailed, both bodies have done good work. The Consultative Committee brought out important reports, many of which have done much to revive the findings of the Commission on Secondary Education which had not been implemented. And the Teachers' Registration Council, of which Sadler was for many years chairman, did much to bring together teachers in the various branches of the profession.

On the matter of local administration the Commission had to decide between the dangers of entrusting secondary education to the newly constituted County and County Borough Councils, whose experience of education up to that point had been concerned with technical education and which were not elected for their knowledge of educational matters, and the School Boards, which were *ad hoc* bodies, set up under the Act of 1870 and had dealt only with elementary education except in so far as they accepted grants from the Science and Arts Department for something beyond elementary work and so were for that stage conversant only with scientific and technical instruction. It was true that in order to meet the demand for education other than technical beyond the elementary stage some had given general education which was truly secondary in scope. But the Commissioners knew the legality of this work to be more than dubious. They wrote that some School Boards 'even set up schools to furnish children who had passed the standards' (of the elementary schools) 'with instruction in such subjects as history, grammar, French, mathematics', so going beyond the elementary education for which they were created. They went on to say of the schools which gave such instruction, commonly known as 'higher grade schools', that 'they cannot, speaking generally, share in the grant distributed by the Education Department, nor be supported out of the rates'....

Faced with the dilemma of placing secondary education in the hands either of a body not elected for educational purposes and with no experience of administering any education other than technical, or of a body elected to administer elementary education with but fragmentary experience of education of any other type, the Commission decided in favour of the first. The County and County Borough Councils dealt with larger areas than the School Boards; they covered the whole country; they could balance the educational needs of the communities with which they were concerned against their other needs; and their educational work would not be vitiated by experience of the low standards of elementary education. In all this Sadler concurred. But he was most anxious that the Councils which were to be entrusted with responsibility for secondary education should elect persons, by co-option or otherwise, who had direct knowledge of educational work, and pressed once again for the inclusion of men and women from the Universities on such such bodies. The letters which he wrote and the diary that he kept during the sessions of the Commission indicate that on this subject he fought and won a great battle, being at one moment on the verge, together with Dr Sophy Bryant, of signing a minority note on the matter. It also appears that years afterwards he was of opinion that they had yielded too much to their desire for unanimity, and that the expression of opinion by the Commission had not been so strong as it should have been. Whether whatever the report had recommended would have carried enough weight with those who framed the Act of 1902 to make the provisions on this point more effective is doubtful.

It was not within the purview of the Commission to make proposals about elementary schools, which were under School Boards, or about the School Boards themselves. But it had to consider the delicate question of what was to be done about the higher grade schools and their incursion into the realms of

secondary education. They were meeting a need, as the Commission suggested, by doing something to fill 'the educational void' due to the lack of secondary schools. The Commissioners noted that these schools were 'conducted in buildings parts of which are required for ordinary elementary work and have varying proportions of scholars who would be regarded as primary rather than secondary'. Yet they 'form a part of the existing supply of secondary education and must be recognized as so doing in any organized system which may be established'. So, anxious though they were to have only one authority for secondary education, the Commissioners advocated a middle course whereby these schools should remain in the hands of the existing authorities, 'so avoiding any breach of continuity between the elementary schools and those to which the children naturally pass'. But the authorities for secondary education were to have general powers of supervision over them. And it was clearly indicated that this might be but a temporary measure. There was therefore on behalf of these schools a modification of the proposals for a single authority for secondary education. But it was evident that such modification was not to the taste of the Commissioners. In a later part of their report they went so far as to say that the transfer of these schools to the local authorities for secondary education should be gradual, together with the transfer of organized science schools, continuation schools and technical institutes, so that the work of the existing authorities should not be lightly interfered with, nor their policy needlessly distorted or cramped. This recommendation shows how wide was the range of education which the Commissioners hoped would in time be brought under the single authority for secondary education, though expediency was to set the pace.

The legislation and the regulations which followed the publication of the report went beyond it in sweeping away the School Boards and so making a single local authority re-

sponsible for education of all types. But they went less far in their action with regard to secondary education and the things which should be comprised under that head. A far narrower interpretation was imposed on secondary education than the Commissioners had desired.

Even Sadler did not think he could carry on both his jobs at Oxford together with the work of the Commission which demanded two days a week in London. He got leave from both Christchurch and the Extension Delegacy to relax his activities a little. Towards the end of the sittings of the Commission he was more and more away from Oxford, with the gain to the biographer of a long series of letters to his wife, describing the doings of the Commission and rejoicing in the work. The letters constantly refer to himself as 'your friend', for the relationship between husband and wife, while lacking nothing of the tenderness of all true marriages, had always the quality of friendship, with the companionship of thought and outlook of friendship. He and his wife might differ, but to the onlooker there was beauty in the sense that they enjoyed their differences because honesty lay between them, each knowing that the point of view of the other would be respected.

He wrote:

'7 August, 1895. The work of the Commission is frantically exciting. Every moment tells. It has fallen to me to have to fight the chairman among others, and we have got our way. The dissentient note is printed but we need not sign it now. The battle is really won. Bryce has really been very nice. He is chastened by defeat—but an older man by 10 years. I feel indebted to him for his concessions. We are hard at work all day and hope to get done by Friday night. . . . The Duke (Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Privy Council) will have to be dealt with next week.'

'8 Aug. 95. The Commission ends to-morrow. We shall sign without reservation (except possibly ——.) It is a poor

piece of work compared with what it might have been, but we have improved it greatly and it will have some good things in it.

'We are all like boys and girls (in a mixed school) on the eve of the holidays. The long sittings are full of jokes and the headmaster's sallies are loudly welcomed. The cane is on the shelf and there are no more impositions. Yesterday was the critical day. Mrs Bryant and I had actually finished a dissentient note. I had written a long formal letter to Bryce stating grounds of dissension[1] when suddenly a golden bridge was built (Llewellyn Smith of course providing the materials) and Mrs Bryant and I walked over it into unanimity. We got much more than we hoped—and the others withdrew a sentence they had voted in by a large and distinct majority—but we sat looking glum and doubtful just as if we were bidding at an auction and didn't want our faces to reveal our views of the bargain.'

The next day, the 9th August, there was a set-back. Sadler wrote:

'When it came to ———'s turn to sign, he said he meant to make a reservation. This he produced. When it was read it was practically a note of dissent on fundamental grounds, viz., the contribution of the Central and the Local Authorities and the danger of diverting the technical education money from the industrial education of workmen to the children of the middle classes. It was short, badly worded and really not a reservation at all, but a sort of charge against the Commission, putting our recommendations in a light which is unfair and misleading.

'There was a "sensation" as the papers say. Bryce could hardly contain himself. The Dean puffed.[2] Sir Henry Roscoe[3] looked flabbergasted. There was a painful silence. The mischief is that he had given us no real notice of his intention. For weeks he has been away electioneering and we have seen and heard nothing of him. Now, at the last moment, this is sprung upon us.

[1] Cf. p. 38.
[2] Maclure, Dean of Manchester Cathedral.
[3] Sir Henry Roscoe, Doctor of Civil Law, F.R.S.

'Poor chap, I felt sorry for him. His arguments were blown out of the water and he could not really defend his position. He didn't speak like a free agent, and I am sure that of his own free will he wouldn't have done this.'

Sadler suspected that the recalcitrant member had given in to threats as to his position:

'if he doesn't do what he can to destroy the report by destroying our otherwise complete unanimity. Llewellyn Smith was admirable, and he and I are doing what we can to conciliate—but I fear we shall not be able to do anything. ——— looked miserably ill, as well he might, for everyone else was unmistakably disgusted. It's rather a faked up job, though he has asked questions on the lines of this note of dissent. Still he has given no sufficient indication that he regarded this as crucial. The upshot is that we meet again on Tuesday when I expect that we shall actually finish up. If he persists, we shall have to append a note of denial that he has interpreted our intentions correctly.

'Don't say a word about this. That fact and the name must be kept absolutely private. He must be in a hateful position. . . .

'All the report is finished and it isn't so bad after all. Bryce has put his best leg forward—but as a matter of fact all the limitations which he insisted on making to the subject at the start have gone by the board and he is writing at large about curriculum, etc., but he knows very little about it as he had not really studied the subject.

'If he hadn't been so rude and stubborn to ——— all thro' —refusing to see his points and to harmonize the report with his ideas (so far as could be) this breakdown would not have happened.

'To-day we had a great argument about Mat. Arnold. I wanted some acknowledgment in the historical sketch of M. Arnold's great services to the question by his persistent advocacy since 1864 of sec. edu. Bryce evidently hated Mat. Arnold and wouldn't admit for a moment what he had done. He is ignorant of course. Last night and this morning I went round to the Libraries and Macmillan and Smith and Elders to

copy out quotations. These really floored Bryce when we had a private talk afterwards and I hope the pig will give way. Just think of a secondary educ. report without a generous tribute to the man who did more, far more than any other individual, to make people think about sec. educ. and whose influence has really inspired all those who have been instrumental in making it now a practical question.'

'13 Aug. 95. The Commission completed its labours at 4.30 this afternoon and our report is absolutely unanimous—not one of the 17 members appending a note of reservation or dissent. This is unparalleled since commissions were made so large and representative of conflicting interests. It adds very largely to the moral weight of our recommendations and I hear that early legislation is at least possible. The Lord President, the Duke, is going to preside over an important conference, to further secondary education on our lines, in October and he wouldn't do this unless he meant business. You can do a lot with a majority of 152.

'Well, you will guess that the absence of notes of dissent didn't come about without much private effort and I had an exciting time yesterday. On Friday night Llewellyn Smith and I carefully considered ———'s position and framed a scheme of conciliation. It seemed a forlorn hope but so much depended on it that it was worth trying. So Smith and I went to ——— and asked him to come on Monday to the Labour Dept. . . . We met at 4 and had 2½ hours' hard talk. At the end he withdrew his note of dissent altogether, substituted a different kind of memorandum (which I drew up for him) and accepted references to the memorandum in the text, certain phrases being specified for the wording of these notes. That was glorious—There remained Bryce. Would he fall in? So I got Ll. Smith into a hansom, though he was horribly busy, and we drove to Bryce's house in Portland Place with the terms of the settlement in our pocket. When we got to the house at 7, we found Bryce on the doorstep. He took us into his study and in half an hour had agreed to the compromise, making certain verbal amendments which improved the note. We wired to ——— and I wrote to him at length telling him the changes. I also

improved the memorandum. This m'g ——— was inclined to kick at Bryce's changes when I met him before the Commission, but he gave way again: I saw Bryce before the meeting began and arranged that he should make an announcement from the chair. This he did with excellent tact and in 5 minutes the Commission had accepted the emendations with applause and the report was unanimously signed.

'Ll. Smith was splendid. I got a lot of wrinkles from him. He's an expert in conciliation. The best of this conciliation is that each party benefits from the arrangement. The fact is that ——— hadn't thought out the situation. At the same time his memorandum will improve our report and the absence of any note of dissent will enormously increase its political importance.

He behaved *very* well and I do think has screwed himself up to take his own line. But I can't understand his action on Friday....

'Bryce is very pleased and so are the rest of the Commissioners. Ll. Smith and I asked Bryce not to mention us, but, when ——— was out of the room he politely thanked us and we parted on the most cordial terms. As he said good-bye to me, he said he was much indebted for help all through the Commission and especially at the end—which shows a forgiving spirit as the poor man has had to give way all along the line. Happily, he knows that I think he was wrong to hurry and I have told him publicly in the Commission when I thought our methods were defective or faulty. So we are not parting friends on a misunderstanding.'

From these scraps of letters some interesting facts emerge. In pressing for the integration of technical with other forms of education there was, on the one hand, prejudice to be dealt with on the part of those who considered that grammar school education was the only kind worth thinking about and, on the other, the jealous fears of those who thought that funds intended for the children of the manual workers might be diverted from their proper use. So, from opposite quarters, came opposition to a unified scheme, not only from those who

thought that secondary education should be the preserve of those who did not need to work with their hands.

Then there may be noted Sadler's almost excited eagerness to secure unanimity, both when it was a question of securing what he thought necessary in the way of university representation on the new administrative bodies and when it was one of clearing away misunderstandings which he thought ought never to have arisen. Throughout his life he was the arch-conciliator, always believing that the contestants wanted what was best and that lack of explanation alone stood in the way of agreement.

The amount of work which he put into making the report as good as possible in the time is evident as is his joy in it all. He would admit that other people might be busy or weary, but the fact that he could be either hardly ever comes into any account of any of his activities. If a thing needed doing he abandoned all thought of self to get it done and to persuade others to do it.

One other thing very characteristic of him which is connected with his pleasure in the work is the schoolboy disrespect with which he wrote of Bryce, a disrespect which came from an irrepressible impishness which was the delight of his friends and the scorn of his enemies and which remained with him throughout life. The intimacy of a letter to his wife was needed to call out such an expression as 'the pig' about a man like Bryce whose integrity he trusted and whose ability he admired. That was just family fun. But reverence was strong in him and that such reverence was not lacking in his attitude to Bryce was shown by his own acknowledgment of the way in which Bryce had given in to the arguments presented to him, and risen to the occasion in the end when matters were truly critical. Bryce's own attitude to this young and vehement member of his Commission was magnanimous in the extreme. Not only did he express gratitude to the man who had

opposed him so vigorously and successfully, but in later years he offered him the post of his own private secretary when he was about to take office in Ireland.

Sadler's final reference to the work of the Commission is in a letter to his wife written on 17 August, 1895:

'To-day the report of the Secondary Education Commission goes to the Queen. I have been through it making small changes, but am nearly done with it now. There remain only proofs of two memoranda to correct. I like the report better than I did. Bryce has much improved it at the last two sittings. You will be amused to hear that we are to have an anthology of Arnold's remarks on sec. educ. in an Appendix to Vol. I. All my quotations are going in. Also there is a fervent reference to him by name as "the greatest influence", etc., in the peroration of the report of the Commission itself. . . .'

Whether posterity will accord quite the place to M. Arnold's influence that Sadler and, through him, the Commission did, is open to question, more especially as at a later stage Sadler himself in a private letter rather went back on his early estimate. The whole episode, culminating in the acquiescence of the whole Commission in Sadler's conviction of Arnold's pre-eminence, draws attention to Sadler's generous ardour, the power of his admiration for those who won it, and to the endless trouble to which he went in winning the advocacy of others for his beliefs.

If Bryce won in the contest with Sadler in the matter of speed, Sadler won heavily in the matter of content and presentation. Even now the report is quoted as an authoritative document on secondary education and constant regrets are expressed that it was half a century before some of its most important recommendations were carried out.

The results indeed were by no means all that Sadler had wished. Yet the fact that legislation had been made inevitable largely by his action, and that some of it was what he had

pressed for, may have given him satisfaction. The setting up of the Commission was directly due to the Oxford conference, legislation was made necessary by the report of the Commission, and though none can say that nothing would have been done for secondary education without Sadler, it can be said that what was done owed its origin to him.

III · RISE AND DECLINE OF THE OFFICE OF SPECIAL INQUIRIES AND REPORTS

1895–1903

I

Before the sessions of the Commission on Secondary education ended, Sadler had accepted a new post and had entered on its duties. The post was created for him by A. H. D. Acland, whose faith in him was immense. He had succeeded Acland as Steward of Christchurch and as secretary of the Oxford Extension Lectures Committee, and remaining in close touch with both responsible bodies. Acland had every opportunity of knowing the powers and the zeal of the younger man. He had a deep personal affection for him and placed the greatest confidence in his knowledge, his wisdom and his enthusiasm in educational matters. Acland was a delicate man, in some ways self-distrustful, and, it is reported by some who knew him in later life, crotchety. He was just the man to whom Sadler's gay vitality made a world of difference and he turned to him again and again for guidance and support when he found the burden of office heavy.

Acland became Vice-President of the Committee of Education in 1892 with a seat in the Cabinet. This gave him a pre-eminent position in education, since, unlike his predecessors and his successor, he could press in the Cabinet for any Bill he framed. As soon as he took office he began to wonder whether he could not get Sadler to join him in London. He had, of course been responsible for making Sadler a member of the Commission on Secondary Education. Letters between the two men discussed such subjects as the training and registration of teachers, grants to universities, a teaching (and not, as

had hitherto been the case, merely an examining) University for London. And Acland became increasingly impressed with the necessity for more information on matters educational, especially from abroad. He was hoping for a great modification of the attitude of the State to national education and thought that with Sadler's help the department of the State concerned with education might 'appear and not only appear but be more human, more scientific in the best sense, more conscious of setting a high example and of giving help to educational workers'. He proposed therefore to set up a department of 'Special Inquiries and Reports' and to make Sadler its Director. He won the support of Sir George Kekewich, Permanent Secretary of the Committee on Education, for the plan and was overjoyed when Sadler accepted the post.

This happened early in 1895. It necessitated the moving of the Sadler household to some spot nearer London. For the time being Sadler himself had to be in or near London while his wife remained in Oxford with their small son until the move to Weybridge could be effected. Hence the daily letters between them which make the biographer almost wish that they had not been so constantly together. For at that period Sadler's diaries were scrapbooks rather than consecutive accounts of events.

In the Department of Education things did not turn out as had been planned. For just as Sadler took up his new work the Liberal Government went out of office and with it Acland. It is possible to feel some pity for the correct, genial, comfortable gentlemen of the Department of Education landed with a man who was thought to be something of a firebrand, as head of a department for which none of them had seen the need, the duties of which appeared to them obscure and for which they were in no way prepared. Moreover there were those who looked on Sadler with suspicion simply because he was Acland's nominee. There were those who disliked Acland

because he showed signs of reforming zeal, because he was a Liberal, because he was himself. They looked with unfriendly eyes on work he had invented and the man to whom he had confided it. Not that the Education Department was an especially bad one, or that it contained especially bad men. Many were excellent. But even some of the best did not want to be disturbed. And Sadler at every period of his life was disturbing in proportion as he was exhilarating. And the Education Department contained men who preferred being undisturbed to being exhilarated. It is reported that one of the nicest of them said soon after his advent: 'When I see that intelligent face and inquiring nose I wonder which of the affairs of this office will escape attention'. The answer was 'none', and rightly none. There had been a great influx of officials into the Education Office in the seventies who were elderly in the nineties, wanting a quiet life above all things. Sir George Kekewich, the internal head of the Office, had been appointed an Examiner in the Department as early as 1868. He declared that the Civil Service of his earliest days had been admirably organized as a 'field for jobbery and refuge for incompetence'. He told of a great record of idleness in his own department, where the officials arrived at 11.30 or 12 and generally departed long before 5 p.m., having in the meantime taken off the period necessary for reading *The Times* and having lunch. He also described his colleagues as being for the most part men who had never been inside a school. His testimony may well have been jaundiced by later experience, but if any of the senior men into whose ken Sadler came were lamenting the good old days he was unlikely to win their sympathy.[1]

Sadler, however, who always obeyed the biblical charge of 'thinking no evil' to the point of indiscretion, seems to have been for a considerable time oblivious of any opposition or dislike. A question had been asked in Parliament about the ap-

[1] *The Education Department and After*. Sir George Kekewich.

pointment of this young and, as far as Government service went, untried young man to the headship of a section of a Government department. It had been met by an account of what that young man had already accomplished and of his qualifications and there had been no more open murmuring. Sadler had often met questions on his work and had answered them successfully by further work on whatever paths his feet travelled. There is no hint in early letters that he sensed any hostility. Quite the contrary. He clearly thought that everyone he met in the office was delightful and had the best interests of education at heart and would gladly support him in his efforts for it. Affectionate references to both Sir John Gorst who had succeeded Acland and Sir George Kekewich frequently occurred in his letters. On 2 August, 1895, he wrote of Kekewich ' Kekky came back to-day from a week's salmon fishing in Monmouthshire. He caught a fish a day and threatens to send one of them to the N.U.T. . . . Sir George was most affectionate and put his hand on my shoulder like a father'. Again in December of the same year 'Gorst seems not at all injured at being opposed and being freely dealt with. I am getting quite fond of him in his dry way. . . S——— is an angel and Kekewich very nice'.

Sir John Gorst had become Vice-President of the Committee on Education, but as he was not given a seat in the Cabinet—a fact which he was said deeply to resent—the actual Presidency of the Committee was in the hands of the Duke of Devonshire as President of the Privy Council. By this arrangement the final word about education was in the hands of a man who had many interests and responsibilities other than education, of which he might know nothing. Of these two men Kekewich wrote: 'a more unfortunate selection could not have been made, nor a greater contrast imagined. The Duke was dull, silent and impassive; Sir John Gorst active and mischievous. Puck was for ever dancing round Jupiter, while

administering pin-pricks with perfect impartiality to all who came near him, whether they were his superiors or inferiors. For eight years I had to endure conditions of discord, stagnation and reaction.'[1]

There were moments at a later stage when Sadler would have endorsed these comments, though yet later knowledge gave him a considerable admiration for the Duke's gift for swiftly summing up a position and getting at the essence of it. For the time being, however, he was unaware not only of any antagonism to himself but of uneasiness within the office.

He revelled in the work. The main idea of it was that it should explore educational practice on an extensive scale, with a view to ascertaining ways in which English education might be improved. Something had been done by Matthew Arnold along these lines. Now there was to be a whole Education Department devoted to the work. Nothing could have suited Sadler better. In August 1895 he wrote to his wife from the Education Office: 'It is delightful being in this office and I enjoy the work more every day.' And again: 'I can't tell you how much I am enjoying the work here. It is lovely being among books again and with one's whole time at this sort of work.' So for some months he was intensely happy. He had been given *carte blanche* to explore secondary education wherever he would and to relate it with practice in England. No task could have appealed to him more than that of researching himself, and getting others to do likewise, into methods which might point the way to do for education at home the best that could be done in any country. He always desired to retain the essential and varied characteristics of English education, adding whatever was best elsewhere.

Eleven volumes contain the results of this research. Many of the best articles were written by Sadler himself. The first volume

[1] Ibid.

appeared in 1897 when he had been at work for over two years and was acclaimed as a masterpiece of its kind by Professor Stuart and other friends. Nothing like it had been seen before in any country. He made a speciality of German education, learning the language for the purpose and that very swiftly, so that he was able not only to talk easily with German schoolmasters and thinkers, but to make speeches and write articles in German. In a letter written during one of his visits to Germany he described his methods of work.

27 September, 1897, Hamburg (to his wife). After describing the results of his interviews with various officials, he wrote:

'They were most friendly and full of frank and detailed information. I staggered away with an armful of heavy papers. It is a most delightful occupation—making these inquiries. All is strange at first, you have to find it all out for yourself partly by books and partly by thinking. Then you put questions, find clues, compare views, get people sorted into groups according to opinions and suddenly the light breaks through and you have an hypothesis. Then you set to work to test this by asking all sorts of people more questions. You get corrected—or confirmed—in your view and slowly the truth (so far as a foreigner can get at it) grows clear for you. Sport isn't in it—or perhaps this is sport, really. It takes about a week (not counting Vorbereitung) to shake down your conclusions and you walk a lot of miles in the process. Then, it all has to be done in German, which is exhilarating in itself.'

It is good to remember through all the difficulties which beset Sadler later in the Education Office that he had, until it became subject to interference and attack, so great a refuge from all his troubles. He never ceased to enjoy it and was able to bury himself in it whatever happened to other plans and activities. For he was shortly drawn into the vortex of educational politics and in that whirlpool he began to lose some of his faith in the perfections of those with whom he worked. The disillusionment was bitter.

Of the actual reports and their contents something more will be said when an attempt is made to sum up some of Sadler's thoughts together with his achievements when engaged on writing reports for various districts in his own country. For the time being some record must be given of the most difficult and dramatic years of his life.

The terms of the Treasury Minute under which Sadler was appointed to his new post were, like those of the Delphic oracle, open to various interpretations as he was to find later, and to his cost. For the time being he had no doubt as to their meaning, being enlightened by talks and private correspondence with Acland and troubled by no manner of hesitation as to the sort of work which he was qualified to do. It was to be the duty of this branch:

'to keep a systematic record of educational work and experi-
'ments in this Country and abroad, and also to obtain and
'supply information, and to inquire and report upon any
'special educational question which may be referred to the
'Director by the Lords of the Committee. The duties of the
'Branch will extend to all educational matters connected with
'the Science and Art Department, but the Director will be
'primarily attached to the Education Department. He will be
'immediately under the direction of the Secretary of that
'Department and will have his Office at Whitehall.'

So ran the Treasury Minute of 31 December, 1894.[1]

For Sadler the creation of something out of nothing and the service of those responsible for educational matters opened avenues of delight. He was nothing if not creative. He was eager to serve. Even the physical necessities of the work were not there. He wrote in 1903: 'When the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports began his work in his office at Easter 1895, there was no tradition to guide him in his work. He

[1] *Papers relating to the Resignation of the Director of the Office of Special Reports and Inquiries.* H.M. Stationery Office, 1903, Cd 1602 p. 5.

began with nothing but a chair, a table and writing materials'[1]. Very soon the minimum of rooms and of staff had been secured and the office became a gay, indeed a merry place.

Robert Morant, by far the best of the candidates for the post, as Sadler wrote later, became Assistant to the Director. Miss Beard, who had helped Sadler greatly in his Extension work in Oxford, became Library Assistant. There was some opposition to her appointment because it was thought that the whole office was overmuch an 'Acland-Sadler-Oxford' affair and that Sadler, having succeeded Acland in two Oxford posts and been pressed by him into a London one, was now bringing Oxford staff to uphold him in his new work. This opposition did not worry Sadler greatly. He knew the capacity of Miss Beard as no-one else could and was certain that all doubts about her would die down as soon as she had proved her worth. In this he was justified. And he had not yet learned that hostility would not necessarily die with doubt, for he never suspected the existence of hostility. Nor had he learned that it is by no means always popular to be proved right. Then there was Miss Green, who came as clerk, all these posts and some minor ones having been blessed as far as expenditure went by the Treasury.

All the members of the staff, not least the Assistant Director, were devoted to their chief. All worked to the full extent of their powers, and their powers, especially those of the Assistant Director, were considerable. The friendly atmosphere of the office, made gay by great bunches of flowers brought up by Mrs Sadler from the garden she so successfully cultivated at the new home in Weybridge, was an encouragement to all. The Assistant Director was indeed a little aloof from the most hilarious fun; but that was only consistent with his natural gravity and the distance from ordinary humans which formidable height tends to give. The work developed with pheno-

[1] Ibid. p. 41.

menal rapidity, Sadler himself going abroad and producing reports of the first quality; sending Morant abroad, urging him to learn German and greeting with appreciation the results of Morant's inquiries; inducing men and women of the highest calibre either to go abroad specially for the purpose of making investigations for the office, or finding some who were going in any case and so getting the inquiries made with the minimum of expense. Many investigations were also set on foot in Great Britain and much of the value of the reports lay in the comparisons between English practice and that of other parts of the world.

Not all the contributions were or could be of the standard set by the Director, who himself wrote 14 of the reports. But the names of such people as the Hon. Rev. Canon E. Lyttelton, Arthur C. Benson, A. L. Bowley, Miss M. E. Tanner, Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, Mr Sidney Webb which appear among the authors give some idea of the Director's gift for detecting quality and of inducing those who had it to join in the work of his office.

Very quickly the office became the place to which inquirers from abroad came for answers to questions on educational matters. Also the place in which teachers of all kinds from all types of schools felt they had a friend, indeed more than one, for Sadler's staff always and everywhere reflected the sympathetic interest he took in the affairs of those who sought him out. He had, as several of those who knew him in office and out of it remarked, a singularly vitalizing effect on any concern with which he had to do. Those engaged in educational work said that it was wonderful suddenly to find that life had come into an office of the Education Department. All were sure of a welcome, not only for themselves but for their ideas. The work grew and with it the sunniness of the office. There was always some new excitement, always some new scheme to be explored, some new investigation to be undertaken.

II

Sadler did not take it amiss that he was constantly called on for information from the Department, though it took him into a cloudier atmosphere. He gave priority to the research work of his office, but he was glad that the part of the Treasury Minute which required him 'to inquire and report on any special educational matter which may be referred to the Director by the Lords of the Committee' led to demands for his services in connection with proposed legislation on secondary education. This question arose almost immediately, when he was abroad making investigations into Prussian education in the autumn of 1895. Sir John Gorst's ill-fated Bill of 1896 was in the offing, and as it was desired to incorporate in it clauses relating to secondary education, Sadler's immediate presence was demanded, as he of all men was regarded as an authority on that subject. He was delighted and flung himself heart and soul into the work of preparing draft recommendations and joining in conversations with those who were concerned with putting secondary education into a Bill to be considered by Parliament.

Acland, however, was anything but pleased to see his protégé so closely allied with political work. He had envisaged the Director's post as a more purely research one, and strongly deprecated his being made use of for the promotion of a Bill which he for many reasons disapproved. There was a sorrowful cleavage at this stage between the two men, which greatly grieved both. Llewellyn Smith had already warned Sadler that it would be inadvisable to say much to Acland of what was going on in the Department of which he had so recently been the head, for Acland was still in Parliament. And Acland's protests against Sadler's part in the Bill made things no easier. It was not in Sadler's nature to resist any call for help, and in view of the terms of his appointment it is dubious whether he would have had any right to do so. He and

Acland retained an affectionate regard for each other to the end of Acland's life, but the official friendship came to an end. They talked no more about educational policy. It was a pathetic end to that part of their friendship, considering the extent to which in earlier and still very recent days Acland had so intensely believed in and admired Sadler's wisdom in matters educational.

The grounds on which Acland was opposed to the Bill of 1896 had no relation to secondary education as such. Indeed the provisions for 'education other than elementary' formed but a small fraction of the Bill, taking up less than one of its 16 pages, and the provisions for such education were permissive only. Acland objected, as did a host of others, to the proposal for giving rate-aid to voluntary schools. In this controversy Sadler seems to have taken no part, though, as will be seen at a later stage, he developed strong views about religious instruction and the proper line which the State should take about schools which had been founded by religious bodies. For the time being, however, as far as advice went he was concerned with the provisions for secondary education and his letters show how great was his anxiety lest these provisions should be omitted because of the large scope of the Bill, including the establishment of the County Councils as Education Authorities, for which he had long been anxious. At the same time he did not shirk the job of analysing all the objections and the amendments to the Bill when asked to do so. And his help was solicited again and again.

No sooner did he begin working with and for those outside the Office of Special Inquiries than he came up against divisions within the Department. And on petty matters he soon came under direct fire from the Permanent Secretary. Kekewich instructed Sadler to present an analysis of the amendments to Clause I, which dealt with the Authority for Education, together with a memorandum giving the state of public

opinion on the subject. The documents were swiftly prepared and sent to Kekewich who returned them immediately with an order that they should be printed for the use of the Cabinet. Sadler explained that the documents, which had not been prepared for the Cabinet, would need enlargement and other changes. He sent the revised memorandum in proof to the Permanent Secretary, who sent it back at once saying that he could not be troubled with proofs and urging Sadler to press on with the document relating to the amendments. This Sadler did at great speed with the assistance of Morant. Kekewich called in at the office on various occasions but did not scrutinize the draft and told Sadler to send it to Sir John Gorst who had asked for it. Shortly afterwards the secretary of the Lord President of the Council told Sadler that the President wanted a copy and there being no superior officer in the building whom Sadler could consult, the copy was sent. Later more copies were sent to the Duke of Devonshire, who needed them for a Cabinet meeting.

Sir George Kekewich then severely reprimanded Sadler for having sent to the Duke a copy of a memorandum the proofs of which he had refused to read, and which he had told Sadler to send to the printers. Sadler had felt that in the absence of the Permanent Secretary he had had no option but to send it to the Duke, who was technically the head of the Department. However, he apologised to Kekewich, and hastily told the Duke's secretary that the document expressed only his own views and not those of the Permanent Secretary; he understood this was explained to the Cabinet Committee by the Duke. Meanwhile Sir John Gorst, having received a copy of the document, complained to Kekewich that the document did not coincide with his views. This brought another reprimand upon Sadler's head from Kekewich, this time in front of another official of the Department.

Clearly Kekewich was to blame throughout. He admitted to

Sadler later that Sadler could not have acted otherwise, told him not to be thin-skinned, and proceeded to discuss with him public and private affairs with full confidence, so implying that all was well between them.

In itself this episode has no educational significance. But it shows something of the men with whom Sadler dealt and the annoyance which he sometimes caused by his promptitude in responding to every request from his superiors in the Department.

The matter as it affected Sadler was but an echo of trouble which was brewing in higher quarters. For on 11 June, 1896, Balfour suddenly in Committee of the House, without prior consultation with Sir John Gorst, accepted an amendment which wrecked the Bill. The amendment proposed to constitute the councils of non-county boroughs, with a population of 20,000, education authorities in the same manner as the County Councils. Great offence had been given to small local authorities because they were ignored by the Bill. Sadler had been fully aware of this and in the notes which he had presented to the Cabinet had suggested that the matter might be dealt with by a compromise, finally incorporated in the Act of 1902, which should make the non-county authorities responsible for elementary education only. Kekewich objected to this suggestion, proposing instead that the population limits for county and municipal boroughs should be equalised.

Sadler's objection to small units for all education would not be so potent to-day, since all children now receive secondary education. As things were he feared that the amendment, which placed Secondary Schools under a small administrative unit, would not only be ineffective but actually mischievous. He wrote:

'It is probable that the majority of ratepayers would at present, if not always, prefer a "practical" form of secondary education. In that case, the chances of a more liberal secondary

training would be injured in the small towns, as the latter could rarely afford to maintain two secondary schools, and any one school must choose either technical training or liberal education as its predominating purpose. The two cannot, in a small school at any rate, be effectively combined. One must be comparatively neglected, because the headmaster will rarely sympathise with both aims alike.'

This passage is quoted to show, what will become more apparent later, that at that stage at any rate Sadler no less than Morant desired to preserve secondary education at an early age from being dominated by technical training, which he thought would be popular among small authorities and among parents. He feared that the amendment would leave some populous districts without any supply of the higher kind of secondary education:

'Richer parents would be able to send their children to schools at a distance or to combine in establishing proprietary schools; but the change would bear heavily on such of the poorer class of children as desire and deserve the best opportunities of higher education.'

These notes were written in June, 1896. Looking through them again in February, 1898, he added in the margin that the change would also bear hardly on 'local ideals of life'.

Sadler was not sorry that the Bill was dropped, quite apart from the amendment which he agreed made it impossible. He had thought it a bad Bill from the first, and though, in his hope of getting something on to the statute book which should make provision by local authorities for secondary education 'permissive', he had put his usual ardour into preparing and presenting such material as was required, the more he worked at it and the greater the number of amendments, amounting to some 2000 in all, the less well did he think of it and the more convinced he was that it was weak and muddled. It was perhaps unfortunate for him and his reputation that he should have spent

so much of his time on such a Bill, or, recognizing that it was bad, did not press for the omission of the clauses dealing with secondary education. The Cabinet finally decided to drop the Bill, so complicated had the issues become, indeed so impossible after the acceptance of the amendment making small authorities responsible for both secondary and elementary education.

It is reported that the Cabinet having come to this decision asked the Duke of Devonshire to break the news to Gorst as gently as possibly, which the Duke did by the simple statement: 'Gorst, your dam' Bill's dead.' Whatever the method of breaking the news, there is no doubt that Gorst took it badly. Indeed he was by this time on the way to taking many things badly. He had much of which to complain. He had been in Parliament for 30 years and had been regarded as one of the most outstanding members of the House, having quite early in his career successfully reorganized the Conservative party. In the early eighties he was, together with Balfour and Sir Henry Wolff, a member of the brilliant quartet which constituted the 'Fourth Party' under the leadership of Lord Randolph Churchill. He knew more about parliamentary procedure than most men in the House and had a distinguished record both as a lawyer and a member of parliament. The other members of the Fourth Party relied greatly on his knowledge and astuteness.[1] In 1886 Lord Randolph Churchill had suggested him to Lord Salisbury as a possible 'Education Minister'.[2] Yet here he was, ten years later, having succeeded Acland who had nothing like his parliamentary experience or distinction and yet had held a seat in the Cabinet, himself at the mercy of decisions of the Cabinet of which he was not a member, having, after but one year of office, a wrecking amendment to his Education Bill accepted without reference to him and the Bill dropped with scant courtesy.

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, by Winston Spencer Churchill, pp. 108–9.
[2] Ibid., p. 528.

No wonder that he sulked and ceased to frequent the Education Office. No wonder that he was less than friendly to the young man who had striven so valiantly to help on the Bill. It may be doubted whether he had at any time relished the criticisms which Sadler said he had received in so affable a manner, for Sadler must have seemed to him the merest tyro in office. Up to the end of 1896 at any rate Gorst seems to have been looked upon as the teacher's friend. Many of his speeches on educational affairs were masterpieces of parliamentary oratory. And the *Journal of Education* in the December number of 1896, concluded some comments on matters educational with the words 'If only Sir John were in the Cabinet'.

But he became embittered and his tongue occasionally ran away with him, so that his former friends, including the great body of teachers, ceased to trust to him for guidance. He remained at the educational wheel and had already given it too many turns to neglect it altogether. Something had to be done about the machinery of all education and about secondary education. He had shortly to begin again.

In the meantime Acland rejoiced at the defeat of the Bill. He had never been fully in favour of local government control of education, and hoped that the proposal was irretrievably dead, together with that for helping voluntary schools from the rates. Moreover he hoped that Sadler would no longer be concerned with legislation, but devote himself entirely to research. Sadler certainly had enough on hand in that line and he rejoiced in the cordial and universal applause given to the first volume of his reports.

But soon the terms of Sadler's appointment and his own eagerness to be of service swept him back into the arena. He did indeed decline a post in the Science and Arts Department although it was pressed on him by Kekewich; but he constantly responded to appeals to advise and help in the preparation of Bills for the Registration of Teachers, for the establish-

ment of a Central Authority for Education, for an Advisory Council, all on lines advocated by the Commission on Secondary Education. Many of the things for which he cared most had to wait for several decades before they were embodied in legislation, though much was done. Always he was at the service of all; constantly rising to the occasion with his wisdom and his knowledge, ever ready when consulted, to produce a reasoned summary of the advantages and disadvantages of any course of action. Always he tried to persuade rather than to dictate. Of course he had no dictatorial powers, but he would not have used them if he had. It is said by those who knew him in the Department that he went warily, not trying to rush anyone or anything, but listening to and weighing every contribution made to the subject under discussion. It is possible that some of his superiors in office would have preferred to be told what to think instead of having to study documents which he sent in to them stating the pros and cons of every proposal and leaving it to them to make the final decision. Sadler was far too great an educator to make decisions for others, and paid those with whom he had to deal the compliment of thinking that they would shrink in horror as he would himself from the idea of coming to decisions on matters which they did not fully understand, though he would take endless pains to give them all the material needful for sound judgment.

There was scanty acknowledgment of his work. Morant in particular growled vehemently at the way in which all Sadler did was taken for granted, with no expression of gratitude, public or private, for the immense amount of care he had taken to furnish Gorst, the Duke and Kekewich with the material they needed. There was indeed a constant increase of hostility towards Sadler, of which Morant and others did not hesitate to inform him. In January 1899 Sadler wrote to his wife:

'The air is so stiff with intrigue that I am becoming quite interested in it as if I were a spectator at a comedy, watching

the play, having every now and then to rush in and play a disturbing part. People walk about, so to say, with their fingers on their lips. My back ought to be so sore with biting that I should be in risk of hydrophobia.'

Such remarks in the great mass of letters which have been preserved of this and of all periods of his life are rare. He was too much interested in impersonal things, in the people he met, in the causes he advocated, in the things he was reading, to say much of personal worries or enmities. It is possible that his insouciance in the matter heightened animosity against him. Nothing is so infuriating to adversaries as to have their nastiest venom ignored. The only charge which they seem to have been able to level against him was that he was difficult to work with, an accusation which would set most of those who knew him and those who worked most closely with him agape. His sweetness of nature, his consideration for others, his appreciation of all they did, his kindliness, his swift sympathy made him the easiest of colleagues. It might be said with truth that he made those with whom he worked a little breathless; sometimes it was hard to keep up with his mind. But that is a very different thing from being 'difficult'.

What troubled him more than any personal animus was the whittling away of the hopes he had for educational progress. Reference has already been made to the thwarting of his efforts for a strong and independent Education Council and the failure of all efforts to get a true Teachers' Registration Council established. Another measure for which Sadler pressed with all the power he possessed was the compulsory inspection of all schools. It seemed to him preposterous to insist that children should go to something called a school which might be in crowded quarters, have no proper sanitation and be under the charge of people with no qualifications for teaching or taking charge of children. His position on this matter was much strengthened by his 'Mission to Headmasters' undertaken in the spring of 1899.

He was asked to undertake this mission by the Duke of Devonshire, who wished to know what line would be taken with regard to inspection by the authorities of the great public schools if, when a system of secondary education came into being, a number of Inspectors for Secondary Schools were to be appointed. The President had decided that there should be both Government and University Inspectors. Did the heads of the public schools think that it would be desirable in the national interest and expedient in the then state of public opinion that *all* public endowed secondary schools should be inspected by Government or University Inspectors? Should exceptions be made and, if so, would they give rise to bad feeling? Would it be better on the whole to have all inspection optional for all schools, whether public or private? Emphasis was laid on the importance of keeping the great schools in touch with the rest of the national system (a point on which Sadler laid particular stress), though bureaucratic control was to be deprecated.

The Commission on Secondary Education had given much thought to the question of inspection for all schools, a reform which had to wait for some sixty years before being passed by an Act of Parliament. Sadler, as always ahead of his time, did all he could to promote the idea.

He accomplished his task with his usual celerity. Within eight days he saw the heads of seventeen great schools, girls' as well as boys', and corresponded with such resident members of Oxford and Cambridge as he knew possessed special knowledge of the relations between the universities and secondary schools; also with the honorary secretary of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters; with the chairman of the Council of the Girls' Public Day School Trust and with the honorary secretary of the Association of Preparatory (Secondary) Schools for Boys.

He secured practically unanimous agreement for a draft proposal he had made, suggesting that the Board of Education

(when established) might 'by their Inspectors, or by any University organization which, on the recommendation of the Consultative Committee, may be approved by the Board for the inspection of schools, visit and inspect any school'. Such inspection was to confine itself to general matters and not be concerned with details of curriculum. Playgrounds, buildings, size of rooms, general equipment, proportion of teachers to scholars, aim and character of the work of the schools and nature and professed object of their curricula were to be reported on. The reports were to be for the confidential use only of the Board of Education and the governing bodies of the schools and should be submitted to the heads of the schools before going to the Board or the governing bodies.

Schools conducted for private profit, under the sole control of owners or shareholders were to be inspected only after the consent of the owners and shareholders had been obtained. This exception was proposed as a temporary measure. It was recognized that many such schools were in more need of inspection than others. But their number was vast, Sadler thought about 5000 and as it would necessarily take time to build up a suitable body of inspectors, it was thought well to leave this multitude of schools uninspected for the time being. They would know that their hour would come and so might set their houses in order. The concurrence of the heads of the great public schools would in the meantime help greatly in setting a standard for inspection and encourage the recruitment of inspectors of the right type.

This mission brought the whole question of secondary education once more to the fore, and with it the question of the tripartite division of the Board which was to be reconstituted in 1900.[1]

[1] Mr Sadleir has given quotations from his father's letters, written during February 1899, showing the happy relations which he established with the headmasters of the public schools and his intense appreciation of them and their work (*Michael Ernest Sadler*, a memoir by his son, pp. 188, 189).

The Board of Education Act, 1899, gave the newly constituted Board of Education power to inspect any school supplying secondary education and desiring so to be inspected, 'for the purpose of ascertaining the character of the teaching in the school and the nature of the provisions made for the teaching and the health of the scholars'. These words preserved the 'general' character of the inspection as had been suggested in Sadler's draft. As there were as yet no state secondary schools, it seemed necessary for the time being to make the inspection optional for all secondary schools. So far, so good.

A central organization had by the Act of 1899 been established which merged the powers of the Education Department, the Science and Arts Department, and those of the Charity Commissioners which dealt with Educational Charities. Piecemeal, many of the recommendations of the Commission on Secondary Education were being implemented, but so far nothing had been done to provide secondary education. It was clear, however, that once the State had set up machinery for the supervision of secondary education it could not long delay machinery for its provision. It had been declared to be a lively concern of the State's. Something must be done to provide it.

But before any such provision was made, Sadler's chief assistant, Robert Morant, took two steps which profoundly altered the course of English educational history. The first was his action with regard to higher grade schools and the second was his defection from the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in order to become Sir John Gorst's private secretary.

Much light has been thrown on the period during which these events occurred by voluminous private diaries kept by Sadler from 1888–1903, which came to light after his son had written his father's memoir. What is written here therefore is written with fuller knowledge than that possessed by his son

when he wrote. Private though they are, they deal almost entirely with educational events and his own activities and those of the Board and its personnel.

The Duke of Devonshire announced in the House of Lords in August 1898, that the Consultative Committee would have no statutory standing and no statutory powers. He also indicated that the new organization envisaged for the creation of a central authority would be tripartite, elementary, secondary and technical. Sadler had naturally been disappointed by the first decision, but approved the second. The educational world was all agog to know who would be placed at the head of the secondary division and, outside the Department, was practically unanimous in hoping that Sadler would be appointed. He had unrivalled knowledge and an unrivalled array of friends, including, after his mission to headmasters, the heads of the great public schools. He himself could not be ignorant of the general wish, but with characteristic modesty suggested other people for the post. Various persons within the Education Department, including Morant, as well as many outside it, begged him not to do this, but to hold himself in readiness to undertake work for which he was so eminently suited. He had always shown great concern over the relations between secondary and technical education and it was thought that the best possible solutions of problems concerning the two sections would be found if he were at the head of the secondary one.

But what interested Sadler far more than his personal stake in the matter was the standing of the secondary schools. In the course of 1899 he wrote several memoranda on the subject expressing the importance of making the Principal Assistant Secretaries for elementary, secondary and technical education equal in status. Curiously, in the light of after events, he was afraid of the subordination of secondary to technical education. Two things had been suggested within the Department which justified his view, one that the pay, etc., of the man responsible

for secondary should be less than that of those responsible for elementary and technical education, the other that the technical section should be responsible for scientific teaching. The last proposal, which never came before Parliament, probably because of Sadler's vehement opposition, would to his mind have made secondary education ridiculous. Though not himself a scientist, he had the greatest respect for scientific education and thought it essential that all secondary schools should provide scientific teaching. It has, moreover, to be remembered that up to that time such State-provided education as there was beyond the elementary stage emanated so far as it was legal from the Science and Arts Department of South Kensington, of which Kekewich was head. Sir William Abney, a distinguished photographic chemist, was a leading member of the staff of the Science and Arts Department, and likely to be, as indeed he became, head of the technical section of the Board of Education. Sadler therefore thought that unless each section had its own secretary one or the other would suffer, and given the influence of the Science and Arts Department at that time, secondary education would be the one most likely to be neglected. In the long run the boot proved to be on the other foot and secondary overshadowed technical education. Nothing had been further from Sadler's thoughts. In the main he thought of technical education as higher education, following on sound secondary education. He put as one of the duties which would be entrusted to the secondary department that of concerting 'with the technological department, the important question of the particular type of secondary school which is best designed as a preparation to higher technological training (e.g. Schools of Science)'.

During all the discussions on this matter he had many disputes with Kekewich, which might almost be described as battles. He was often sick at heart after them, weary beyond belief, but never giving in, and never for a moment con-

sidering how his open opposition to the Permanent Secretary might prejudice his own chances of becoming head of the secondary department of the Board. He rallied to his aid the headmasters of the public schools, for he felt it vitally necessary that whatever was done in secondary education for children whose parents could not afford to send them to public schools should not be out of step in quality and aim with whatever was established as best in the country.

Another of the duties entered in his memorandum as among those of the secondary department was that of considering: 'in concert with the elementary education department the urgent and highly contentious problem of the higher grade board schools.'

Here it is necessary to go back a little and refer to the actions of Morant, fully described in Dr Bernard Allen's life of him.[1] In the autumn of 1898 he asked Sadler for an account of the origin of these schools. Sadler promptly supplied him with a long memorandum on the subject which he had probably drawn up when he was working with the Commission on Secondary Education. Morant returned it with many grateful thanks. In it Sadler said he thought the idea of these schools came originally from America (after the failure of W. E. Forster's attempt to organize secondary education in 1869) and that it appeared to have commended itself to 'the ambitions of the clerks and chairmen of the new progressive School Boards and to have been wedged into practice through the opportunity provided by the obviously desirable scheme of providing schools undisturbed by half-timers :

'The name Higher Grade was thus ambiguous from the first. To the ambitious School Board men, it meant intellectually superior; to the affronted ratepayer it meant a higher fee; to the poor struggling clerk it meant a socially higher

[1] *Sir Robert Morant*, Dr. Bernard M. Allen.

grade of school; to the Department in 1879 it seemed at once to harmonize two things:

(*a*) Grading of schools according to the Schools Inquiry Commission;

(*b*) Keeping the ordinary elementary school cheap and nasty.'

In a note after his signature Sadler added, '"Conceived in iniquity" is the thing I am inclined to quote on it all'.

It has already been pointed out that the Commission on Secondary Education, while making it clear that these schools had no legal claim on the rates, showed that they met a very special need in England: a need so urgent that it was essential that something should be done to meet it. Until something official was done the schools increased in number, Kekewich having taken them under his wing and having done everything he could to encourage their foundation, making what were almost missionary journeys into different parts of the country for the purpose.

Morant's first step in relation to these schools was to comment on them in an article on the 'Organization of Schools in Switzerland' in Vol. III of *Special Reports*, published in September 1898. The passage in which he did so said that the Swiss had :

'learned from two centuries of democratic development to assume as a very condition of national life, a collectivist and communal basis for public education with no limits upon the rights of a locality to spend its own funds upon education and look askance rather at the private provision of education than at any extension of its growth by means of public funds. . . . In England, many School Boards have desired to improve their Higher Education and to extend its scope by providing Day Schools of a Higher Grade; but they have frequently been told by the Central Authority that they cannot take any such steps as would involve the School Board in any expense for this purpose, that it would be illegal to spend their rates in such a manner, inasmuch as they were only empowered by the Act of 1870 to use the rates to provide Elementary Education'.

This, as has already been seen, was no new discovery. Nor did Morant pretend that it was, since he quoted instances of the central authority warning local authorities of the illegality of their actions in providing funds for higher grade schools out of the rates. The actual cases in which this occurred seem to boil down to two, Southampton in 1886 and Brighton in 1888, although Morant wrote of their frequency. It was unlikely that they would be numerous when Kekewich, who had become Permanent Secretary in 1890, was so ardent an advocate of the schools. Kekewich seems to have accepted, perhaps rather more than accepted, the conclusion of the Commission on secondary education that these schools usefully filled a gap which would finally be dealt with by provision for secondary education of which the best of the higher grade schools would form part.

The Swiss report was of course seen by Sadler, and, like all others, sent to Kekewich (for Sadler was most scrupulous in submitting every report before publication to the Permanent Secretary). Kekewich may not have read it attentively, or may have thought that the language in which the sentences about control of education were couched, deprecated English limitations about the use of rates and favoured the greater freedom of the Swiss system. In any case he raised no objection to the report.

Morant's next step was to summon Dr William Garnett, secretary of the London Technical Education Board, call his attention to the note in his own article on Swiss Education which bore on higher grade schools, and furnish him with all the data whereby Morant had become convinced that the School Boards could be condemned for illegal action. Garnett, so primed, induced Cockerton, auditor of the Local Government Board, to disallow payments for higher grade schools made by School Boards from the rates. This led to the famous Cockerton judgment, made two years after Morant first took

action in the matter, which pronounced the support of the schools from the rates illegal. A hasty Act had to be passed to give these schools a further temporary lease of life, since most depended on the rates.

Sadler seems to have been completely unaware of the part his subordinate had played in the matter. Morant had acted without his blessing or knowledge. There is in the diaries no mention of the matter until the summer of 1899, by which time Sadler recognized and welcomed the hostility between the County Councils and the School Boards on the subject of higher grade schools. He had never liked the higher grade schools, thinking, as did Morant, that they stood in the way of the establishment of secondary schools for which they were unsatisfactory substitutes. Also that they used funds which should go to the improvement of elementary education. So he was openly pleased when there were signs of their illegality being made an effective barrier to their further promotion and indeed to their preservation. But he would himself never have dreamed of setting on foot machinery to destroy the schools without saying a word to the head of the Department. Morant may have imagined that Sadler would think the end so desirable as to justify the means.

So much for Morant's first step, which did much to change the mechanism of English education. His second step in November 1899, was to accept the post of private secretary to Sir John Gorst who had specifically asked for his services. Gorst and Morant had known each other well at Toynbee Hall and Gorst had doubtless noted that Morant was a man who would and could 'get things done'. It was clear that something big must be done in English education.

Morant had expressed to Sadler the greatest contempt for Gorst and his rotten ideas and Sadler was bewildered by Morant's willingness to accept the post, especially as he knew that Gorst's treatment of his former secretary was not such

as to make the position alluring to anyone else. Morant had frequently inveighed against Gorst to Sadler, repeating to him the things which Gorst had said against him and jibing at his educational policy.

Up to that moment Sadler had thought the world of Morant. He wrote in his diary on 3 July, 1899: 'A very pleasant talk with R.L.M. Two men could not work more happily together than he and I. And happily we both can take refuge in the humorous side.' He had constantly referred to Morant as a 'grand' or a 'splendid' fellow. It was a shock when Morant, who had frequently expressed fervent admiration for the head of the Office of Special Inquiries, wished to leave it even temporarily to work under a man of whom he had spoken with extreme contempt. Moreover the defection of Morant from an exceedingly busy office meant leaving an almost intolerable burden of work on its chief, especially as the Treasury from the first declared that no funds would be forthcoming for anyone to take his place.

Morant's explanation for his wish to take up the new work, distasteful though it was to him to work for Gorst, was that the post might give him a chance for pressing for the appointment of Sadler as head of the Secondary Education Department of the Board. He offered to give Sadler the additional payment which he would earn so that Sadler might use it to secure additional help in the office. This Sadler declined. For the first time Sadler's confidence in him was shaken. It had been unwavering for four years. None the less Sadler, after a conversation with him and R. P. Scott (joint secretary of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters), an intimate friend of Morant's, decided not to oppose the transfer, which was supported by Kekewich. And after Morant had begged for the resumption of that complete confidence between them which had made their early association so happy, he did his utmost to comply. He wrote in his diary that he only blamed Morant for

not having at once turned down the whole idea, but that as he had not been swift enough to do so he was not to be blamed for accepting the post, though Sadler thought his willingness to serve immediately under a man whom he despised as much as he did Gorst showed a lack of 'moral taste'. None the less he was prepared to forget that and resume the former happy relations. His diaries show how his efforts to do so were again and again thwarted by some new action of Morant's. The episodes were in themselves trifling, such as his discovery that Morant had repeated something he had told him in the strictest confidence which affected a member of the staff, to the man in question, on no better pretext than that it was awkward to work in the same building with him and not tell him. Or again a failure on the part of Morant to keep an undertaking made to another man . . . and so on. Then R. P. Scott told Sadler that Morant had explained to him that his reason for accepting the post with Gorst was financial. With a growing family he needed more money. Sadler noted in his diary, 'he offered the extra money to me'. The constant repetition of events of like character not only prevented the restoration of full confidence but broadened the rift between the two men. Sadler's distress was great, at times poignant, and when a year later Morant received an appointment as Examiner in the Board, Sadler was relieved that he was not returning to the Office of Special Inquiries.

The month of November, 1899, was a bad one for Sadler. More and more pressure was being brought to bear on him and on the educational authorities to secure his appointment as head of the new secondary department of the Board. Many people begged him to apply for it. He was dubious about the suitability of anyone already in the employment of the Board making such an application. He therefore wrote to Kekewich to secure his opinion on the advisability of such a step. He had learned that more than seven of the most important educational bodies in England as well as a number of

persons holding influential posts proposed to address memorials to the Duke, telling him of the satisfaction they would feel if Sadler were appointed. Such action had of course been entirely unsolicited by him, but they understood that before such addresses could be considered it was necessary for him to offer himself as a candidate. He told his friends that he could not do so unless he had the approval of the Permanent Secretary. He asked for an interview in which they could talk over the matter.

In reply he received a ferocious snub from Kekewich ignoring his request for an interview and telling him of the impropriety of any Civil Servant applying for promotion. Sadler replied quite cheerfully, pointing out that he had not applied, but had simply asked for authoritative advice, which he took. Later he became convinced that the post would not be offered to him except on conditions which he would be unable to accept. He was therefore able to be glad and relieved when, early in 1900, the post was given to the Hon. W. N. Bruce, whom he had always thought well suited for it.

Meanwhile the work of the office became increasingly difficult. He was able to secure a certain amount of voluntary labour to replace Morant, though naturally such labour could not be so skilled. The thought of resignation had already entered his mind, but there was a good Yorkshire strain of doggedness in him which prevented him from throwing up a job he thought worth doing because of difficulties which might disappear. Chief among the things he wished to complete was the first series of reports. He thought that if he could, as he eventually did, get the first eleven volumes through the press, the next series, which had already been planned in his fertile brain, might be left to someone else. And he had the great satisfaction of receiving the appreciation of educationists from all over the world, as the reports appeared one after another, and feeling he was winning for an English effort praise for some-

thing the like of which had been seen nowhere before. Professor Kandel, the distinguished author of monumental work on comparative education, states that he owed all his inspiration to the work done by Sadler during these years in the Education Department and Board. But even in this work, removed though it was from the realm of politics, difficulties began to appear.

At the beginning of 1900 exhibits had to be found in Edinburgh for an educational exhibition in Paris. Sadler was asked to go and make the selection, urged thereto by Morant, though it was hard to see what his standing was in the matter, with a hint that if he did not agree Kekewich might insist. For once Sadler refused to do something he was asked to do. He took the line that his presence in the office was more needed than his presence in Paris, that it was not part of the business of the Director of Special Inquiries to select material for an exhibition and that the importance of the whole thing was being exaggerated. He firmly refused to go and no further effort was made to persuade him to do so, nor is there any evidence that Kekewich took any part in the affair.

After the appointment of Morant as Gorst's private secretary it would appear that Sadler was consulted very little about educational legislation, though he was always apt to be called on for information relating to its possibilities since no other man knew the educational set-up in his own and other countries as he did.

The power and influence of Morant grew by leaps and bounds. Much has been written of this remarkable man. And there can surely have been few of whom such widely divergent views have been expressed by those who worked with him closely. 'The greatest man I ever knew': 'a dual personality': 'a combination of idealism and low cunning': 'a great driving force, who did not care what he drove, so long as he drove it and was known to have driven it.' And so forth. Those whom he helped and perhaps some of those he flattered, for he was a

master of the art of flattery, speak of him with enthusiasm. Those whom he wronged or humiliated shudder at the sound of his name. He certainly 'got things done'. There stands to his credit the getting through of the Act of 1902, which it is thought would not have come into existence without him, and of which more will be said later. That he showed much kindness to many individuals and gave valuable help to many important causes is unquestioned. Albert Mansbridge bears witness to the support he gave to adult education. Margaret Macmillan bore eloquent testimony to what he did to help the Nursery School movement. He did much for the health of children during his period of office as Permanent Secretary of the Board. As chairman of the National Insurance Commission after he had had to leave the Board of Education in 1911, he made the machinery of the Insurance Act effective, put into his post by Lloyd George who had been his bitterest opponent over the Act of 1902, but had evidently spotted him as a man who got things done. And, as with Gorst, Morant had no hesitation in accepting office under a man for whom he had no regard. There have been appreciative assessments of him and his work in recent numbers of *Public Administration* by Mr Chester and Miss Violet Markham. For the purposes of this book it is only necessary to consider him and his work as they affected Sadler and Sadler's contributions to education and educational policy. In such a matter it is not possible entirely to avoid personalities, for they enter into the relations of the two men and therefore into what happened in education.

In less than four years after Morant became Gorst's private secretary he had by-passed Gorst, supplanted Kekewich and ousted Sadler. And up to within a few months of his undertaking his new work he had been, as for the preceding four years, on closely affectionate terms with Sadler, confiding to him his most intimate affairs, turning to him for sympathy in

everything that happened and apparently thinking the world of Sadler's educational powers and vision.

Sadler wrote of him after his death in a private memorandum that when he joined the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports as Assistant Director of Special Inquiries:

'he was as near a saint as might be—a sadhu or a Buddhist monk. . . . At a later stage in our partnership . . . there was a change in him. The restlessly ambitious side of his nature came uppermost and again he found delight in intrigue. But with all this went an eager untiring interest in his job and a craving for opportunities to exercise his talent for negotiation and leadership. He worked night and day. He was impatient for results. He preferred pliant and pliable subordinates. At heart he was authoritarian. At critical moments in his career (which he identified with his duty) he was not scrupulous. . . .

'He had an instinctive dislike for the two-mindedness of England and for the administrative and legislative delay to which it led. He was impatient, masterful, prejudiced and a little reckless. I think he would have seen his way, if he had been a young German in 1933, to serve Hitler strenuously—and he might have been 'purged' later. . . . He hated the School Boards—for some good reasons and for many bad. He did not quite know where he was in English politics. But he hastened some important changes in administration. He was regarded by some people as a 'good Civil Servant'. But there was a vein of indiscipline and duplicity in his character which made him an adventurer rather than a trustworthy subordinate.'

III

The judgment of Sir Arthur Salter,[1] who worked with and under Morant in connection with the work of the Insurance Commission, matches well with that of Sadler. He describes Morant's majestic appearance and adds:

'You expected at first that he would have something of Asquith's massive quality and strength. But the next impres-

[1] Minister of State for Economic Affairs, 1951.

sion was very different. It was that he was excitable, temperamental, with something occasionally almost hysterical in mood and manner.

'This second impression (which for the moment suggested weakness) was, however, as far from the truth as the first. There was nervous excitement but also unusual nervous force at the service of his purpose.

'With this temperament he was by nature and by habit—both in the better and the worse sense—a maker of intrigue, advancing on his goal by several devious personal channels. He had as a natural consequence many personal instruments, some devoted servants, few equal friends and many violent enemies among those of a status comparable with his own.

'He was creative, dynamic, indefatigable, domineering, intriguing.

'He was in the sphere in which I saw him at work, passionately interested in medical research and in preventive measures (a public health service) . . . he disliked the emphasis in the Insurance Act on sickness benefit, etc. etc. . . . He was not, in the Civil Service sense, loyal to Lloyd George, whom he hated and distrusted. . . . He undoubtedly overstepped the recognized limits of a civil servant's action in his association with the doctors when they were fighting the Government's Insurance Act. But he was sincere as well as creative; and he left his mark on health insurance (as he had done on education) to an extent that he could perhaps not have done if his methods had been more orthodox. . . . In his own office the principal officials were either sheep or goats—his devoted servants and favourites or passively opposed and resentful. On a near view those who were not in the former class thought him unfair, ruthless and hysterical. In retrospect, however, it can be seen that his creative and dynamic qualities made him a great man.'

There can be no doubt that wherever he was and whatever he did Morant 'left a mark'. History has become somewhat critical of the mark which he left on education. And the question arises how far he was indeed interested in education. It will be seen from Sadler's account of him that he believed him

to be deeply interested, but other evidence suggests that he was interested rather in the creation of an efficient administrative machine than in education itself. And it seems very doubtful whether he was truly interested in educational research as compared with educational administration. His contributions to the special reports are much concerned with administration and the ruthlessness with which he finally made it all but impossible for the research work of the office to be carried on indicates that he cared for that very little.

Looking back over half a century to the causes leading to Sadler's resignation it seems that both his and Sir A. Salter's accounts of Morant do much to explain the diverse opinions held about him. He may have disliked the two-mindedness of England, but he was himself two-souled. He used methods which his admirers described as unorthodox, others as unscrupulous. His methods had much to do with the breach between him and Sadler.

Before discussing the events leading to Sadler's resignation it may be well to glance at the parallel and contrast between the lives and experience of the two, Sadler being the senior by only two years. Both came of families of narrow means. But whereas Sadler had always been able to help his family to pay for his education by scholarships to Rugby and to Trinity College, Oxford, Morant a delicate boy, doubtless outgrowing his strength, failed to do so and was only able to go to Winchester through charitable help. Again Sadler obtained a first in classical honour moderations while Morant only secured a third. Then Sadler, with apparent ease and taking advantage of the best that Oxford had to give in every other way, sailed into the First Class in the greatest of all Oxford schools, that of Literae Humaniores; Morant secured a first in theology by remaining an extra year at Oxford and working for not less than twelve hours a day for six days in the week. When the first class was won his mother, who had sacrificed much for his education, was

smitten by an illness which made it impossible for her to rejoice with him. Sadler, who had been something of the spoilt darling of Oxford, had devoted parents to rejoice in his achievements and to watch while he considered the various posts which came his way and soon saw him happily married and carrying all before him in adult education work in Oxford. Morant, with no family to sympathize, for his father had died very early, having lost his faith, had abandoned his intention of entering the Church, and had difficulty in finding suitable work. Having, after an interval of doubt and waiting for a suitable post, gone out to Siam as tutor in the royal family and swiftly risen to a position of considerable influence, he was dismissed with scant ceremony. He was in Siam when the British Government informed Siam that no help would be forthcoming against French aggression, whereby the Siamese lost 100,000 square miles of territory. Morant was thought to have been powerful in supporting this statement which was as unpopular as it was true.

Once again Morant was without a definite post, until he went from Toynbee Hall to the Office of Special Inquiries. It is near the truth to say that his spirit had been marked by failure as Sadler's had been by success. Whenever success came his way it, or his satisfaction in it, had been destroyed. His experience was that the world and the people in it were unlikely to be kind to him; whereas Sadler took the goodness and the kindness of the world for granted, until the contrary was proved. Sadler's attitude of appreciation and confidence must have been intensely soothing to Morant and all evidence goes to show that he found it so. But still he felt that to get or keep any position fighting was necessary, while Sadler hardly thought any personal position worth fighting for. Both were anxious to get things done, but the one thought all could be achieved by suasion, the other by battle. A colleague in the Department said that Sadler was charming but Morant

frightening. At the same time Morant was prepared to throw overboard things which he thought could not be carried, but which Sadler would have worked hard and patiently to retain. Sadler's methods were therefore slower than Morant's in the short run. Had he had his way they might have been swifter in the end.

Not many letters have survived from the last four years of Sadler's time in the Civil Service. But his diaries tell most of the tale. Happy though he was in his own office, wave after wave of disillusion swept over him with regard to the Department in general. It must be acknowledged that his standards were somewhat too high for ordinary mortals. Essentially modest, he was almost unable to believe that anyone could be less disinterested, less hardworking than he was himself. He was for instance almost naïvely shocked when told that Kekewich had said that when he left the door of the office at night, he never gave a single thought to his work until he got into the train next morning, when he began to work at once. Sadler's comment was: 'What an amazing confession . . . Things may well be in a muddle and anyhow . . . Think what English education might have been had we had a real leader and thinker and organizer at the top. It sickens me to hear all this. The only virtue is its simplicity and unselfconsciousness.' That was written in July 1899. After all Kekewich is not the only man holding an important position who has slammed the door of his mind at the same time as that of his office. But there was worse to come and by the time it came Sadler had lost all respect for his superiors in office and, most devastatingly, for Morant. For early in 1900 he became convinced that Morant was involved in intrigue against Kekewich.

As has been seen, Sadler had no high opinion of Kekewich and had long thought him unfit for the post he held. But that was very different from plotting against him. Sadler's standards of loyalty were as high as his other standards, and when he

became convinced that there were plans afoot to force a resignation from Kekewich he became desperately unhappy. It was a question of the end justifying the means. Sadler thought the departure of Kekewich was to be desired. But he thought it intolerable that it should be brought about by means which were not straightforward. And in this instance, unlike any other, he was worried about his own position, for he wrote that Morant had been regarded as his *alter ego* and that he would therefore inevitably be held responsible for the plotting. He thought his own honour was at stake and reached such depths of despair that he wrote that if it were not for his wife and child he would gladly resign his post and fight in the Boer War. He was evidently overwrought at this time and intensely agonized over the breach with Morant, almost feeling that he could never make an intimate friend again, so close had they been, so absolute was the trust he had put in him.

Not only Morant but all in office in the department filled him with dismay. He wrote in July 1900, that in educational plans where he assumed an intelligent and industrious and courageous Central Government, they assumed an ignorant, slack and time-serving one.

For the remainder of the year 1900 there are few entries in the diaries about educational issues. He was too depressed to write much on the subject. And he was working immensely hard at his reports, sometimes from 9 a.m. till midnight. He seems to have left departmental issues thankfully on one side. Never after this point did he animadvert on Kekewich, for all his chivalry rose up on behalf of a man who he thought had been ill-treated. There is no mention of the Cockerton judgment, or of the part played by Morant in bringing it about, though it seems likely that Sadler discovered it in the autumn of 1900. It must have been a serious blow to Kekewich to have the higher grade schools which he had done so much to promote swept off the educational map, nor can he have

appreciated the transfer of the Board of Education library from his own special preserve of South Kensington to Whitehall, nor the manner of the absorption of the Science and Arts Department into the Board of Education. He himself declared that he wanted to see them integrated but had hardly looked forward to the complete disappearance of the Science and Arts Department with all its powers. None of these things, however, made him resign, though his relations with everyone, except Sadler, became increasingly bitter. Sadler thought the things which were done added to the efficiency of the Department, but was so sorry for the way in which matters had been conducted that he ever after treated Kekewich, and spoke of him, with kindness.

Morant did not succeed in getting rid of Kekewich until the autumn of 1902, when he was within a few months of the retiring age and was asked to take the leave due to him and not return, being given the while his full salary and receiving his full pension. The grounds for his being asked to do this were that it would be best for his successor to be in the saddle before the Act of 1902 was implemented. He was extremely angry about it, though financially he did not suffer and it might have been expected that he would be glad to shake off his feet the dust of a department which he thought had treated him ill. The reason for making a change at that particular moment was sound, and Sadler would not have denied it, sorry though he was to see Morant in the post of Permanent Secretary. As has been seen, Sadler also concurred in Morant's opinion of Gorst, who became more and more difficult as time went on, and indulged a vehement dislike of Kekewich. The *Journal of Education*, which at an earlier stage had been a strong ally of Gorst's, turned against him after a speech which he made about the higher grade schools in July 1901 and complained that instead of letting the School Boards down lightly for illegal action he 'seizes the opportunity to flout and mock and jeer and

dance upon them and scalp them before the life is out'.[1]

Again it can be agreed that it was good to by-pass Gorst. But there may be doubts about Morant's action in going over his head to Balfour, so ignoring the man who was technically responsible for educational legislation. Sadler thought him disloyal to Gorst as to Kekewich, indeed he thought him disloyal in the very spirit in which he had accepted the post of Gorst's private secretary. Many men have achieved fame by being ruthless about the means they used to serve their ends. And since as the world tends to measure greatness by success, probably most of the world's great men have been of this type. But passing from Morant's treatment of Kekewich and Gorst to his treatment of Sadler it is difficult to see what his aim was, or why he wanted to be rid of him.

Sadler's office was brilliantly successful. It was building up a body of educational knowledge the like of which had never before been seen. It constantly supplied the Board with information which it required for any purpose. It was not possible to quote a single instance in which the office had not done what was wanted in this way. It promoted good feeling with teachers of all degrees. It was open, and charmingly open, to all inquirers. No one could suggest, or indeed did suggest, that it failed in any of its duties. Its head was throughout the world regarded as the most outstanding of English educationists, certainly of his own time and possibly of all time. It would have seemed that it was in the highest interests of the Board to retain his services.

Why then did Morant want to get rid of him? Many explanations may be and have been given. That of ambition does not seem to come into the picture, though Sadler thought it was the devil of ambition which changed Morant from the saint he had thought him to the man he became. For, after Morant became Permanent Secretary, Sadler held and could hold no

[1] *Journal of Education*, August 1901.

post which Morant coveted. Another and more possible explanation is jealousy of the man who had more knowledge, more eloquence, more, infinitely more, popularity than he had himself. He may have disliked the fact that when inquirers came to the Board they came to see Sadler rather than himself. That possibility cannot be ruled out.

There is a more charitable explanation, that Morant, as has already been suggested, did not see the point of the office, that educational research seemed to him waste of money and of time, that he left the office of Special Inquiries because he wanted to be doing administrative work rather than research. Another explanation is also possible, namely that he suffered under the loss of Sadler's enthusiastic approval and could not bear the distrust which succeeded it. He had basked in the warmth of it and fell from it into what must have seemed an ice-house of suspicion. Even indifference from Sadler after intense approval would strike chill to the bones of anyone with any sensitiveness. And Morant was sensitive. He does not seem to have been at all appreciative in the most halcyon days of his friendship with Sadler of advice not to publish an anonymous article, not because Sadler thought it wrong for members of his office to write to the press but because of its particular contents. Morant was enraged if anyone detected him in a mistake. Sadler, who took for granted that anyone would be as grateful as he was himself for being told of a mistake as for being told of a smut on the nose, may have offended in telling Morant of mistakes. But unless some fresh evidence comes to light from Morant's side to explain why he acted as he did the matter must remain something of a mystery. He may even have been unconscious that his actions were calculated to force Sadler's resignation; but it is rather to be wondered at that the resignation did not come sooner than that it came when it did.

The final facts are to be gleaned from the Blue Book of

Papers relating to the Resignation of the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports of the 18 May, 1903 (Cd. 1602). Since this volume is not easily available, somewhat voluminous extracts are given from it, as well as some account of the events preceding it.

From the time that Morant became Gorst's private secretary Sadler was shut out of all discussions on educational policy. Morant cannot be held responsible for that, Gorst's attitude to Sadler being what it was. But it is important to note it because it absolves Sadler from any responsibility for educational legislation, including the Act of 1902, except in so far as he had been closely concerned in the conception of such legislation. It was a satisfaction to him that a central organization was set up, though a disappointment that there was a non-active Board instead of a Ministry, a President instead of a Minister. Again he was delighted that local authorities should have the responsibility for education throughout the country, though in the sweeping away of the School Boards the Act of 1902 went beyond his hopes. He had not thought that would be possible for some time to come. It has been related that he had suggested the scheme for Part III authorities so securing that secondary education, which at that time was only conceived of as something for a minority of school children, should be in the hands of a body covering a wider area than could be dealt with by smaller authorities.[1] It will be questioned to-day whether that was a wise suggestion, giving as it did a sense of inferiority to the bodies dealing with lesser populations. It had the fault of all compromises in satisfying no one. But at least it did for the moment to some extent meet the desire of small authorities not to be 'left out' of things educational.

Reference has already been made to Sadler's disappointment over the Education Council and the Registration of Teachers; both almost integral parts of the recommendations

[1] Cf p. 60.

of the Commission on Secondary Education and for both of which he had pressed valiantly. For the part of the Act over which there was the greatest amount of controversy and on which it nearly foundered, the giving of rate-aid to voluntary schools, he had no responsibility. He had during the controversy about the 1896 Bill, which proposed to do the same thing, been much exercised in his mind; recognizing on the one hand that the country could or would not afford to dispense with the voluntary schools, which formed the greater part of the provision for elementary education, and on the other that the ratepayers would resent the use of rates for their support.

He gave an immense amount of thought to this subject and, as will be seen later, arrived at clear-cut views on it and did much work in maintaining peace among the various bodies concerned in the matter. But for the time being he took no part in the controversy.

For a while, indeed, things were easier for him, and the publications of his office became something of a stream. In this he was encouraged by Kekewich, who at an earlier stage had been tepid about them, telling him that he would like to see two a year coming from the office. And at that pace they came, large tomes, eagerly sought after by all interested in education in all countries. Kekewich, indeed, probably touched by the sympathy of the younger man and as convinced as were all who really knew him of his kindly good faith, seems to have been encouraging to Sadler throughout the remainder of his time and to have shown considerable confidence in him, telling him he did not need to read anything Sadler published anonymously; he preferred to be ignorant of the authorship.

And more and more was Sadler hailed as an orator in educational circles, being invited here, there and everywhere, thousands hanging on his words in America where he had a most dramatic success; and he constantly published articles,

many being speeches he had delivered. Whatever his heart-burning about educational administration in England, his enthusiasm and his zeal in the educational cause never flagged, and during these last years at the Board he won the interest of innumerable people and their lifelong devotion to education. Not only was Professor Kandel inspired by Sadler's pioneering lead to do creative work in comparative education, but Albert Mansbridge, maker of the Workers' Educational Association as of several other educational structures, declares that he doubts whether he would ever have gone on with his work for adult education but for the encouragement given him by Sadler in the late nineties. It has been seen that Sadler had been dissatisfied with the response from manual workers to his own efforts to help them. And, there being no trace of envy in his disposition, he welcomed with delight a movement which gave more hope of attracting those to whom he thought facilities for higher education should be offered.

Then again there was Philip Hartog who, entirely through Sadler's influence, left the paths of science for those of education and embarked on a life of distinguished and pioneering activity in the world of educational research and administration. It is good to know that, soon after the breach with Morant, Sadler found in Hartog a staunch friend with whom he retained unbroken and happy relations to the end of his life, the friendship being one which was cemented in their mutual interest in all things pertaining to their life's work.

There were, therefore, great compensations for withdrawal from active administration, however galling it may have been to see mistakes being made which a little consultation might have averted. For the work of the office, together with all the contacts which it and Sadler's ever-rising fame brought, was engrossing enough for any man.

IV

But it was in the work of the office that the final trouble began. For under the new dispensation it became increasingly difficult to carry it on efficiently. Constant demands were made on it by the Board for information, often at extremely short notice, demands which could not be met unless the research work were abandoned, even by the overwork of an extremely small staff already worked to the maximum, including the Director. Sadler had been very anxious to get a scientist on to the staff, feeling that the research work of a modern education research office could not be dealt with adequately without one. He would have liked to have Hartog, whose ability, industry and disinterestedness he knew. But obstacle after obstacle was put in the way and that particular effort failed. Then there was the question of the meagre office staff, for the increase of which Sadler pleaded again and again without success. To all these difficulties was finally added the refusal of trivial sums for the collection of material for the reports, material which at small cost could be secured by people who were well qualified and going abroad for other purposes.

The work of the office was set out in detail by Sadler in a memorandum presented to the Board on 27 February, 1903:

(A) Collection, both in this country and abroad, of educational information for official use.

Some of this information was of a strictly confidential nature.

(B) Reception and guidance of, and provision of personal introductions to, visitors coming from other countries, with official introductions to the Board, for the purpose of studying educational questions in England.

He pointed out that this work, as could well be imagined when it was conducted under his guidance, had become a heavy and important part of the work of the office.

(C) Advice to English students of education, teachers, members of local authorities, etc., who are going abroad to study educational methods and institutions.

(D) Preparation of the series of Special Reports on educational subjects.

These have already been referred to. When he wrote, 11 volumes had been issued and 7 more were in an advanced stage of preparation. Sadler's aim was to make them a standard work of reference for the student of educational method and administration.

They contained over 200 papers, 14 of which were by Sadler alone and 5 more in collaboration with someone else. Some of his papers were compiled from official documents, but many from knowledge gained by personal visits.

(E) Supervision of the exchange of official publications between the Board and all Colonial and Foreign Educational Departments.

He pointed out that this work was important, involving careful discrimination and much correspondence.

(F) Care of the reference library of the Board of Education. This library had before Sadler's time been lodged at South Kensington.

The whole charge of the library was in the hands of the Director and his small staff.

(G) Organization and charge of the lending library of educational books for H.M. Inspectors.

The idea and initiation of this library was Sadler's. Without his support and interest the project fizzled out.

(H) Supervision of the Extract Books of the Board.

The cuttings were preserved in the library.

(I) Answering questions on educational matters transmitted by foreign governments through the Foreign Office to the Board of Education.

Sadler noted that important inquiries of this nature were received in increasing numbers from all the chief European governments.

(J) Answering general queries on educational questions re-

ceived from local authorities, educational societies and individual students.

It is clear from the notes attached by Sadler to this function of his office how great was the interest which had been aroused in the bodies mentioned by his reports.

(L) Preparation, for the first time, of a statistical return of the boys and girls attending secondary schools in England.

(M) Inquiry into the curricula, staffing, attendance, etc., at public secondary and higher grade schools in a number of selected areas in England.

(N) Preparation, with the co-operation of the Colonial Office, of reports on Colonial education and on industrial training for backward races.

Finally, in addition to its own specific duties, the office undertook the following pieces of work at the request of the Board of Education.

(O) Preliminary arrangement of the British Collective Educational Exhibit for the Paris Exhibition, 1900.

(P) Since October 1901, the nomination of teachers of all grades for appointment by the Colonial Office for service in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony; the registration of all other applications (other than from Scotland) for educational appointments in these Colonies; and the answering of all questions and conduct of correspondence arising out of this work of registry and selection.[1]

This work was done by the Director, an Assistant Director (for when Morant finally left the office it had become possible to appoint another Assistant), Miss Beard who ran the library, a woman clerk, a translator and a messenger boy.

It will be recognized that the work done by this small number of people went far beyond the list, formidable as it is, given above. The Director was here, there and everywhere,, taking in his stride such things as the mission to headmasters, getting into touch with every type of school and making

[1] Cd. 1602, p. 41–4.

friends for the Education Department as well as himself with every type of teacher.

After the accession of Morant to power when Kekewich left the office, Sadler met ever greater insistence on the idea that the business of his office was to supply the Board with information. Without serious detriment to its research work the office could not do more than it was doing already unless there were an increase in staff and in office accommodation. And when one refusal succeeded another for the expenditure of small sums on research he felt it time to make a strong protest. If he had the necessary staff he could do all that was required, not otherwise. He had in making his application to face not only a new Permanent Secretary but other newly appointed higher authorities. Sir William Anson, Warden of All Souls and Burgess of Oxford University, had become Parliamentary Secretary in the place of Gorst. Mr Lowther in his notes on Anson's parliamentary career telling of the early interventions of the new Parliamentary Secretary in educational matters and in particular in supporting the second reading of the Education Bill, says that 'Gorst, though an extremely able Parliamentarian, had on many occasions fallen into the temptation of saying 'smart' things at the expense of his chiefs, and it is possible that in the Education Department his nimble mind found the slower movements of his chief, the Duke of Devonshire, somewhat restrictive. The secrets of the working of the office have not been revealed, but at all events during the mêlée Sir John Gorst surrendered the position of Vice-President of the Committee of the Council and Sir William Anson succeeded him as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education'. And then the Marquis of Londonderry became President of the Board. Of him Dr Hensley Henson,[1] who edited the notes on Anson's parliamentary career, wrote that he was 'a nobleman of much

[1] Anson. Parliament, 1899–1914 (Ed. *Hensley Henson, Notes on Parliamentary Career* by Lowther).

political experience, to whom he [Anson] bore constant and grateful testimony and whose personal friendship he valued, but whom not the most partial friend would have designated as specially qualified for the supreme direction of national education'.[1] He seems indeed to have been a charming and kindly person, but all evidence goes to show that though he greatly appreciated Sadler, he was completely at a loss to understand what was happening under his eyes in the Board.

Anson's position was curious and unprecedented, coming as it were between the President and the Permanent Secretary. He managed to keep things harmonious there, though he was not so happy in his dealings with Morant and Sadler. It may be said, without blame to any official, that the whole position was fraught with difficulties, more especially for those who had no earlier knowledge of the personnel concerned.

It is inevitable that those appointed to high office should rely in the first instance on permanent officials. More especially would this be the case with anything so complicated as the Board of Education and with a man who, like Morant, had the fame of putting through a great Act and had the confidence and the support of the Prime Minister in so doing. It was the 'Balfour Act', but the framing and the fighting had been largely Morant's. It was even said that he was the only man who was ever known to have come triumphantly out of a dispute with Chamberlain. It was small wonder therefore that he and his views were treated with respect by Lord Londonderry and Sir William Anson. It was also small wonder that Sadler attributed anything done by them to Morant's suasions; though Lord Londonderry, not very clearly seeing what all the fuss was about, did not carry all the suggestions with which he had apparently been primed to the lengths which were at first indicated. Of this there were two instances in January, 1903.

[1] *Sir William Anson 1843–1914*. Edited by Hubert Hensley Henson D.D.

The first concerned a letter signed 'Sigma' which appeared in *The Times*, which had an appreciative second leader on it giving no indication that it was written by anyone at the Board, but saying that it was evidently the work of someone of considerable knowledge and experience. Lord Londonderry sent for Sadler and asked him in confidence whether he was the author? Sadler said that as he had asked in confidence he would admit, also in confidence, that he was. They then had a discussion on the propriety of civil servants writing to the press on matters affecting their own departments, all in a most friendly spirit. Sadler held strong views on the subject; he thought that it was not only permissible, but desirable that, given that no official secrets were revealed, civil servants should, if they had knowledge not acquired through their connection with their department, give the country the benefit of their opinions on matters before the public. Matthew Arnold had done this freely when an inspector of schools, though some of his communications to the press did not fully obey the conditions which Sadler thought essential. Morant had also done it on more than one occasion. The letter in question was of the most innocuous character. It made four suggestions:

1. That on each of the larger local education committees there should be a representative of Oxford and Cambridge (one person representing both) and a representative of any other university with which the committee had local interests.

2. That on every new committee there should be at least one representative of secondary schools for boys and one for girls, such representation being recognized jointly both by the local schools and by any non-local school in the neighbourhood.

3. That efficient private schools should be recognized by representation of teachers from such schools.

4. That there should be representation of teachers of all types.

Lord Londonderry said that he thought the letter quite excellent and that he agreed with everything in it. At the same

time he wished that he had been consulted beforehand and Sadler promised that he would never again send a letter on educational subjects to the press without first showing it to the President.

The letter had presumably been identified by Morant, who had received a memorandum on the same lines from Sadler, who had doubtless hoped that if its proposals met with approval the central Government might advise local authorities to act on them. Incidentally it proved lamentable that something of the kind was not done. Only too many of the local authorities failed to invite people of any educational standing, whether from the universities or from schools, to take part in their deliberations, with disastrous results both to the work of the authority and to the feelings of the teachers who were ignored. Sadler had concluded his letter by pointing out that our problem in England was 'how to combine in one authority the element of national as well as of local experience; and how to avoid being dominated by the expert, which is the Scylla of bureaucracy, and flouting the expert which is the Charybdis of ignorant democracy'.

Morant, however, had treated the memorandum in such a way as to make Sadler think that it would be entirely ignored and that therefore he was at liberty to send something along the same lines to the press. It may be remembered that Kekewich had taken the line that Sadler could send anything he liked to the press, only stipulating that he as Permanent Secretary should know nothing about it. As it was well known in the department that Morant had written anonymously to the papers on educational subjects, Sadler had no reason to think that the policy of the Board had changed in the matter.

Sadler was made uneasy by the episode and its implications because it seemed that someone in the office had induced Lord Londonderry to take action. The President was hardly the man

to notice and take exception to the letter on his own initiative. But as he and the Director of Special Inquiries had both spoken in confidence and as they parted on the most friendly terms, Sadler thought the matter was at an end. He was to hear more of it later.

The second episode and the one which led directly to Sadler's resignation, arose from his wish to take advantage of the fact that a highly qualified woman was going to Italy, to get her to make an investigation into Italian education on behalf of his office. Such information was frequently required from the office and it had none to give. The sum required for her services was £30. On Morant's advice Sir William Anson refused to sanction the expenditure.

Until Morant became Gorst's private secretary the Director of Special Inquiries had always been allowed some authority for the expenditure of small sums for research, but since the beginning of 1900 there had been individual scrutiny of every item of annual expenditure before it was incurred and refusals were frequent. Since the expenditure of the Office of Special Inquiries had never in any year exceeded two thirds of the sum originally contemplated by the Treasury in 1894 (surely an unique achievement for any expanding department), such minute inspection of enterprises the importance of which could hardly be judged by any section of the Board except the Special Inquiries office, appeared to be a vexatious and futile interference with the initiative of the Director.

Morant offered to submit the matter to the President. Sadler would have been well-advised to insist that the question to be submitted to the President should be the general one concerning his initiative and authority. But he allowed the particular question of the £30 for the Italian inquiry to be put to Lord Londonderry. The President surprised by so much commotion about so small a matter decided in favour of the expenditure.

The decision must have been extremely galling to Morant and possibly to Sir William Anson, who had agreed with him that the inquiry was 'not urgent'. Sadler had won the individual case, but incurred adamantine opposition to the restoration of the powers he had exercised unquestioningly until Morant left his office. And Morant must have known what those powers were, as he had from very early days worked with the Director in the closest intimacy.

As Sadler's subordinate Morant had been treated with the most superb confidence and friendship. It would be thought that any ordinary man, finding himself suddenly in a superior position to the man who had shown him such unfailing generosity, would have hesitated to remove his initiative. But Morant was no ordinary man. He was hardly in the saddle before he was meddling in the most trivial details of the Director's work and, as will be seen, insisting at every turn that all the work of the office must be subject to the Board and that all expenditure on research must be considered in the light of and subordinated to, the immediate financial needs of the Board.

Moreover rapidly increasing demands were being made by the Board on the resources of the office, which could not be met by the small staff without neglecting the research work which Sadler considered essential and which Morant thought might be thrown overboard to make way for *ad hoc* information required at the moment. In the minute of 9 February in which he had informed Sadler that the Italian expenditure could not be sanctioned, he had written:

'We cannot admit that the Italian report *is* urgent; and this being so, we cannot admit that your Division is entitled to exemption from the demand of the Treasury for economy in all branches of our work, in view of the heavy expenditure arising in connection with the Education Act. Still more is this the case in regard to the six *other* Special Reports which you have proposed in your minute to Sir William Anson to arrange

for the coming year. It seems to us that they must each of them be considered on their merits as to the degree of urgency attaching to them. But we understand that you deprecate postponement of any of these reports and claim that your Division should not be in any way affected by the expenditure of other branches of the office. With this view we cannot agree. . . .'[1]

Those concerned with education in any walk of life soon learn how important it is to safeguard funds for research lest they be absorbed by the pressing needs of the moment. Sadler saw little hope for the future of his office unless research, the very heart of the work, could be protected; and unless the determination of the work to be undertaken could be in the hands of those competent to judge of its value.

On 5 March, 1903 he sent voluminous memoranda (possibly too voluminous) to the President with a brief covering minute which contained the following paragraph:

'In the event of the Government feeling unable to provide the comparatively small sum which is necessary, under present conditions, to the continued efficiency of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, I shall, with great regret, place my resignation in your hands, because I feel that, without the necessary further assistance, I cannot continue to hold myself responsible for the collection and supply of accurate and well-digested information on the wide range of educational subjects, at home and abroad, about which I receive constant and frequently urgent inquiries.'[2]

The memoranda made the following points:

1. That the Office of Special Inquiries was the intelligence office of the Board of Education and submitted that it was 'at least as important to have an efficient intelligence department in educational matters as in naval or military. The welfare of the nation and its commercial and industrial prosperity depend to a considerable degree on national educational efficiency; and in order to secure such efficiency, it is necessary that the nation

[1] Cd. 1602, p. 28. [2] Ibid., p. 39.

and the Board of Education should have at their command accurate, timely and practical information as to educational developments both at home and abroad. . . .'[1]

2. That the volumes of reports issued by the office had been of service. The eleven reports already published were in use as standard works in 'Education Departments, Universities, Offices of Education Authorities and Training Colleges for teachers all over the British Empire, in the United States and on the Continent of Europe. The French Government has established an office of inquiries on exactly the lines of the English one, in view of the latter's utility and success'.[2]

3. That as a result of the Act of 1902 the work of the office would be more than ever needed during the next few years when 'Education Authorities all over the country will be dealing with difficult questions of education (commercial, secondary, domestic, etc.)'.[3]

4. That the duty of giving information to the Board on educational matters referred to it by the Board could only be done if the Office of Special Inquiries possessed knowledge which could not be hastily assembled and information which was not only accurate but well-digested. The 'systematic record of educational work and experiments', required of the office under the terms of its establishment, was essential to the proper fulfilment of its further duty of supplying information on any special subject referred to it.[4]

5. That for the proper performance of his duties it was essential for the Director to look ahead and judge what topics were likely to be the subjects of inquiry in the near future. For this the degree of initiative which he had enjoyed when the office was set up was essential, together with his earlier right to use small sums for inquiries which were urgent or which he had sudden opportunities of making as in the case of the Italian inquiry.[5]

6. That this last practice was indeed an economy for the office and the Board. The Director should be able to seize the

[1] Ibid., p. 45. [2] Ibid., p. 39. [3] Ibid., p. 40.
[4] Ibid., p. 41. [5] Ibid., p. 45.

opportunity offered by some capable person going abroad to obtain information for which a special journey would prove expensive. 'A wide range of possible inquiries should be in the Director's mind and he should be on the look-out for opportunities of gradually completing that range of inquiries on economical terms and by the temporary employment of capable investigators. . . .' 'In order to seize such opportunities effectively the Director of the Office of Special Inquiries must have at his disposal, as was originally planned by the Treasury, an allowance for expenditure at his discretion, subject, of course, to the requirement of vouchers for all expenditure made.'[1]

7. That the work of the office had been carried on with the maximum of economy. The Treasury letter of 31 December, 1894, said that 'the inclusive annual cost of the branch will apparently reach £3000 per annum'[2] .The maximum expenditure in any one year had been just short of £1711 in 1899–1900. The additional costs of rents, etc., would not bring the total to more than £2000. Sadler did not reckon the cost of publishing the reports which he thought were practically self-supporting.[3]

With these memoranda he sent an account of the work done by the office as summarized on pp. 92–94 and of the reports in the eleven volumes already published.

The reply to the letter and memoranda which came from Morant on 31 March, 1903, while denying that there was any desire to take away the initiative which the Director had often used to admirable effect, said that in the interests of economy the reports should be limited to such as were really important for the purposes of the Board and that 'selection and compression should be brought more largely into play than heretofore'.

The Treasury minute was quoted with the emphatic statement that:

'it cannot be too clearly impressed on you that the work of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports *is done and must be done*

[1] Ibid., p. 46. [2] Ibid., p. 5. [3] Ibid., pp. 41 and 46.

for the benefit of the Board, at the instance of the Board and under the direction of the Board'.[1]

And again the Director was told that:

'however anxious the President may be to make the arrangements which you tell him are necessary for the proper conduct of your work, the money provided for your branch of the department cannot be spent "at the discretion of the Director", it must be spent under the direction of the Board and *for purposes which promote the due discharge of the administrative duties of the Board.*'[1]

The memorandum from the Board also told Sadler that although it was true that the costs were as he stated, there was one item as to which he had been wholly misinformed, namely the costs of the reports, of which the expenditure had exceeded the costs by about £2300 over the years in which they had been issued.

Morant ended by saying that subject to the foregoing statement the President had instructed him to approach the Treasury for the sum for which Sadler had asked.

V

Sadler did not see what initiative was left to him, especially in the light of his recent experiences, if the italicised words were to be enforced, nor what future was left to the office. He therefore asked that his resignation should take effect as soon as possible. In a letter sent to Lord Londonderry on 3 April he pointed out that Morant seemed to think that the work of the office should be confined to the purely administrative duties of the Board and did not take into account the scientific research, which must to some extent be independent of strictly administrative claims and considerations. Such work must be intellectually independent:

[1] The italics are mine. L.G.

'Those engaged in it must be free to state what they believe to be true, apart from pre-considerations as to what may at the time be thought administratively convenient.'

He emphasized the fact that he had at all times taken the greatest care to avoid the publication of anything which could cause embarrassment to the Board, always submitting to it everything which he proposed to publish.

He did not, as he well might have done, deal with the paragraph about the cost of the reports exceeding their returns, by saying that as several were only recently published the full returns could not yet be assessed, or that even if there were no further purchases made of them, the annual cost to be added would not bring the expenditure to anything like the £3000 contemplated in the Treasury minute. He was solely concerned both in his reply and the accompanying minute to insist that it would be impossible for him to carry on the work if he had not the freedom which he had enjoyed before the new authority was established at the Board.

Neither the President nor the Parliamentary Secretary could contemplate the prospect of Sadler's resignation with equanimity. They knew something of his standing and his popularity, they were aware that there would be an outcry. They had several interviews with him in which no explanation was or presumably could be given as to why so much insistence should be placed on the subordination of the work of his office. The repetition of the terms of the Treasury letter under which the office had been set up, which stated that the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports 'would be immediately under the direction of the Secretary of the Education Department', led to an explanation from Sadler that these words had been inserted not for his subjection but for his protection. He had agreed to them with that understanding. They were there 'not to reduce the position of the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports to that of virtually an additional Private Secretary

to the Permanent Secretary, but to give the Director what was virtually the status of an Assistant Secretary in the hierarchy of the Department and to protect him from having to communicate with the Permanent Secretary through an Assistant-Secretary'. He went on to say that he was not prepared to resume his position as Director unless it was clearly understood that the words in question were not to be construed as giving the Permanent Secretary unlimited personal control over the work and duties of the Director. Only on that condition would he withdraw his resignation.

The matter was once again discussed by the President, the Parliamentary Secretary and the Director and as his conditions proved unacceptable his resignation took immediate effect and the following announcement appeared in the press on 11 and 12 May:

'Mr M. E. Sadler has placed in the hands of the President of the Board of Education his resignation of the office of Director of Special Inquiries and Reports to the Board, the point at issue being proposals which, in his judgment, would impair the scientific value and thoroughness as well as the practical efficiency of the work of his office. . . .'

Such an announcement, quite apart from the dismay with which the resignation was contemplated, naturally led to a question in the House of Commons as to the nature of the new proposals which had led to Sadler's resignation. Sir William Anson replied that there were none, but that in considering the Director's request for further funds, accommodation, etc., the Board had felt bound to call his attention:

'to the terms under which his office had been created by Mr Acland; to his relations to the heads of the department; and to the fact that *his services and those of his staff must at all times be at the absolute disposal of the Board*'.[1] . . .

[1] The italics are mine. L.G. Ibid p. 70

Papers were promised and with commendable promptitude the Blue Book from which such lavish extracts have been quoted was published on 18 May, 1903.

Sadler's resignation took effect immediately. Sir William Anson might claim that no new proposals had been made, but could not deny that the interpretation of the original proposals was new and Sadler had already had direct experience of unsympathetic enforcement of the new interpretation. He would not accept it. None who understood the position thought that he could. He was a flier and could not fly with clipped wings.

His departure and the publication of the bluebook had their aftermath.

VI

The publication of the Blue Book and Sir William Anson's answer in the House did little to allay the disquiet aroused by Sadler's resignation. There was something of an uproar in educational circles. Every educational journal, every paper, whether educational or not, discussed the episode. There was general consternation. The letters of dismay and grief which Sadler received from the lowly and the eminent, from those known to him and those unknown, would fill a volume without the addition of the resolutions from all manner of educational bodies expressing appreciation of his work, sorrow at his departure. The letters came from many countries. Scholars felt they were losing a leader in research; administrators that true educational progress would be set back; teachers that they were losing a friend from the awe-inspiring precincts of the Board. Never before, they said, had they had a friend in the Education Department, because before he came all the officials were too busy to consider their individual needs and claims. Some of the most impressive letters were concerned with the volumes of

educational research, the like of which had not been seen before in any country.

Indignation was a strong ingredient in most of the letters. The consensus of opinion was that his job had been made untenable. His devotion to the work and his generous temper were too well known for anyone to imagine that he had given up his post on anything but extreme provocation and the more they came to know of the matter the greater became both sympathy and indignation.

The letters must have supplied some much needed balm. For *The Times* added torment to the proceedings by an article on the Government Blue Book, in which it was suggested that there must have been insubordination on the part of the Director to evoke so much reiterated insistence on his being under the direct control of the Board. After dealing with the financial issue, with little understanding of it, the article continued:

'More serious from an administrative point of view is the question of subordination versus independence, which seems to be at the bottom of the split between the Director of Special Inquiries and the chiefs of the Department. Mr Sadler's claims to have a free hand must have been asserted strongly in act if not in word to call forth the marked insistence here and there by the Board of Education, that his office is not an independent office, but a department of the Board.'[1]

If the writer of the article had read the Blue Book carefully he must have disbelieved Sadler's repeated statements that his office was properly a department of the Board, that nothing should go out of it without the knowledge and sanction of the Board and that he was asking for more money, staff and accommodation so that he might immediately comply with every request for information from the Board.

Another question was asked in the House on 9 July, 1903, by Mr Emmott. Sir William Anson when replying stated that he

[1] *The Times*, 16 June, 1903.

had never said that Sadler had ever withheld information from the Board, only that he might do so. The *Manchester Guardian* reported part of the debate in the following words:

'Sir W. Anson asserted that every demand was conceded as to money and staff, but Mr Sadler was reminded that he was the servant of the Department. Supposing a local authority wrote to the Board of Education and asked whether a certain educational method described in one of the reports was applicable, and supposing the Board sent to Mr Sadler and he replied, "I am pursuing a steady course of inquiry and I am sorry that I cannot give the information you want." Supposing an inquiry was addressed to the President or himself the answer to which could only be obtained at their intelligence office and supposing they sent over to Mr Sadler and he said, "I am very sorry. . . ."

'Mr Emmott: Did he say that?

'Sir W. Anson thought that was a reasonable inference from the position Mr Sadler took up.—(Oh.) Was it reasonable the intelligence department should hold itself free to refuse information to its chief if it was pursuing a course of scientific inquiry which it thought more important than the matters addressed to it?'[1]

The part of the debate which disturbed Sadler most deeply was a reference to 'Sigma' (cf. p. 97). No mention of this letter had appeared in the Blue Book; there was therefore nothing to which those who wished to know the full facts could refer. The interview with Lord Londonderry had been entirely confidential and Sadler had every reason to think the episode closed. He felt it was hitting below the belt to bring it up at this juncture. It is difficult to understand Anson's reason for doing so. Possibly no other action of Sadler's could be thought of which could be represented as likely to cause embarrassment to the Board, though, even so, he could not claim that any untoward effects had arisen from it:

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, 10 July, 1903.

'Nothing,' said Sir William, 'could be more destructive of a good understanding between the Board of Education and the Local Authorities than the suspicion that the Department was endeavouring to influence public opinion through the Press as to the particular mode in which they desired to have the scheme framed. . . . What were they to say to an official in the Department who endeavoured to influence public opinion by anonymous correspondence in the Press at a very critical time?'.

Weary though Sadler was of the whole controversy, he felt this had to be answered. He resisted his wife's almost frenzied appeals to him to refer to Morant's own anonymous letters, or to the treatment which Morant had dealt out to the memorandum sent in to him along the same lines as 'Sigma'. He contented himself with a restrained letter to *The Times* in which, after summarising the points contained in the *Sigma* letter he added:

'It was wholly unofficial in form and in spirit. It did not touch on any confidential matters. It disclosed no secrets. . . . It communicated nothing I had learned through connexion with the Board. There was nothing to show who wrote it. . . . In a leading article you referred to it with some approval, but nothing you said would have made any reader regard it as officially inspired. . . . The matters about which I wrote have long been in my mind. . . .'

He described his interview with Lord Londonderry and told of his promise to the President not to write to the press again without first obtaining his permission.[1]

There the matter ended as far as any publicity in which he took part was concerned. He thought *The Times* comment on his letter was virtually a climb-down and he was more than thankful to give his whole energies to other things.

Indelible marks were left on Sadler by his experience at the

[1] *The Times*, 14 July, 1903.

Board. He had learned the possibility of hostility, having never till that time thought himself sufficiently important to provoke it. He knew ever afterwards that neither industry nor complete disinterestedness were always the characteristics of those concerned with the affairs of the nation. It is doubtless necessary for those who have to do with public affairs to learn these things; it is mercifully given to few to learn them so painfully.

One of his greatest assets had been and remained his confidence in others. No man ever had a greater gift of inspiring men with confidence. Through his ardent belief they came to believe in themselves and to do things of which they had not thought themselves capable. But after the experience at the Board, though his approach to others was always one of faith in them, it was more possible to shake it. He might more easily take caution for indifference, cynicism for ill-will. And it was easier to shake his confidence in himself, though he never ceased to be eager and in some ways impetuous. But he was no longer sure that right would prevail. The time-lag, irksome to his ardent spirit, frequently proved slower than he anticipated or had known it in his youth when he seemed to carry all before him. And sometimes when he had vehemently pressed a case and met with opposition he would suddenly throw up the sponge when others thought that a little persistence might have carried the day.

He suffered from moments of deep depression, natural to a man of his artistic temper. But they did not last long. He would say that it was important not to become sour. Certainly sourness was the last epithet which could be applied to him. He remained the gayest of companions and the most inspiring of friends. And he continued to rejoice in his work. His mind darted from one thing to another, his excitements rose and fell, but education was always the centre of his activity in spite of all temptations to leave it for something

more remunerative and, as most would have thought, more attractive.

He was among those who spent his life hoping and working for the future and not among those who live in and regret the past. It was possible to see much of him for over twenty years without ever hearing him mention the time at the Board or the name of Morant. Then when the name was forced on his attention by a great eulogy of Morant, his one comment was that the author of the eulogy could not have known Morant very well. He knew better than any how possible it was to be intimate with Morant for many years without knowing him well. Their paths do not seem to have crossed again after Sadler left the Board, the last recorded communication between them having been in the spring of 1903, when Morant once again pleaded for a resumption of the old faith and confidence and said he had not been responsible for the offending passages in his letter of 31 March. Sadler could not respond.

As for the Office of Special Inquiries, Sadler had welcomed an assurance from Sir William Anson that its work would be carried on on the same lines as when he was in charge of it. He thought that his protests had done something good in securing the survival of the office. It is, however, only necessary to look at the annual reports of the Board and compare the present activities of the Office of Special Inquiries with those of Sadler's office given on pp. 92–94 to see a difference. Not that the work has ended, for many of the activities are carried on under other departments of the Board. For a time reports continued; all those which Sadler had said were in an advanced state of preparation appeared; and a few more followed. But there have been none for many years and the Board has ceased to have a great research department. Nor, as far as can be judged, has it a department to which all and sundry come for information. It would have been too much to expect, as Acland wrote to the

press, that the work would or could be carried on with the same distinction by anyone except Sadler. Whatever office he left suffered from a decline.

But if much was lost both to Sadler and to education by his experience at and his departure from the Board, something was gained. On the very personal side he had gained through tribulation a faith which had faltered during less troubled years. His diary records his increasing sureness of belief in things spiritual and in a personal God and, towards the end of his time at the Board, his happiness in finding that he could join fully in all the services of the Church of England. The nobility and humility of his character shone out through adversity. He expressed great gratitude to a friend who told him of his faults ... although it must be admitted that the faults were hardly such as to be reckoned as sins in others, e.g. too great belief in other people and a conceit which took the form of over-great modesty. He prayed for 'courage and patience and faith' and to be purged from 'self-seeking and timidity and conceit—whether in the form of a desire for recognition or in the topsy-turvy form of exaggerated modesty'. Also for faith in God's guidance and 'willingness to bear wounds cheerfully in his service, without priggishness or self-consciousness'. All this bears ultimately on his views on religious education and the work he did for it.

If something was gained personally through the painful experiences he had suffered, much was gained for education. He was now free to speak, to write, to investigate, without let or hindrance from the Board. Without hesitation he began to make the best of the Act of 1902 in the reports he wrote for various local authorities; in the efforts he made to remedy its deficiences and those of the regulations which followed it; in the energy and wisdom with which he coped with the denominational controversy which it had engendered among religious bodies. It was fortunate for the Board that the man

whose place there had been made impossible was of so generous a temper as unhesitatingly to use his knowledge and his gifts in suggesting ways in which the rigidity of the Permanent Secretary could be modified and in healing wounds which had been left gaping. Of his work in these directions something will be told in the next chapter.

IV · MANCHESTER INTERLUDE

1903–1911

I

The University of Manchester, which has never lacked courage or generosity and has therefore in its appointments often obtained the services of distinguished men and women, had approached Sadler early in 1903 as to the possibility of his joining its staff. No doubt the idea was largely due to his friend Philip Hartog, who was at that time lecturing in the University. He knew, perhaps better than anyone, that Sadler might shortly find conditions at the Board of Education impossible. But, so long as the question of his resignation was under consideration, Sadler refused to consider another post. He wrote from the Board to H. J. Mackinder on 2 March, 1903:

'I have told the Manchester people that they are under no obligation to me, or I to them. I can't use the weapon of resignation here, having all the time another post in my pocket. Hopkinson[1] sees this. Also, I want Manchester to be perfectly free, after the row is public, to avoid me, if it wants to.'

Manchester, characteristically, did not want to avoid him. At a meeting of the Council of the Owen's College on 8 July, 1903, it was resolved that he should be appointed to a special professorship in the Education Department of the College, to be known as the 'Professorship of the History and Administration of Education'. The duties of the professor were to reside in Manchester for one term in each year and to deliver such lectures and take such part in the tutorial work of the department as the Senate should determine.

He had little hesitation in accepting this post. Not because

[1]Sir Alfred Hopkinson. Vice Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

there were no other possibilities before him. Indeed many of those who expressed grief at his resignation rejoiced in his freedom to enter Parliament, for which many had long thought him destined. Such a man as Sir Horace Plunkett wrote strongly on the subject. It was suggested to him that if only he were in Parliament he could serve the cause of secondary education better than he could anywhere else. Eloquence, persuasiveness, knowledge, were all his. But he firmly refused. As always, he preferred to remain directly in the educational field. And he may have been swayed by the arguments of his friend Hartog who was sure that he would find Parliament intolerable. He told him that he did not think his idealism, which had already sustained so many shocks, could survive those it would meet in politics. The reason which Sadler himself gave for his refusal was that he could not honestly at that time align himself with either party.

In many ways the Manchester post was ideal. He would not have to give up the Weybridge home as he was only required to reside in Manchester for one term in the year, therefore with a three-months interlude at Withington each year the family home could remain at Weybridge. Moreover it gave him time to write and to think. The subject which he had specifically been appointed to teach, the History of Education, was one to which he had already devoted much time and attention; here was a golden opportunity for making progress with it.

Moreover even before he left the Board he was engaged on making investigations into secondary education in various boroughs in response to invitations from different parts of the country, and the Manchester post gave him leisure to pursue them.

Time would be a better word than leisure, of which he hardly knew the meaning for himself. Indeed when he first left the Board he was in danger of a breakdown through piling

one inquiry and one activity on another, partly perhaps as a way of submerging thought about recent events connected with his resignation. He indulged but little in personal regrets and not at all in recriminations. His letters, and a pile has survived, were full of the affairs of those to whom he wrote, of the larger issues of national life, of the delights of his home, of the things he was reading, of the beauties of nature and of art. This had been true of his diaries, though they went into more detailed accounts of how he spent his time, e.g. determining to read daily something in Latin, something in Greek and something from the Bible. From later notes it seems that these decisions held. Whether he bottled up or smothered too much of his grievances it is impossible to say. For his interests were so varied, his sympathies so keen that it was first rather than second nature for him to write about matters unconnected with his own affairs. When references to them occur they are swiftly lost in larger themes.

The following extracts from letters to Hartog are given at some length to illustrate what has just been said and also to show something of his methods of thought and its content. On the practical side more of these will appear when considering the reports drawn up for local education authorities.

He wrote on 16 September, 1903, after giving advice about reading for a French friend of Hartog's and a gay account of a holiday in the Shetlands:

'Sometimes fits of sorrow come over me at having lost my place in the regiment, if not in the army, but I know I am really doing the work set me, and I often think of myself as having really had to perish on a forlorn hope . . . and as now enjoying a sort of Elysian existence in this world instead of in the shadows beyond. I don't feel that I can see far ahead, or know what may be coming, but I am trying to make the most of the long-desired opportunities for quiet reading and meditation. It is a strange sensation to know that all the things one has done really well and at the right moments and with most real in-

fluence have spelt what is from the worldly point of view real and irretrievable failure.

'Your view about thought process and language is exactly mine. I often suddenly see my way to a conclusion and then wait for an opportunity of putting the train of reasoning into words. And this happens not only in cases when one has ideas which seem brilliant at the first moment but turn out afterwards unprofitable or unpractical—but in really solid pieces of intellectual work, which have stood severe intellectual tests afterwards. I often feel as though I were given ideas in the process of working them out, and verbalizing them comes later, tho' of course necessary for purposes of further communication and (I think) for getting the proportions and affiliations clear. The ideas come—not when I'm under great strain or threadbare with overwork, but after a period of rest (including physical exercise and distraction of thought) following on a period of very hard work and of grappling with real unsought difficulties. I can't get it all out psychologically, but the ideas come to me unsought and I find them in my mind exactly as I might find a half-crown that somebody had put into my pocket while my coat was hanging up in my absence. Of course all this is not affected by the relative value of the idea—that may be here or there. . ..

'Helmholtz, you will remember laid great stress on the importance of reducing the ideas to an exact form in very carefully chosen words in a memoir as if prepared for publication.

'But one may lay full stress on the power of verbal expression to help one's thought into a form in which it can be recorded or communicated and on the stimulus which comes through an effort to express a complex thought and which draws out from one's mind new and previously unexpected portions of the thought, and yet I believe that the real beginnings of the thought lie far beyond or below words. You remember Wordsworth speaks of the baby's "mute dialogues with its mother's heart" and of the "silent language" of adult intercourse.'

II EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Letter to the same, 30 November, 1903:

'Happily we are (so far as I can judge) pretty much in agreement as to what the masses of our people need at the present time.

'As to the philosophy behind our practical conclusions, I find myself, as I have done before, more instinctively a dualist than you can ever be. And the dualism runs through the whole texture.

'In the individual life, as in the national, it seems to me that there is need both for the education of joy through sympathy with and absorption into nature and for the discipline of pain or self-denial—the fighting against "nature". There is an ancient Welsh Triad which declares that men need

an eye to see nature
a heart to sympathize with nature
a will to go along with nature.

'That was good, but there had to come, as a corrective, the austerities of Calvinism.

'In some individual and in, I suppose, some national lives, the two disciplines come, with alternate stress, in succession. But I feel that the highest life combines the two—in a sort of harmony, or in a succession so rapid as to be almost a combination—each having an undersense of the other's presence.

'As to any comparison of Judaism and Christianity, I find myself so ignorant of much that one ought to know that I cannot express any opinion. But your antithesis seems to me unjust to both. Is it not possible that just as we have misunderstood Judaism (through dwelling too exclusively on what, at the time of Christ, were its harder and more ceremonial aspects), so you may have taken the individualistic and self-mortifying side of Christian practice, in its more forbidding and extravagant forms, and identified it with the larger view of Christian duty?

'Do you remember what Blake wrote in his copy of Wordsworth? "I see in Wordsworth the natural man rising up against the spiritual man continually: and then he is no poet, but a

heathen philosopher, at enmity with all true poetry and inspiration."

'It seems to me, however, that Wordsworth was, after all, a much truer Christian than Blake.'

This last letter touches on something with which he was for ever concerned, namely the dual aspect of almost everything in educational, national, and spiritual life. Those who heard him lecture will remember how with all his enthusiasms he was continually probing, challenging, balancing, contrasting issues. There are few men so sane as to be enthusiasts without being fanatics, but Sadler was one of them. He was capable of intense excitement without ever losing his head. That was largely why the inspiration which he gave to others had a durable quality not to be found by those who have been carried away by something beyond reason. His listeners had to think for themselves and calculate how the means in the particular circumstances they were considering could best further the aims. The aims were never allowed to justify the means. Both must be of the highest standard.

He was deeply interested in and respectful of the two-mindedness of England. It was the theme both of articles and of numerous addresses. It was a thing which could make and had made for vacillation and delay in English education, but it had preserved and encouraged much that was precious. And the problem of how to preserve the variety, the independence, the originality of the English, while giving every child the best opportunity of developing his or her own gifts so that nothing be wasted, occupied his thoughts and his utterances as little else did. He constantly sought to secure unity without uniformity, discipline without endangering freedom, so that men and women should have at their command and the service of the community all their powers developed to the uttermost, recognizing that the means would necessarily vary with time and with a changing social environment.

These views recur throughout the reports on secondary education which he undertook in various boroughs. They were all individual in character and there is little repetition, but all show the combination in him of strong consistencies and apparent uncertainties. It was once said of him that he sat on the fence, to which a friend retorted that it was only from the top of the fence that a good view of both sides of a question could be seen. There were certain points on which he made up his mind early and took a position from which he never departed. There were others on which he not only did not make up his mind but would have thought it wrong to do so. Experiment was needed before any general statements could be made on certain points. He would not, for instance, pronounce on the comparative merits of training for teachers in universities and in residential training colleges. Both might be good. Each might suit different types of student. Let both remain. Again he would never pronounce on the precise types of school to be established throughout the country. In a striking passage in his report on Derbyshire he indicated that it would be unwise to try to meet different educational needs through a single curriculum of studies, because of the different ages at which children would be leaving school and the different callings to which their lives would be devoted:

'It is impossible to foresee', he wrote, 'what will be a generation hence the normal course of secondary education in our English schools. But at present we are bound to retain every instrument of tested value. Great changes are taking place in the spirit and the aims of secondary education. But we have not yet reached the point at which we can say that the courses of study in secondary schools have successfully adjusted themselves to the needs of modern life'.

He went on to urge that the right thing for the moment was not to multiply numbers of schools but to get a sufficient number

into a high state of efficiency, staffing them with competent teachers and:

'encouraging them to make various experiments in curricula and in methods of teaching. The world is passing through a period of critical change. The need for experiment is felt on every hand. No one can predict with confidence the kind of secondary education which 20 years hence will be regarded as the most necessary, or, in the wider sense of the word, profitable. Educational methods and traditions have always to adjust themselves to those profound changes in current ideas which come about with great extensions of current knowledge. . . . The old order of thought has been shaken and along with an immense increase in material well-being there has come a certain hesitancy of mind in regard to deeper things . . . we must be prepared for the necessity of remodelling at no distant time what we may provide to-day. There is no single educacational formula in which at present we can implicitly believe'.

He went on to say that this was no excuse for inaction; we were bound to act. So the stage of his work was set for every kind of educational experiment, given that it should in its own way humanize the children who were subject to it.

Whether there would ever have come a time in which he would have written differently is doubtful, for education is necessarily a thing of growth and growth cannot be standardized. If it is to retain life the last word can never be said of it.

Something of his general views is contained in Volume IX, published in 1901, of the *Special Reports* in the first article: 'The Unrest in Secondary Education in Germany and Elsewhere.' It is thought by those competent to judge that it gives more of the essence of his educational thought than anything else he wrote, and as many of the problems he discussed are burning in men's minds to-day it is perhaps not out of place to make somewhat lengthy references to it here.

The article referred to international comparisons and therefore began by contrasting different systems.

'Sometimes,' he wrote, 'perhaps from an instinctive distrust of its own excessive individualism, a nation has got a sort of artificial unity into its education by screwing down onto itself a tightly riveted system of State control. . . . As contrasted with this, many of the educational contrivances of our own country look like a forest of safety-valves, without any power of storing up the driving power which the machinery needs. . . . In no country, not even in Ireland, is the problem so intricate as it is in England. . . . The variety of interest, outlook and ideals which has enriched our literature and diversified our national life embarrasses us when we come to consider the possibility for providing common schools for the convenient use of any given locality. . . . For centuries we English have been two nations rather than one. At all great crises in the intellectual development of Europe we have been conscious of our inner divisions, and have been strongest when we have agreed to differ. When either side has striven to impose on the other any kind of uniformity, whether in belief, or in matters (like education) which necessarily touch the nerves of belief, the result has been stubborn conflict and either schism or compromise. . . Our school system, in its lack both of formal and inner unity, is one expression of the lack of real intellectual unity in our national life. It is the effect of that lack of unity and in turn yet another cause of it.'

He went on to show that, whereas neglect and indifference have largely had their way in English education, individual and corporate effort have not been lacking and have produced some of the finest schools in the world. And 'out of the small number of men whose writings during the last four centuries have profoundly influenced ideas of education, nearly a half have been Englishmen. Other men have hatched eggs taken from English nests'. He noted that there have been many attempts to get some kind of unity into English education but that the attempts have failed because of an inner conflict of ideas which brought about either dual organizations or complete inaction. Consequently England had dropped behind in

the educational struggle in three points. First in an insufficient provision of first-rate intellectual instruction in cheap and easily accessible day-schools, while much of the work prescribed to boys in the great public schools was out of gear with the times. Secondly, in a 'very insufficient provision of the highest kinds of technical, scientific and professional training, deliberately and skilfully adjusted to the most recent needs of modern life, or to what are likely to become urgent needs within the lifetime of the rising generation'. And thirdly, through the neglect of education for so long, there is a less enlightened public opinion in England to which an appeal can be made than in some other rival countries.

He went on to enumerate some English advantages, in the development of a certain 'great style', including what is good in the 'public school spirit'. Also in the width of our educational ideas, which go beyond what is purely intellectual and literary and in the belief 'that a school ought to be something higher than a knowledge factory', and that what a man is matters a great deal more than what he knows, and that education is 'an atmosphere and a discipline affecting heart and mind and body and neglecting none of the three'. These things have meant that English secondary and higher education have had little 'tight-lacing to complain of', so that again and again a great personality has been able to pour itself into an institution in England and in its Colonies and in the United States in a way which is comparatively rare in the tighter organization of the State schools of France and of the higher schools of Germany.

He maintained that the best policy would be to keep the old tradition and weave into it a modernized curriculum. The first chapter declared that the matter was urgent because it took about thirty years to obtain the advantage of any great educational change.

All thoughtful writers on education emphasize the fact that

schools provide but a small portion of education. Sadler laid great stress on two other and, he insisted, far more important factors, the home and the social environment, and the traditions prevailing in both. When it came to discussing special problems such considerations carry weight. Speaking for instance of the fact that:

'Some of the writers who most clearly realize that education is necessarily intermixed with other parts of the social question proceed to argue that, in order to attain to social unity, we should at any rate insist on educational unity—i.e. on all children being sent in early childhood to the same schools. But social unity cannot be attained by any mechanical means; still less can it be secured by compulsory attendanec at certain day schools. Varieties are much more the effect than the cause of social differences. Day-schools can do little to establish social unity while the homes of the children are so different. Moreover the child is only at school for a small part of his waking hours. . . . Imbedded in much that is written on the social aspect of the educational question there often remains fragments of that older theory which always tended to exaggerate the influence of mere school teaching as compared with that of the more atmospheric forces of daily life'.

The same consideration of the preponderating influence of home life appeared when he discussed what should be done about the upbringing of very young children:

'The critical years in a child's life are the earliest years. Therefore, the most indispensable part of national education is home training. . . . The true basis of national culture is home-training. Next, and by rights interwoven with the home life and almost of a piece with it, comes the primary school—the school, that is, which teaches children up to twelve.'

Again and again he insisted on the importance of this period, which has been and remains gravely neglected in our system of education. He constantly asserted that the younger the

child the smaller should be the class. In this particular passage he asserted that:

'the relation between the different stages of education is reciprocal. Universities cannot flourish without first-rate secondary schools to feed them; secondary schools cannot flourish unless the boys and girls have been excellently trained during the years spent in the primary school, and primary schools, in turn, cannot flourish unless their intellectual interests are constantly being stimulated and upheld by the influences of the secondary schools and universities.'

He considered with some care the question of village schools and contested the idea that country children should be so educated in schools as to be induced to stay on the land and pointed out that it was doubtful whether scholastic contrivances could or indeed should counteract strong economic currents from one type of employment to another. Children should not be kept on the land by an inertia arising from slack, sleepy and inefficient schools:

'It is evidently not to the advantage of any industry, agricultural or urban, to have stupid workpeople. If the conditions of employment are intolerable to intelligent workmen, the solution of the difficulty must not be found in the suppression of intelligence but in some change in the conditions of the work. It seems that what is wanted in the village schools is a far greater and more sustained effort *to make the children think*.'

At this point he broke out into a eulogy of what is being done everywhere by the devotion of teachers, a characteristic passage which explains the enthusiasm of the teaching world for one who so understood the difficulties and the work of the profession. Having said that the teacher requires for the successful performance of his task 'a remarkable combination of intellectual ability, knowledge, artistic power (for all good teaching is artistic work), patience, moral insight and intense sympathy with child life' he went on to say that:

'The one thing which brings unfailing encouragement to any student of education is the knowledge that all over the country, unknown to fame but loved by their pupils and trusted by all who know their work, there are teachers who are working in this spirit, often in the teeth of stupid prejudice, often without any adequate recognition but with a devotion which is beyond praise and is indeed sustained by the highest of motives. These are the real upholders of educational tradition. This is the influence which in the end will reform the methods of teaching in town and country schools alike.

'If we allow such teachers freedom in the practice of their art; if we relieve them from the fret of needless worry and from the harassing anxieties which arise from unduly straitened means; if we place them in conditions favourable to healthy and active work; if we entrust them with sufficiently small classes; if we secure for them the leisure necessary for private study and for the fresh preparation of each lesson; if we give them access to the books, papers, pictures, instruments, works of reference and materials of various sorts which are needed by all who try to teach in a really living way the elements of a large number of different subjects; above all, if we make them realize that the nation appreciates the far-reaching value of their work and its almost sacred importance, then these teachers supported by the sympathy and confidence of the parents of the children and guided by the growth and developing nature of the children themselves, will feel their way from point to point in this fascinating art of teaching; valuing tradition and yet able at need to discard it; avoiding one-sided excess or excitement, yet when necessary boldly combining extremes instead of falling into the timid evasion of difficulties; helped by theory, but always testing theory by practice, and calling into the service of their school the essentials of true culture—nature studies and literary interests, manual training and artistic expression, physical exercises and moral discipline, according to the needs of their pupils and their own quick sense of the needs of the place and time. But *non omnes omnia.* Gardens and animals mean to some people what Plato and Aristotle mean to others. Either branch of study may be made a

liberal education and many people derive culture from both. But you cannot by a stroke of the pen confer on a devotee of the one the power of feeling, or imparting, a life-giving interest in the other.'

This passage has been quoted at length as giving something which combines a teacher's charter with a teacher's inspiration. References will be made later to Sadler's practical desire to do much for teachers, but all that lies behind his activity in that direction in his reverence for them and their work, his perception of their needs and their difficulties, is contained in this passage.

The later part of the article was devoted to contrasts between the systems of secondary education in England and Germany and other countries. Especially Germany. They were illustrated with a wealth of detail contained in 22 pages of closely written appendixes. Sadler drew urgent attention to what is being done in scientific education in Germany and to its remarkable results. He wrote:

'If the government of a country be so constituted as to be able to enter with understanding and discriminating sympathy into the actual tendencies of scientific thought, and if it be both able and willing to give sufficient and timely aid to projects and inquiries which need and merit pecuniary help, it may promote scientific effort to an extraordinary degree. Germany is a standing proof of what can thus be done and . . . how profitable it may be to do it. But this is a very different thing from putting it into the power of the government to determine, directly or indirectly, what course scientific thought should take: what it shall avoid and what it shall try to prove. No government can ever know enough to direct the course of scientific investigation. Science itself must decide what course it will take and each individual worker must feel within himself that, though he is but part of a greater whole and not individually master of the results of his own labours, he is nevertheless free from any pressure of political control and under a moral obligation to serve knowledge for its own sake. It was

the spirit of untrammelled inquiry which created the great intellectual tradition of the German universities and which has been the real cause of German scientific progress. The future alone can show how far such freedom is compatible with centralized State control.

'But at the present time many sides of German life are organized on principles which are nearly allied to those underlying the Collectivist ideal. We in England find it difficult to realize on how many sides of individual and communal life Government in Germany has laid its hand.'

He then discussed the causes which had led an individualistic nation to submit to such a degree of control and concluded that they lay in a strong sense of the need for unity. The conviction that the supreme claim on the individual was in the service of knowledge as a whole and of the community as a whole, led to the building up in Prussia from the beginning of the nineteenth century of what became 'an Imperial fabric of scientific government, one essential part of it being educational control'. He noted that German devotion to the idea of science and organization had produced remarkable results in the sphere of commerce and industry, but insisted that the roots of German science lay not in the desire for material gain but in disinterested devotion to a severe and remote ideal of philosophic truth.

But, having contrasted the sorry exhibits of the English in the Paris Exhibition of 1900 and having quoted the remark of the Royal Commission on the subject:

'The contrast between the orderly, symmetrical appearance of the foreign space in certain groups with the undignified collection of show-cases of different sizes and designs which filled the British space was little less than painful',

he went on to discuss whether the conjuncture of forces which made the German display so excellent were likely to be permanent. Science itself 'can be injured by the predominance of

material aims; and commerce, as it grows, is apt to become more and more restive of State control and even of some of the claims of purely national interest'. Here he proved to be wrong. It was the State and not commerce which held and retained the winning cards.

The State rather than commerce and rather than disinterested knowledge. This danger he did not overlook. He was afraid of the tendencies which emphasize the claims of the 'Leviathan' or State rather than those of the individual citizen. Such a system:

'cannot but prefer that people should conform to its pattern, rather than that they should question the wisdom of its plans. Therefore it cannot be expected to favour arrangements which would encourage awkward individuality of character or varieties of political development. Yet does not progress depend on there being an incessant growth of new political and moral ideas cropping up over the whole surface of society, not simply in this or that little plot set aside for such cultivation? Can any man, or group of men, so penetrate the future, or so divine the inner and secret workings of human life, as to be able to decide which ideas shall be allowed a trial and which must be suppressed as futile or perilous? Many of those ideas which have worked the greatest changes must have looked at first sight the least promising, were often the most obscure and certainly proved the most repulsive to the established order. Incessant criticism of official patterns and liberty to act in frank opposition to, or in competition with, what is authoritatively approved, seem almost necessary conditions for further progress. Yet if a highly centralized State once gets a grip on the conditions of intellectual life, those who act on behalf of the State are apt to discourage freedom of discussion and what matters far more, freedom of social and educational experiment'.

Later he wrote:

'one of the prime causes of German greatness has been the intellectual freedom of its universities. But in recent years that freedom has been significantly threatened by the State. In no

sphere of thought is so much inquiry needed (and therefore, so much free discussion desirable) as in that of social economics. But it cannot be said that all the members of German universities are free to develop their theories as to social economics in whatever direction they please'.

He admitted the economy of the German methods, but said that 'some amount of waste is inseparable from freedom of intellectual and social development and it is on the latter that the welfare of the world largely depends'.

Turning to the things which he thought England could learn from Germany, he began with the love of knowledge, which he thought much rarer in this country than on the Continent. He deprecated the dislike of talking shop, which had interfered with much that might have developed intellectually in English life. But of course he recognized that 'a national respect for knowledge is a thing of slow growth'. He believed that much could be done to foster it, as had been done in Germany and France by means of educational organization; by making entrance to professions dependent on completing the full course leading to them; by making the teaching profession part of the Civil Service and by requiring of every teacher a high level of intellectual attainment if not of proved professional skill. Yet, having gone so far he refrained from pressing home these suggestions lest they be contrary to what was best for his own country. Again and again he said that England should not copy other nations, but evolve in its own way methods of producing whatever was necessary to prevent it from failing in essential knowledge. He declared that it had become imperative to press forward quickly lest we drop dangerously behind. And whereas English thought and action are apt to aim at a reconciliation of contraries; at the combination of apparently converse tendencies; at the rejection of each extreme if taken by itself; they very constantly need revision 'in the light of new knowledge and of the changing conditions

between race and race. Liberal education will help us to find confidence in, and expression for, what Pascal called "the union and harmony of two seemingly opposite truths".'

When, a couple of years after the publication of this paper, Sadler was called on to advise on the practical problems before areas of England which had, because of the Education Act of 1902, to make provision for secondary education, he came to the task armed, as none other was, with a knowledge of what was being done elsewhere and with certain definite principles and ideals to contribute to his recommendations for education in urban and rural districts.

Unlike Matthew Arnold, Sadler did not become fascinated by the educational systems of other countries. Arnold had been enthralled by the idea of equality in France and laid great stress on it for England. But Sadler, as has been seen (p. 125), was not enamoured of that or any other idea to the exclusion of his admiration for what was best in his own country. His studies had been in Germany rather than in France and though he found much to admire in its educational system, as indeed in that of every country which he investigated, he wanted to introduce what was good into England without the weaknesses or the rigidities which he perceived. He always retained his reverence for the traditions which had built up much that was good at home. Every child should have the best possible chance for developing his gifts, but the chance would be different for German, French and English children. The best must be devised for the children of every nation.

III REPORTS

The Act of 1902, making the provision of secondary education obligatory on local education authorities, led many of them to get expert advisers to help in drafting proposals to submit to the central authority. Several of them turned to Sadler for advice.

Just as one distinguished report after another came in rapid succession from the Education Department when he was Director of Special Inquiries, so volume after volume came from his pen when he made recommendations for secondary education in various districts. Nine counties, six urban and three rural, secured his services.[1]

They still make good reading. And now, after more than forty years, some are said to be of service not only to the local historian, but to those responsible for educational policy, because of the understanding they show of local conditions and of local needs. Sadler was well equipped for the work. In some ways the inquiries were similar to those which he had pursued on the Continent, for before he would advise as to what should be done he was determined to know what there was to be altered or retained. He was expert in perceiving what was good and what was weak. He had the gift of encouragement to an unrivalled extent. He could pay no higher compliment to a friend than to say 'you are one of the encouragers', he himself being the chief of encouragers. In the work of giving practical advice for the creation of secondary schools, where none had formerly been the concern of local authorities, much encouragement was needed. The problems touched civic and county pride. He delighted in playing on that pride. He roused emulation by telling of the achievements of other cities and counties. He recalled to them anything good in their past educational efforts and used their knowledge of the character, the industry, the pioneering spirit of their ancestors as a spur to their own efforts.

In general the reports were well-received by the authorities for which they were written. Sheffield, the first authority to receive one, which, as it appeared in July 1903, was written

[1] Sheffield, July 1903 (Training College, Sheffield, October, 1904) Liverpool, June 1904. Birkenhead, November 1904. Huddersfield, December 1904. Newcastle, Exeter, Hampshire, April 1905. Essex, 1906.

during a time of great stress at the Board, was so deeply impressed by the proposals of the report as to promote them all immediately, although Sadler had suggested that they should be carried out over a series of years. And when in 1911 Sadler left Manchester, it was noted that his proposals had been adopted in all the areas on which he gave advice.

They were revolutionary in character; indeed the position called for revolution. It would have been impossible for reports which made recommendations as to what should be done with existing schools to escape some acrid comment and some opposition. Huddersfield, for example, which received some of the severest castigation which came from Sadler's pen for its neglect of secondary education, was especially restive about some of his concrete proposals. How far the restiveness was due to the severity of his comments on the lack of provision for secondary education cannot be known. But his methods in dealing with Huddersfield were characteristic of those he used elsewhere. He commended the doughty character of its inhabitants. 'Those who read these pages will know how heartily I admire the individual energy, the toughness of purpose, the sagacity and the outspokenness of the West Riding.' And then wrote:

'I doubt whether in the whole of Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland, Denmark or Norway, or in the progressive parts of the United States of America, any town of equal importance to Huddersfield could be found so ill-equipped with regard to boys' secondary education. It is only the great native ability of Huddersfield that has enabled it so far to hold its own in spite of this immense disadvantage.'

And again:

'the more closely the industrial future of the Borough is examined the less escape can there be from the conclusion that, unless steps are quickly taken to remove the present educational disabilities of Huddersfield, the outlook is black indeed'.

Whether or no these strictures had anything to do with the

immediate reactions to the scheme, there was something of an uproar in the press and the city on certain recommendations, and Sadler was summoned to a meeting to discuss them with those most intimately concerned in the matter.

He had recommended that the town should give aid to a grammar school which was historically Church of England, though it had become virtually undenominational and preserved complete freedom of conscience. The proposal infuriated some Congregational ministers. He had also recommended that a certain higher grade school should be improved into a really good higher elementary school instead of being turned into a secondary school, which he thought could only be weak and struggling. The Independent Labour Party resented this, thinking he wanted to degrade the school, being misled by a name. Finally some people supporting the Technical College were angry at his recommending concentration of aim and the doing of a few things really well instead of doing many indifferently. Various interested parties fomented the general dislike of the report.

But when Sadler met about a hundred hostile people he won them all over, and the meeting proved a great success. He wrote to his wife that because of bitter divisions in the city on religious and political questions he had seldom had a more difficult thing to do. But he placated one group after another and heckling lost its point in the friendly atmosphere he created.

It would be both futile and tedious to go into details of reports written and recommendations made in the educational world which existed at the beginning of this century. But there are certain proposals which throw light on his methods, certain educational principles and recommendations which are still the subject of controversy, to which it is worth while to draw attention.

Statistical tables were attached to every report. Comparisons were made in every case between the facilities for secondary

education in the area considered and those in other areas in England and with the average provision throughout the country and with those to be had in other countries. In country districts maps were provided showing the proximity of the schools, both existing and proposed, to the railways. Costs were carefully considered and where it appeared that the district was too poor to provide what would be ideal, the best possible alternative was proposed. But the ideal suggestions were mentioned for future use. All secondary schools were invited to send in accounts of their work. Most were visited. The recommendations contained not only general proposals for secondary education but detailed ones about the premises, the playing fields, and all the physical things needed to bring any particular school up to the required standard. Even more detailed were the recommendations with regard to the teachers, whose lessons had been heard and whose ability commended and who should be given in many cases more opportunity to display their special gifts. The reports are so exhaustive that it seems as though nothing were left untouched, from alterations in the train services to enable children to get to and from school with the minimum waste of time and effort, to the type of curriculum best suited to the district and to the capacity of the individual teacher.

Individual as the reports are, certain recommendations are to be found in all. Some, such as those relating to the training of teachers, are obsolete, the pupil teacher system which was still in operation having since been superseded, but doubtless his recommendations did something to hasten its end, for they pointed the way to full secondary education up to the age of eighteen before would-be teachers embarked on anything of the nature of professional training.

Something has already been said of his concern and admiration for teachers. Again and again in the reports he waxed indignant at the conditions under which they are expected to

work and to retain the freshness necessary for their important task. Constantly he commented on the lack of or the gloom of their staff rooms. Writing in a pre-pension era he made a devastating contrast between the conditions under which teachers worked at Kiel and those prevailing at Birkenhead, where he said the assistant masters at the Institute had no sort of guarantee for the future:

'they hold their posts on sufferance. . . . Like hundreds of other English secondary schoolmasters, they can count on no increments of salary, regularly advancing in proportion to their lengthening terms of efficient service. Their salaries do not permit them to make substantial savings for their support in old age; yet no retiring allowance awaits them when working days are done. In the event of a master's early death, his wife and children may be left destitute.'

In the matter of pensions his words and those of others have had their effect.

But much of what he wrote about salaries might be written to-day. In the report on Essex he wrote:

'At bottom the welfare of our secondary education will depend on the kind of men and women we get to teach in our secondary schools. At present we offer a pittance and grumble at what our niggardliness secures. We receive, indeed, far more than what our rate of payment justifies us in expecting to receive. But a great change in the salaries and prospects of assistant schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in secondary schools will be necessary before we can consider our national equipment in regard to schools as efficient as is our national equipment in naval defence. And yet our national welfare, under modern conditions, depends upon trained man-power as much as on sea-power.'

Though great improvements in the lot of the teachers have been brought about since his day, these words are not entirely out of date.

Nor is his strong recommendation that England should copy

American methods of granting grace terms to every teacher. A term off once in five years would prevent him from falling into a rut and enable him to widen the range of his professional experience, or to carry out some piece of original research.

Some mention must be made of Sadler's constant advocacy of the scholarship system. In every report suggestions are made for its extension, the particular number immediately needed being mentioned and the type advocated which would best suit the needs of the locality. He held that the English system of lavish scholarship provision, which was more extensive than in other countries, had been so to speak the educational salvation of England, which had lagged behind many other countries educationally in other respects. In 1908 he wrote a book on the subject in conjunction with Professor Bompas Smith, then headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham. His own section, reprinted later, gives an admirable summary of the rise of Secondary Schools in England, as well as of the scholarship system.

Sadler was well-known as an expert on technical education, his views on the subject were therefore sometimes specially sought and a great part of every report is given to that subject. There have been recent attempts to make Morant the villain and Sadler the hero of technical education. But, up to a point, their views coincided. Both were averse from early 'earmarking'. Both thought that all education should humanize. Both, possibly Sadler rather than Morant, at one time feared lest technical should dominate secondary education. But they differed in their views about secondary education, and Sadler had the most intense respect for technical education given that it was founded on a sound secondary education. Morant's vision of education does not appear to have gone beyond the conventional grammar school ideas which Winchester had given him. Anything else was to be thrust into the limbo of elementary education if it were for children under 15 and into a seg-

regated limbo of technical education if it were for those over 15.

Sadler was in something of a difficulty therefore in advising on the question of the education of children who had to leave school, because of their parents' poverty, at the age of 15. He was writing for local authorities, which had to administer the Act of 1902. He had therefore, as far as these children went, to make the best of what he thought a bad job. He was not advising the Ministry on the way in which the law could be altered, but local authorities on what could be done under the law as it stood.

Remarkably little had been done for children of the ages of 12–15. And he cared passionately that much should be done. It has been seen that his comments on the higher grade schools were, to say the least of them, chilly. But he had never contemplated their abolition without their being replaced by something better and something which should come under the secondary code. The higher elementary schools which had been hastily introduced to fill the gap were not supplying anything better and came under the elementary code. They were few in number. They served no very obvious need. Parents who had thought that something superior was being secured for their children in schools called higher grade, had no such idea about schools which were called higher elementary. For a time Sadler sorrowfully accepted the fact with the name, and tried to suggest the making of such schools into something distinctive and useful. He accepted perforce the continued educational division of England into two classes, recognizing the historical reasons for it but never liking it. Secondary education must, under the Act of 1902 and the regulations following it, continue to be to some extent class education. And so in one of the earliest reports he wrote:

'Develop our secondary schools as we may (and their development is an urgent national need), they can never meet in the most appropriate and economical manner the require-

ments of a number of clever children who desire to receive up to 15 years of age a much better education than the ordinary schools provide. Hundreds of skilled artizans, of clerks with slender incomes and of tradespeople doing business on a small scale, need for their sons and daughters a type of education which is superior to that given in the great majority of elementary schools, but different, alike in the duration and in the treatment of the subject matter, from that which should be given in an efficient secondary school. This need it is the function of the higher elementary school to meet'.

He went on to say that any such school had a missionary task in raising the whole conception of elementary education and that it:

'opens up new careers to hundreds of boys and girls who would otherwise be held back by lack of timely educational opportunity. It can enhance the industrial efficiency of the people. It can implant in the minds of the girls a higher ideal of personal culture and train them to greater skill in the duties of home life. By lengthening the period during which the rising generation receives an education appropriate to the real needs of practical life, it can greatly increase the productive capacity of the nation. It has been found in the United States that where the average period of school life is longest, the average productive capacity of the citizens is highest. . . .'

With this in view he advised in almost every report the founding of higher elementary schools, giving in some cases detailed suggestions for their curricula. Morant had missed the points of Sadler's objections to the higher grade schools, namely that they were not good enough to serve children from the ages of 12–15, that there were not enough of them, and that so long as they were under the elementary code they were using funds sorely needed for children of an earlier age. Sadler's recommendations for such schools in the districts he examined presupposed that they should be as good as secondary schools, but distinctive because they were dealing with a shorter period of school life. Morant's introduction to the code

of 1905 made it clear that these schools were to be a permanent part of the elementary school system, their course being determined by the greater usefulness of the training provisions and of the knowledge required. The instruction given in them was to consist of a continuation of the work of the elementary schools and the introduction of work of a specialist and practical character. It would be unnecessary, save in special cases, for the scholars to remain in such schools for more than three years. Morant indicated that whereas under the code of the preceding year the work of these schools was to be predominantly of a special and scientific type, under the new code they might be of various types and would no longer require 'buildings, equipment, nor teaching staff on the expensive scale rendered inevitable by the old arrangement'. Strong emphasis was also placed on the general nature of the work.

This must have seemed to Sadler something of a return to the 'cheap and nasty' ideas[1] which he had deprecated with regard to the higher grade schools which they were supposed to replace. From the time of the publication of this code he no longer confined his recommendations to what could be done under existing legislation, but pressed for changes in the regulations of the Board.

In the last of the reports, produced, in 1906, he reminded his readers that in the report on Derbyshire published in the preceding year he had drawn attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the Board's regulations and that the grants were 'wholly inadequate and the suggestions for a course of study insufficiently worked out'. Although he deprecated the idea of premature specialization, he called attention to the training of hand and eye which modern science required. He reminded his readers that higher grade schools had been recommended by the Secondary School Commission for the status of secondary schools:

[1] Cf. p. 72.

'In a special sense they are the cream of the elementary school system, but in their nature they are one type of secondary school and it will be less confusing to reckon them as such than to attempt (as has been done with imperfect success in the Prefatory Memorandum to the English Code for Public Elementary Schools, 1905, pp. iii-iv) to establish differences of intellectual aim between the work done in higher elementary schools and during the same period of years (12–15) in a secondary school.'

In 1906 the Consultative Committee at the request of the Board issued a report on the higher elementary schools, of which but thirty existed, only six being new, the others having been converted into higher elementary from higher grade or other types of school. In asking the Committee to report Morant said that:

'the special problem of difficulty ... in the course of the higher elementary school is the nature and amount of that special instruction which marks it off from the upper part of an ordinary public elementary school'.

Sadler would have thought that the difficulty, if any, lay in determining the nature and amount of instruction which should mark off such a school from that of an ordinary secondary school, a completely contrary point of view. And he would have answered the question by showing that the age range needed different curricula because of the earlier age at which the children would start on their occupations. As it was, he gave many details as to the very varying types of course which he thought suitable for children in the higher elementary schools. His general views on the subject are brought out in his copy of the report of the Consultative Committee, which roused his indignation to an unusual extent. There is a splutter of angry 'Whys' in the margin beside the passage on page 22 of the report which gives the difference between a higher elementary and a secondary school. 'Why', indeed

several 'whys', to the statement that: 'The secondary school is not continuous in the same way with the elementary school; its course is *normally* preceded by *a course of primary education* in a preparatory school or department; but this primary education differs in *character and method* from the elementary instruction which the public elementary school affords'. And another 'why' to the statement that:

'The difference between the higher elementary school and the secondary school extends downwards beyond the age of 12, at which both schools admit pupils and the difference *is the same throughout* the course.'

And an indignant exclamation mark to the statement that:

'the maximum age limit in the higher elementary school is 15 years; in the secondary school the course extends from 12 *to* 16, but this leaving *age is not, as in the other case, a maximum but a minimum*'.

And 'why' should:

'the two types of school prepare for different walks of life—the one for the *lower ranks of industry and commerce*, the other for the *higher ranks and for the liberal professions*?'

And a series of no less than three 'whys' to the statement that:

'the *home conditions of the two kinds of schools are different* and while, in the case of the secondary school, the home life may be expected to supplement and strengthen the school instruction, or at least not to hamper it, in the case of the higher elementary school the home conditions, at best, *do little to favour the ends of school education* and at worst are antagonistic'.

And later there is a further revealing note by Sadler, when on page 38 the Commissioners say that the teacher wanted for the higher elementary school must try to get his pupils to:

'see that theory and practice are bound up together and that school work has a direct relation to life work. He must try to teach them that their knowledge may be applied and how to

apply it. He must attempt, in fact, to inculcate by every means at his disposal those qualities of the mind and character that we have stated to be, in our belief, the most important and most desiderated in the case of children who are provided for by higher elementary schools'.

'Why', ran Sadler's marginal note, 'does this not apply to secondary schools?' Roughly speaking, it seems true to say that except for the length of the course he saw little or nothing which should distinguish these schools from secondary schools. On the cover of the report he noted:

'What is wanted for higher elementary schools is just what we want for secondary. All depends on good teachers—very difficult to get, so obviously all points to administrative unity.'

Given that it did not lead to rigidity, Sadler cared much for administrative unity. Here and there in the reports he made points which are of very modern interest affecting the entry of children to elementary and secondary schools: namely, the age of transfer, the teaching of Latin and the existence of preparatory schools. He was convinced that the right age for children to enter either higher elementary or secondary schools was 12. He thought that the removal of children from the elementary schools before that age deprived the elementary school teachers of the most fruitful parts of their work. Moreover 12 or something over 12 is the age at which the great public schools admit children, therefore if all schools were to be open to all children who could profit from the type of education given in them, 12 was the earliest age for the transfer. As a corollary of this it will be noticed that he was no adherent of the fetish that no course short of four years was worthy of being called secondary, since he pressed for schools which took children for three years, from 12 to 15, to be ranked as secondary.

He also boldly advocated the postponement of the teaching of Latin until the children had reached the age of 12. Such a

suggestion some forty-six years ago was revolutionary; he supported it by references to the excellent work often done by women in classics, who seldom had any opportunity of learning Latin until they entered a secondary school. In an appendix to the report on Liverpool he drew attention to the evil effects 'of stinting instruction in the mother language, in elementary science and in manual work' and of assigning an undue importance to Latin and Greek in the preparatory years of boys' secondary education. He described in some detail recent experiments on the Continent in the postponement of classical teaching which had been highly successful.

Certain passages in the reports indicate that he had no liking for special preparatory schools for boys. He did not go fully into the matter, as he was concerned with secondary education, but he made it clear that they should not receive aid from the rates and it is probable that he would not have been sorry to see them disappear altogether.

It has sometimes been suggested that the regulations of 1904 for secondary schools issued by Morant, which insisted on the general nature of their curricula, were the death knell of technical education. Sadler did not take them as such. He welcomed them cordially in the report on Liverpool which was the first to be published after the new regulations had come into force. He wrote that until that time the conditions for grants from the Board had been unfavourable to the type of education needed in a great commercial city, which, he wrote:

'needs most to know about mankind. Therefore the humanities should have a large place in the course of studies pursued in our secondary schools'.

Again, in the report on Huddersfield completed at the end of the same year:

'these new regulations are, from the point of view of those of us who are pressing for efficiency in our secondary education, undoubtedly wise. They make reasonable demands. Nothing

short of what they require is consistent with any sound definition of secondary education.'

But as time went on he differed more and more from the Board of Education in the interpretation of the regulations. He had approved them as safeguarding children from being forced prematurely into various occupations. He had not contemplated that they would be so interpreted as to stifle good experiment and to fit children only for working in a rut for the black-coated.

He was consistently anxious that practical work should be done in all schools. This was apparent in the earliest reports. For instance in the one on Sheffield which came out in the autumn of 1903, he said that the commercial needs of the community must be steadily kept in mind, without sacrificing the interests of those who were destined for professional callings. He emphasized the point that all secondary schools should endeavour to develop the abilities of the pupils by practical construction and by manual work as well as by linguistic or abstract mathematical studies. And he noted that employers no longer thought of technical education as rather a fad, but were recognizing it as essential to success when based on a sound foundation of secondary education.

With all his anxiety to preserve the humanities, his sense of the needs of industry and commerce was sufficiently acute for him to suggest in the very Liverpool report in which he had approved the new regulations of the Board, the foundation of a manual training school for boys from 13–15 or 16 years of age. There had already been a suggestion in Liverpool for establishing such a school in the Central Institute School building, but he was not in favour of that because there would be no room for a playground and moreover the school should have a corporate life of its own, which would hardly be possible when sharing a building with others.

It is perhaps worth while to give some account of what was

apparently a pioneering suggestion for junior technical schools. He made it clear that the school should be designed to fill the gap between elementary schools and apprenticeship and not to be an alternative to the latter. He thought it should be specially useful for those wishing to enter the engineering trades.

One-third of the thirty weekly hours should be given to manual training or drawing, rather more than a third to mathematics and natural science, one-tenth to physical training and one-fifth to English subjects. The school should give a well-graded preparatory course in practical handwork, combined with scientific study of fundamental principles underlying the occupations by which pupils afterwards intended to earn their living. Its aim should be to turn out a number of keen young fellows, vigorous in body, alert in mind, with a good hold on mathematics, some knowledge of scientific method and fitted to do well in engineering and other trades.

He recognized the difficulty of finding the right teachers for such a school and suggested that if the city thought fit to try such an experiment it might nominate as headmaster a man with good practical qualifications and strong interest in and experience of teaching and send him to America to see what was being done there in manual training schools. He thought that if the experiment were successful it should have a far-reaching effect on English education.

He knew that the equipment necessary for such a school must be expensive, but thought that it would be a repaying investment for such a city as Liverpool.

He rather tantalizingly did not make it clear under what code such a school should come. But it is noticeable that his final break, so to speak, with the regulations of the Board about secondary schools came with his interest in an agricultural school at Bigod's Hall, Dunmow, in Essex, which he thought was doing admirable work. He made various suggestions for improving the curriculum, but he openly regretted

that the regulations of the Board were not sufficiently elastic for the school to be recognized as an experiment in secondary education deserving of special attention and subsidy. This report was the last one he wrote, but in the ones immediately preceding it there had been increasing signs of his disagreement with the policy of the Board with regard to manual instruction and its place in the curriculum of the secondary schools and even more restiveness over the antagonism to experiment. Of course experiment is always something of a nuisance to administrators. It is of the essence of administration that there should be well-worn grooves in which the machinery should run, and experiments can have no ready-made grooves.

Sadler welcomed good experiment wherever he found it. Moreover he had a strong belief that manual training was an important part of all education and should be encouraged in every type of school.

It is apparent from the reports that he had seen much so-called technical education which was not to his mind educative, and he always feared that early technical training might numb the mind instead of stimulating it. At times he waxed almost venomous about anything in the nature of routine training. More especially was this true when he wrote of commercial training, for his sympathies lay more naturally with manual work. Commercial education to be of any worth should, he insisted, be recognized as a branch of technical education and come after a reasonable standard of general education had been attained, instead of, as was too often the case, being made a cheap substitute for a course of general instruction. He was appalled by the disproportionate number of students in Birkenhead taking courses in commerce:

'Less than one eleventh of the occupied male population of Birkenhead are engaged in purely commercial pursuits; more than half the male evening students are studying commercial subjects. Many of the young people who attend evening classes

show a devotion to shorthand and bookkeeping which amounts almost to a mania. No doubt the desire to wear the black coat of respectability is a powerful incentive. At all events, be the cause what it may, this excessive attention to elementary commercial subjects in evening schools is to be deprecated. The educative value of such subjects as business routine or commercial correspondence is small. Surely what is needed most of all by the type of boy who goes to the evening school is a training which broadens his outlook as he grows towards citizenship; which will touch his imagination and refine his ideals of life; which will stir and discipline his mind amid the cramping routine from which every beginner in commerce and industry must suffer.'

It was the primary business of schools to humanize. It was right for the Board to insist on a high standard of efficiency in the general part of the instruction given. He was strongly opposed to forms of instruction which seemed calculated to produce machines rather than human beings. He recognized the efficiency of the machine which might be the result of certain types of technical training, but he thought an efficient machine an unsatisfactory substitute for a human being. So throughout there is a distinction between manual training of an educative character and mere practice in manual dexterity. Since the bulk of the population lived and would live by the work of their hands it was grossly unfair not to give them sound manual training both in elementary and secondary schools. Hence the warm welcome given to the regulations of 1904 was replaced by stringent criticism when he found rigid interpretation of them antagonistic to the recognition of secondary schools which were doing good pioneering work along practical lines.

It would be both tedious and useless to make a summary of Sadler's recommendations with regard to evening schools, technical institutes, etc., so detailed were they and in every case so carefully adjusted to the needs of the area and the possibilities of improvement. Such variation was integral in all Sadler's

ideas of higher education. Everywhere he studied with interest what progressive firms were doing to help their workers, and especially their young workers, to take advantage of facilities for higher education. In every such case he considered anxiously the number of hours of work so that the workers should not be unable to make good use of educational opportunities.

His comments and recommendations on the type of education provided were numerous and thorough. In every case he was considering the industries of the neighbourhood. Frequently he advised concentration of effort so that whatever was done could be well done. He had the universities well in mind, often suggesting that for certain types of work the boroughs would do well to help some neighbouring university financially and use its technical departments. As might be expected he begged that attention might be given to the artistic side of the work wherever it was appropriate. For instance, in the report on Sheffield he wrote with sympathy of the pride taken in the handwork of the city, but suggested that on the artistic side more might be done 'to refine the taste and so to quicken the demand for beautiful form'. Later in the same report he pointed out that, because of the great use of machinery, boys got little chance of studying form and added that while mechanical work often tends through the deadening of interest to the deterioration of character, the study of applied art might awake the creative faculty and elevate the thoughts of the worker and the tone of his life. He therefore advocated—just to give one example of his suggestions for a particular city—the teaching of silver-smithing, enamelling, die-sinking, ivory-carving, ornamental hammered iron-work, fine casting in metals, architecture, stained glass, bookbinding, painting and decorating, heraldry and art needlework. He suggested short courses as well as evening classes to meet the needs of the workers.

Before the reports, which appeared at an average rate of three in each year, were completed Sadler was up to the eyes in

other work besides that at Manchester. For so convinced was he of the need for further educational facilities for young people that he set to work on the subject of continuation schools.

IV CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

In 1907, the year after the last of Sadler's reports for local authorities appeared, a massive volume on continuation schools of which he was editor was published. More than a quarter of the contents was contributed by the editor, including a masterly historical review of the agencies for further education in England.

There were at that time no continuation schools in this country in the modern sense. The agencies of which he wrote were Polytechnics, working men's institutes, technical institutes, evening classes. Only the editor, as always in the van of progress, foresaw future developments in a chapter on 'Compulsory Attendance?'. He wrote:

'Many of the skilled workers believe that attendance at the day school should be extended first to 15 and ultimately to 16 years of age, the course of training during the last three years to consist largely, though not exclusively, of hand work of different kinds. . . . The public advantage . . . of securing to the rising generation a prolonged and suitable course of training in day schools should be very great.'

He went on to say that opinion in England was not yet ripe for such a revolution and that:

'possibly some carefully devised plan of half-time attendance at day continuation schools may be found practicable.'

Once more he was hammering away at the necessity of something being done for adolescents who were for so long the most neglected of future English citizens. Later in the same article he wrote that the use of:

'adolescent labour, unless accompanied by much educational care and regulation, interrupts at a critical point the course of physical, intellectual and moral development which is required to produce the efficient adult citizen. In other words it wastefully interferes with a course of development which it is the main task of civilized government to shelter and promote'.

All the notes in favour of compulsory attendance in this volume, as in the reports, are accompanied by insistence on limitation of the number of hours spent in the workshop.

The year that this volume appeared provision for continuation education in the modern sense was made for Scotland, and the Board of Education, having had its attention called to the whole subject both by the work Sadler had been doing and by the call for immediate legislation in Scotland, referred the question to the Consultative Committee, of which Sadler was then a member. Now that provision for continuation schools is on the Statute Book little need be said about the stages by which it arrived there. The two main points urged by the committee, which have been adopted by the Act of 1944 and which it is hoped will make all the difference to the final phases of school education, were the steady raising of the school age and compulsory further part-time attendance. The report of the Consultative Committee had recognized that:

'there should be no gap between the day school and the continuation school, as, although such a gap may not be in all cases educationally undesirable, it leads to many scholars being lost altogether for further education'.

The difficulties of making the schools compulsory immediately were fully recognized, but they were noted not as objections to a compulsory system but to its premature introduction. All manner of devices were suggested for bridging the gap until such time as general compulsion could be introduced with advantage and the teachers needed be found, the provision of suitable teachers being one of the greatest difficulties.

The work on this report must have added substantially to Sadler's labours at a time when he was being constantly and urgently consulted on Education Bills. Every now and then there are slight indications in his letters and memoranda of the work involved, not merely by attendance at committees, which was never with him a passive matter, but at sub-committees and in actual drafting. Even in private documents he did not reveal the extent to which the committee leant on him; but there is one illuminating note he wrote just before the final draft of the report of the Consultative Committee was sent to the Board, saying that it was practically ready, but that there still remained much work for him and the secretary to do. Once again he was instrumental in pressing forward a great reform in English education.

V MORAL INSTRUCTION AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

While the work on continuation schools was being carried on, other activities were developing. More and more Sadler was at the beck and call of Lambeth, where a wearied and harassed Archbishop perpetually asked him to advise on the matter of church schools. But before turning to that subject it is worth while to give some attention to the question of 'Moral Instruction'. He edited a book under that title in 1907. In this case only the introduction was written by him, although together with Mr Twentyman he translated the first chapter on the 'Problem of Moral Instruction' from the German of Dr Rudolph Eucken. An introduction to a volume for which a committee was responsible, containing articles not only from members of many religious denominations but from agnostics, could not give much of the writer's individual views though it did not conceal his sympathies. He was trying to arrive at a common denominator, but the common denominator, while giving a large and important measure of agreement, could not give any answer to the question whether there were not:

'parts of moral education in regard to which the teacher would appeal to the social or civic conscience rather than to sanctions which would be called in the ordinary sense of the term religious? Could schools confine themselves to that part of moral education, leaving the deeper parts of it to the parents and the religious bodies? Or was not the whole problem of moral education inseparably one and in its fundamental issues religious?'.

Those responsible for the inquiry set to work through the indefatigable editor and secretary to collect and sift information on the subject from a remarkable variety of people. He summarized their findings by saying:

'Our evidence shows that in every country there is an ideal of personal and civic obligation which may be taken as a basis for school teaching by adherents of almost every school of thought. This greatest common measure of agreement may form an important constituent of education in the national schools, but cannot rightly be employed by the State as if it were the sole foundation of morality. In regard to the most vital questions of conduct, the appeal lies to sanctions in regard to the definition of which there is among us profound difference of personal conviction. Freedom for the expression of those convictions, is therefore . . . essential to the welfare and true unity of an educational system in such a country as our own. . . . Substantial unity of moral effort is more likely to be achieved through permitted freedom of reference to divers sanctions than through any attempt to secure moral unity by imposing statutory limitations upon freedom of moral appeal'.

This passage is followed by a strong plea for the freedom of the teachers. And the utmost confidence is expressed that such freedom will not be abused. He laid the greatest responsibility on them:

'The most essential things of all lie in the personality of the teacher—in sympathy, in moral insight, in an almost pastoral care, in a sense of justice, in candour of heart, in self-discipline, in consistency of conduct, in a reverent attitude of mind and in a faith in things unseen.'

Next to the personality of the teacher he placed in order of importance the corporate life of the school; and here, after mentioning the influence of beautiful surroundings, the value of healthy physical conditions and what could be done by giving the pupils some share in the government of the school, he went on to some lesser points which appeared to him vital. These began with the enjoyment by the school of some degree of legal autonomy. He pointed out that the revolution wrought by Thring could hardly have occurred at Uppingham had Uppingham been a council school under an ordinary local education authority. But he was prepared to admit that it was rare for such a revolution to be:

'expedient or salutary. No national system of education, unless it were Tolstoyan in its denial of organization, could sanction many such cases of school development without falling into chaos. Yet, short of this, there is a degree of moral independence which, if individuality of tradition and variety of method are to be encouraged, should be permitted to the responsible managers of every school. There is a mean between over-starched organization and demoralising disorder'.

Towards the end, after making many other suggestions for the strengthening of corporate life, he reverted to the question of religious teaching and wrote on the marked difference between American and English opinion on the subject. In America, though there were notable exceptions, the mass of opinion was unfavourable to the introduction of special forms of religious teaching in the public schools of the nation. But he wrote that in Great Britain:

'We are assured by our investigators and by some of those who have given oral evidence, that the withdrawal of the religious lessons from the schools (and in a still higher degree the prohibition of common acts of worship) would be regarded by multitudes of teachers as a calamity.'

Having accepted this as the general view, it was suggested that

syllabuses of religious instruction should be carefully considered and revised and less use made of portions of Scripture in 'Scripture Knowledge', so often too dessicated a thing, and a warning given against the undesirable results following examinations on religious lessons given in schools.

The evils arising from numerous examinations were already biting into Sadler's soul and he was to do much work on the subject, chiefly in conjunction with Philip Hartog, a notable pioneer in the unmasking of absurdities and the revelation of the harm done to children by ill-devised examining and the over-pressure of which it was the cause.

In the course of this work Sadler came into close relations with many of those most concerned with religious education, and became known for his quick sympathy and resourceful ideas.

The work of preparing the book had been supported by an advisory council of nearly 1300 people of various denominations and of no denomination at all. The correspondence was immense, and all who know anything of Sadler know what a large proportion of any correspondence in which he was involved was written in his own hand. Nor was this all. The first volume was followed by a second dealing with the question internationally, for from the first he had been convinced that the basis of the questions to be considered was not an insular one and that all nations could learn from the experience of others the best methods of tackling the problems.

Then in 1909 a great international congress was held in London under his presidency. His presidential address was brief but pungent. Again he was dealing not only with varying but with sharply conflicting points of view. He said that he was sure that nothing but good could ensue from the temperate and respectful consideration of the vital issues before the conference at a public meeting attended by scholars and teachers, many of whom bore illustrious names. And he made it

clear that in his personal judgment there were 'certain parts of moral education, necessary to the good life, which are inseparable from one form or other of religious belief'.

The congress, representing the views of speakers from some twenty different countries, closed harmoniously and, as was generally the case with anything with which Sadler was concerned, with a request that he should with the help of a small committee continue the work so well begun.

VI EDUCATIONAL SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE

Long before the meeting of the congress it had become apparent that Sadler was more likely to be of help than any other layman in resolving religious difficulties in education. When Randall Davidson, then Archbishop of Canterbury, launched an appeal in 1907 for funds to enable church schools to maintain their buildings, he wrote to Sadler asking him to allow his name to appear on a short list of persons supporting the appeal, as he thought it would carry more weight than any other.

Controversy over religious education raged throughout the year 1908. The Act of 1902 had led to passive resistance to the payment of rates on the part of dissenters, because aid from the rates went to Anglican and Roman Catholic schools, whereas the non-conformist bodies had for the most part handed over their schools to the State at an earlier stage. Moreover secularist thinkers objected to the fact that children in areas in which there was only one school had to attend Church of England schools, there being no alternative. It was true that denominational bodies had to maintain their buildings, so sustaining a burden from which the State schools did not suffer; but this did not mollify the critics, especially when it was found that denominational bodies were prevented by poverty from bringing their schools up to the standard of those maintained by local authorities. The conscience clause, enabling parents to arrange that their children should not attend religious in-

struction, which was in force in all schools receiving rate aid, did not meet this last objection. Nor did the fact that, had it not been for the existence of denominational schools, the burden of rates and taxes would have been far heavier. Indirect financial objections to any scheme are always less powerful than direct ones.

It is difficult in these days of comparative peace in this matter to recall the bitter feelings it roused in the first decade of the century. New legislation seemed essential.

Two Bills were introduced in 1908, the first by Mr McKenna, the second, which owed much to Sadler, by Mr Runciman who succeeded McKenna as President of the Board of Education. Both were dropped. From the first Sadler was involved in negotiations and in efforts to secure an agreed settlement. Throughout the controversies over the two Bills the Archbishop relied on Sadler to a touching extent. Sadler's letters and memoranda during this period are full of such notes as 'telegram from the Archbishop asking me to go to Lambeth', sometimes followed by an account of how, having gone and having refused to stay the night, he was obliged to do so and to be furnished by all manner of people with the necessities for the occasion.

The best history of the negotiations is to be found in letters from Sadler on 'Education in England', which appeared in *Indian Education*, a monthly journal to which he regularly contributed for some twenty years. But the admirable summary of the situation given there omits all mention of his own activities, the advice he gave, the countless conferences he attended, the generous manner in which he placed his services at the disposal of the Archbishop, even offering to give up two or three evenings a week in order to address meetings on the subject. Since the negotiations did not bear fruit in an Act of Parliament it is unnecessary to go into them in detail. But the one vital point, on which, rather to his surprise, he found the

Archbishop in sympathy with him, was that there should be within the reach of every child in the country a non-denominational school. Such a scheme would have meant the surrender to local authorities of a number of Church of England schools. The payments made by the authorities for the purchase of denominational schools in areas in which no other school was available should enable the various denominations to maintain schools in other areas in which there was a choice of school. After many negotiations with the Government as well as with the interests affected, the Runciman bill drafted on these lines superseded the McKenna one. Given due generosity on the part of the Government there would have been an agreed settlement. But the sums proposed by the Government, when it came to the point of determining them, were so miserably inadequate that the Bill was withdrawn.

Sadler, as was customary with him in all such matters, enlisted in 1908 the help of other people to serve on an 'Educational Settlement Committee'. More than a thousand members of all shades of opinion joined the general committee and Mr T. E. Harvey, a cousin of Sadler's wife, who was at that time Warden of Toynbee Hall, became joint secretary with him and did invaluable work. The plan remained as already described and in 1910 the committee produced a pamphlet summarizing its aims:

'In all urban areas and in many which are non-urban the population is large enough to permit alternative types of school in accordance with the wishes of the parents of the children concerned. But in any area in which the interests of efficiency in general education preclude the recognition of more than one school, the plan required that school to be the one provided by the local education authority'.

It might seem as though the work of the committee was mere wasted effort, as no further Bill was brought forward and the law remained as it was. This, however, is not the opinion

of Mr Harvey and others who lived through the episode. For they consider that what was then done by Sadler and others so softened the asperities of the time that it was possible for the arrangements of the Act of 1902 to operate until another Act once more altered things in 1944. Whether it would still have been preferable to introduce the legislation for which the committee had worked, rather than the complicated plans which are now in force, future educational historians will judge. All that can be said now is that in the judgment of competent observers Sadler and those working with him, by proving to men of varying opinions that stalwart churchmen were willing to forego a monopoly of religious teaching wherever it existed, greatly promoted harmony.

The proceedings from first to last are characteristic of Sadler: the eagerness to help. The inability to spare himself if appealed to in an emergency. The drafting of memoranda till the small hours of the morning. Seizing the vital points. Yielding nothing of principle, but always ready to meet others on points which were not vital; always listening to and considering every argument and always patient. Disclaiming rather than claiming credit for anything which was done. It may be noted in passing that his willingness to help was by no means confined to such men as Archbishops. To him no man was unimportant and he would give assistance with the same wealth of understanding and the same care in detail to the humble as to the eminent. If the eminent are mentioned more often than others in such a narrative as this it is only because they had more to do with educational policy than the lowly.

It is cheering to know that he got much entertainment out of it all. His notes on the negotiations are illuminated by personal descriptions showing his amused delight in the human beings among whom he moved. 'Balfour', for instance, 'coming noiselessly down the corridors of the House of Commons like a large grey cat'. And 'Athelstan Riley, whom I had not seen

for years looks unchanged—pernickety, precise, acid-voiced but intelligent'. And Asquith, who came into his secretary's room when Sadler was there, 'looked absorbed and heavily burdened. In stature and to some extent in appearance he reminded me of a rather fat Mr Gladstone, but with less fire.' Men and their ways always provided Sadler with an ever-changing theatre, so that work and recreation were constantly mingled. He never had a dull moment.

VII WORK AT MANCHESTER

Throughout all these and many other activities there was the work at Manchester for one term in the year, though he appears to have missed his residence there by leave once at least on the score of ill-health. There are few memories to be tapped of work done some forty years ago for a fraction of each year. But he always had the warmest regard for the University which had given him a welcome asylum when he sorely needed one. He had happy relations with his colleagues there and made many lifelong friendships. And he did not for a moment think that his obligations to the University ended with the term's work. When appealed to by the Vice-Chancellor during a vacation to help clear up personal difficulties in the education department, he immediately cancelled other engagements to go to Manchester, where he managed to harmonize the conflicting elements. He wrote a chapter on University Day Training Colleges for a volume, published in 1911, commemorating the coming-of-age of the Department of Education in the University. And long afterwards, in 1929 he told 'The Story of Education in Manchester' in a volume entitled *The Soul of Manchester*.

He gave to the University and to its students, for whom he expressed the greatest regard, full measure, running over. He wrote that he gave sixty lectures in the term to the students and that he devoted eight or nine hours to the preparation of

each lecture. He said he could not give to the students who came to hear him anything less than the best of which he was capable. This alone meant something like a fifty-hour week during the Manchester term and none knowing him would imagine that his activities were confined to lectures.

VIII HISTORY OF EDUCATION

The lectures were on the history of English education. Masses of notes for these lectures exist. Unfortunately they are notes, not full manuscripts and not typed. Each one begins much as it must have been delivered and is written clearly in his diminutive, somewhat classical script, but soon the writing degenerates into a series of headings and later becomes indecipherable even to those experienced in reading illegibilities. The lectures were to have been the foundation of a full history of English Education. All his life he accumulated material for such a history. He knew that the next post he held as Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University would prohibit any work on the history, yet he always hoped that the time would come when he would have leisure to shape and produce it. All who are interested in education the world over lament that it was never written. The Manchester years gave the best opportunity he had for progress with the scheme, and it is possible that if the post he held at Manchester had been a full- instead of a part-time one he might have carried it through.

Against that possibility, however, is the fact that he left a sort of monograph on the subject written in 1929, in which he said that it was not only lack of time or pressure of other work which prevented his producing the book which many were anxiously expecting. He declared that the deepest cause of his delay:

'was inability to determine to what end and issue . . . the great forces at work in English education are tending. Is it towards an elaborately comprehensive system of all types of school,

representing (so far as may be) every creed and many colours of conviction? or is it towards some unified monopoly of education, administered by the State and bound to it by presuppositions sanctioned by the State and by the State alone?'.

It might be suggested that if the writing of history were always to be postponed until what was to happen next were known, none would ever be written. But Sadler contended that the student of educational history could not, until this issue was determined, know which of two conflicting tendencies should be:

'emphasized and underlined as being more significant and as being prophetic of the future. So long as he remains in doubt on this crucial point he cannot throw his history into focus. Of course, he can make a chronicle. Further than this, he can comment on the tension between two or more discrepant doctrines. He can describe the unresolved discords in the history of education in England. . . . Even to-day, the balance between two opposite tendencies is even, and to hide from the reader the significance of this equipoise would be to discard—however unintentionally—truth for some form of propaganda'.

Again he was concerned with the two-mindedness of England. The monograph continues for nearly a hundred pages, with a wealth of illustration drawn from other countries and a lavish use of his immense knowledge of English educational history, to a conclusion which once again posed the question of whither we are tending. Was the nation to be malleable or intractable? He never concealed the fact that while admiring the efficiency of malleability he had a liking for the intractability which distinguished the English character. His hope was that the final decision would be in favour of variety and the freedom which insists on the ability to make a choice.

V · TRANSFORMATION OF A UNIVERSITY
LEEDS 1911–1923

In 1911, Sadler, after an interval of eight years, once again accepted a full-time post and became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. The years which had passed since he left the Board of Education had been busy enough; in the long run too busy. He never learned that there were limits to human activity; whatever he was doing he gladly took on himself ever increasing burdens. He would quote with appreciation the statement that 'the art of life consists in selecting your ignorances', but he was far from making any such selection for himself. And with every fresh accession of knowledge came an accession of labour. The Manchester interlude had been fruitful and happy. He had long wished for a period of writing, investigation and study during which he could be a free-lance. Letters show how much he appreciated the time which gave him an opportunity of observing the educational system in different parts of the country and how happy he was in collecting material for a history of English education and in lecturing to students.

Several posts of importance were offered to him during those years; but none which gave scope for his particular gifts, until he was asked to go to Leeds. He accepted with delight, though he was grieved at having to give up his historical work. He wanted to be back in full harness, earning a steady income. And the opportunity of serving a university was irresistible.

It will have been seen throughout these pages what immense importance he attached to universities and their place in national life. It will be remembered that he began his career in the service of university extension. He always pressed for university representation on educational bodies. At an early

stage he had said more than once that he hoped to see institutions of university standing in at least a hundred towns in England. The universities stood for learning and that he rated highly. They also stood for intellectual and spiritual integrity and he held firmly to the belief that the standards of the whole nation could be raised by them as by no other means.

He wrote to Hartog from Weybridge in the autumn of 1911 when the idea of his going to Leeds was mooted:

'I want to go to Leeds more than anything else I have ever wanted (except two things) in my life before. And I want to go for the undergraduates. I admit the importance of the rest of the show (specially research) but the undergraduates seem to me to matter more than anything else.'

He was grieved for his wife who was averse from his accepting the post and leaving the Weybridge home and the garden which she had made beautiful with so much skill and care and added:

'I feel brutal in being the cause of our having to make up our minds for a sacrifice which bears so heavily on her ... yet I have a conviction that in the end, Leeds (if it happens) will be better for her than a continuance of this.'

And again:

'It will be a great wrench for my wife, but better, in the end, I think even for her. And I shall hate giving up the teaching at Manchester. But I am keen for the work if it comes.'

He might have added that there were also two very special attractions for him in the post. First that it was in his own county of Yorkshire where he knew and understood the people. Secondly that the University was in its infancy. For the pioneering stage of any educational enterprise had an unfailing attraction for him.

The University of Leeds had received its charter in 1904, but its origins were much earlier. In 1831 the Leeds School of

Medicine had been founded, which won a great name for itself and did distinguished work with eminent men among its pioneers. In 1874 the Yorkshire College of Science had been founded, to which had been added a Faculty of Arts in 1877. Sadler wrote in 1931 in an unpublished article that:

'the pioneers who put out their little bark in the seventies had a rough sea to face. Industry was not prepared to accept the new gospel from strangers who seemed to come from a world of theory for which the Yorkshireman has an inbred suspicion and distaste'.

Then there was the highly cultivated element in the local life of the city, which, when there was talk of founding in Leeds a college which might later claim the name of University, was 'suspicious and sniffy'. They thought it absurd to think of a university in a town so sordid as Leeds. And seven years after the University had received its charter it was possible for men of this stamp in the West Riding to be ignorant of the fact that it existed:

'Experienced Mother Wit in Industry and Refined Sensibility in Culture were thus in tacit opposition—resistance rather than opposition—to the idea of the Yorkshire College in its cradle. But there was a third, and not less watchful, antagonist also. The first name of the college was the Yorkshire College of Science. Theological orthodoxy bristled with suspicion. Church and Chapel—except the Unitarians, the Friends and some intelligent Church people and Independents—were afraid lest the newcomers should import unbelief and set an example of spending Sunday without joining in public worship.

'Exposed to these enfilading fires, or rather to the three formidable batteries of loaded guns, the little band of citizens and professors went forward without flinching. They were bent on impregnating industry, and at a further stage commerce and the professions, with the spirit and methods of science. They were not in a crude way advocates of what was clapped by grey-haired social reformers at dull meetings as "technical

education". They saw that technology must spring from and be invigorated by men who were masters of the fundamental science.'

Characteristically this statement is followed by a long list of the men who promoted the new college, giving full meed of appreciation to the qualities of each. To it is added the names and something of the work of those who were concerned with other parts of a liberal education in the humane subjects. Through such men as he described the work of the college grew in spite of all discouragements and in spite of starvation in the matter of funds, no Parliamentary grant having been made to any English university college until 1889, and then such grants were small. In 1884 the Leeds School of Medicine was incorporated with the University College. In 1887 the College was admitted as a constituent college of the Federal Victoria University, its partners being Manchester and Liverpool. This Federal University broke up in 1903, when, partly stirred by the example of Birmingham which, through the civic pride and determined work of Joseph Chamberlain had secured a Royal Charter for a university in 1900, Liverpool University College and Owens College, Manchester, secured the grant of Royal Charters and became independent universities. Leeds, not sure of its power to stand alone, had opposed the break-up of the Federal University and Sadler himself had thought that Leeds was then not ready to be an independent university, but the action of the other members of the Federal trio left it no alternative but to apply for a Royal Charter, which was granted in 1904.

Sadler wrote that the inner strength of the new university was greater than had been realized:

'The stream of the new university movement into which Leeds was compelled to steer her course has carried her further than she dared to hope. It is almost incredible that within sixty years the precarious life of the Yorkshire College should

have matured into the massive strength of the University of Leeds.'

To win funds for an institution which had so gallantly proved its merit and its grit in the teeth of every kind of discouragement was one of the major tasks of the new Vice-Chancellor. There were five obvious sources of income: the Government, local authorities, annual grants and gifts, students' fees, endowments. In the article already referred to he castigated the Government for its meanness in early years, pointing out that in the first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century Government grants had been made to a Canadian college and truly munificent ones to the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the University of Edinburgh for new buildings, while in the latter half of the same century 'refusal after refusal, not always polite, met requests for help from Owens College, Manchester, and other more struggling institutions for scientific study and research'. But he added triumphantly that:

'the great scientific men who struggled with extraordinary patience to build up the new English universities were discouraged but not daunted. The malignant apathy of Governments, the long continued delay in framing a new system of local administration threw on the council and staffs of Owens College, of University College, Liverpool, and of the Yorkshire College an unnecessary burden of practical difficulty which distracted many of them from their proper work of research and lowered the intellectual productiveness of the universities. And Leeds, hampered by poverty, had to put up with unworthy buildings, with an almost slum lay-out for some of its extensions, with pinched salaries, with a starved library, with a makeshift refectory and common room, with a third-rate athletic field. Nevertheless by sheer weight of character, of brain power and of public spirit the university won through. But to the end of its life it will bear marks of struggle, like a thrawn tree on a West Riding moor.'

The onslaught of his vehemence helped to win, not only

for the University of Leeds but for all universities, a great increase in grants from the State. By the time he left the university direct grants to it from the Treasury had more than quadrupled. He had no fear of interference from the State with the academic life of the University and indeed was always most insistent that the independence of universities must be safeguarded from any form of Government control, central or local. The academic freedom of the universities was one of the things he prized most highly and he laid stress on it in all the numerous cases in which he was consulted about the setting up of new universities or university colleges. He was thought to have done much to safeguard such freedom in all universities. He believed firmly that there was no reason why the giving of money should be accompanied by control on the part of the donors whether public or private.

But an increase from Government grants alone would not meet the urgent needs of the University. Therefore soon after he arrived at Leeds he and Mr A. F. Wheeler, the Registrar, who was his devoted friend as well as a most efficient officer, for a period of nine months set aside two or three mornings a week to visit the various education authorities of the county and the city and business firms which might be interested in what the University was doing and hoped to do for the neighbourhood. The attitude of eager helpfulness with which he went to these bodies bore quick results. One after another the various local authorities began to make grants or increased those already made. And though the coming of the first world war interfered with the scheme for launching a great public appeal until after Sadler had left the University, the goodwill he had won for it among those who had hitherto been hardly aware of its existence, bore rich fruit.

He wrote:

'The fundamental purpose of the University of Leeds, as I read it in the light of history and achievement, is to penetrate

industry with science. To imbue the spirit of industry with the exactitude, the imaginative insight, the stark conclusions of science. And thus to imbue not only industry but commerce. Also, to imbue with the spirit of science the great vocations of the ministry, of medicine, of dentistry, of law, of teaching, of accountancy, of geological survey, of civic and national administration, of authorship, of archaeological investigation, of the care of fisheries and animals, of literary and theological scholarship. Science as a discipline of mind and heart: science as an illumination of the ways of discernment and discovery: science as a standard of veracity in word and in proof. For a task like this a man or a woman must learn the joy and habit of unhesitating toil, of *labor improbus*. Leeds works. Work is in the air of Leeds. Board a tram in Headingley or Moortown at half past eight on any week day in the working year: watch the faces of the men walking to business: you know that you are in the atmosphere of hard work—taut-muscled, purposive work. And the University is well placed in such an air. Resourceful, many-sided, multifariously energetic is Leeds. And her University is worthy of her.'

Endowments accrued under the impetus of his appeals. The income from students' fees grew with the number of students, but with such an increase in numbers the costs of the University grew also, and income from other sources became more and not less necessary.

Sadler had taken on a tough job and he knew it. But he had a liking for things which called out all his energies. None ever thought of him as a mere money-getting machine, but rather as an invigorating apostle of higher education, with an unshakeable belief in the power and responsibility of the University to permeate and vitalise the thought and the imagination of Leeds and Yorkshire.

Sadler was fifty when he entered on his new duties. He was perhaps as handsome then as he ever was. Grey curls clustered round a domed head. Keen blue eyes shone above the sensitive mobile mouth of the orator. The nose was too retroussé for

classical beauty, but the whole face was vivid with sympathy and eagerness. His swift springing step made it difficult for the ordinary person to keep up with him. Appearance and movements proclaimed an almost unparalleled buoyancy. Every look and word radiated goodwill. His irresistible gaiety was a revelation to those accustomed to conventional academic manners, as was the almost explosive sense of fun which he never attempted to suppress. He would charge his companions in a tram, even though they were but slight acquaintances, to put away their pennies because he had only a ten shilling note and he wanted to see the conductor's face when he proffered it to him. His charm was a by-word and though some said gloomily that it took more than charm to cope with Yorkshire folk and especially with Yorkshire business men, it was soon discovered that the charm might partially but could not wholly conceal a devotion to work and a dogged energy which could not be surpassed by the most sullen of men.

He needed more energy than most to meet the claims which his charm brought upon him. No one hesitated to ask his advice, or to demand his attention. Always he was at the service of all. His patience was phenomenal. Though his mind ran ahead of the minds of others, he was always eager to know what they thought, and perhaps only too ready to accept as wisdom the half-baked views of less experienced persons. He was among the world's best listeners and although one of the most brilliant of lecturers, he must have listened to more lectures by others than almost any man. And, although he could be a most devastating critic, it went hard with him if he could find nothing to praise.

His charm was not switched on for those from whom he might expect to win something for the University (he never thought of winning anything for himself). It was a natural manifestation of sweetness of character. Those who held administrative posts in the University, whether major or minor,

during his Vice-Chancellorship speak of the manner in which he swept off his hat with a beaming smile whenever he met any one of them and tell of his tearing up the road to catch up with a member of the Registrar's office and shepherd her past a herd of cows having been told she was afraid of them. He was ready to befriend all and was perhaps better beloved and understood among the humble than among the lofty, since with the humble the purity of his motives could not be questioned.

Small though the University was when he went to it, he found an admirable academic staff containing some members who rose to great eminence. Among the scientists perhaps the most outstanding was Professor William Bragg (later Sir William), the great crystallographer, who later became President of the Royal Society: he left Leeds for London in 1915. But there were others such as Professor Arthur Smithells, a notable chemist, who remained on the staff of the University till 1923, the year in which Sadler left. And then, in history, there was A. J. Grant, most popular of lecturers of whom it was said that he was so sought after that he spent half his time in lecturing and the remaining half in refusing to lecture. And in English Professor Gordon, later Professor of English at Oxford and President of Magdalen. And Professor Macgregor, later Professor of Economics at Oxford, and Henry Clay (now Sir Henry) who held a series of notable posts in Economics after leaving Leeds, later doing good work as Warden of Nuffield College, Oxford. These and many more made the prospects of work at Leeds University and its standing among the universities of England excellent. And Sadler was the man to recognize to the full and make the most of the high qualities he found in the staff.

It was indeed said of him that all his geese were swans. The only occasions on which he is known to have flamed into a rage were those during which doubts were thrown on the

merits of some candidate for an appointment whom he thought should be elected. Such rages were rare, but magnificent. His stature seemed to become three times its natural size and his voice became husky with shouting. Nothing but the denigration of others provoked such outbursts and very few are on record. It should be noted that, although sometimes overgenerous in his estimate of others, he was not uncritical of members of the staff even when he had a high regard for them. When pressed, for instance, as to the suitability of one of them for a post which needed considerable character he answered that the person in question always seemed to him 'resistently rigid rather than creatively strong'. His comments were always shrewd and always balanced.

Those of his colleagues who were on the University staff when he became Vice-Chancellor have told of the amazing revolution which he wrought in the University. A complete transformation of spirit and outlook entered its walls. Professor Grant said that he changed what had been but an insignificant college into a great university. Before he came, Leeds hardly knew that it had a university. He had not been there long before the city and the county became throbbingly aware of the University of Leeds, turning to it for advice and help in every emergency, proud of it and its reputation. The present Vice-Chancellor says that in no university city in the country is the Vice-Chancellor's office regarded more highly and that the present esteem in which the University is held takes its character almost entirely from the impact of Sadler on Leeds. It will readily be believed that the recognition which the University won under his suzerainty was due to his desire that the University should serve the city, not to any wish for precedence or dignity. The recognition came because work was being done in the University, for the city and for the nation, which could not be ignored.

It is difficult to assess the work of a creative and trans-

forming spirit. Its results can be told. To some extent the means can be described. But in the telling it is not easy to avoid things which appear trivial and ignore the vision which lay beyond the work and which in Sadler's presence could not be forgotten. A sense of the wide horizon, of the urgent importance of the work, which made it worth doing and doing well down to the most minute detail, was always with him. And he had the gift of communicating it, so that all who worked with him felt their part, however apparently insignificant, was vital to the progress of the University and of things beyond the University. Sadler not only communicated his sense of the value of the work to members of the University staff but to others. Eminent men and women from all over the country and indeed, owing to the attractions of his own home to visitors from overseas, from all over the world were induced to give open lectures in the University Hall. These became so popular that queues sought admission not only outside the doors of the lecture hall and of the University, and of the road leading immediately to the University, but up the thoroughfare from which 'College Road' branched off.

Then again Sadler instituted regular fortnightly concerts in the University Hall, insisting that they should be of a high standard and also insisting that undergraduates should be admitted to them for 6d, whatever the price to others. Art was ever to the fore, not only in the University but in the promotion of exhibitions of works of art in the city, the artist often being, as Mr Sadleir has told, asked to lecture at the University. Such exhibitions were sometimes too 'advanced' for the taste of the city fathers, who, when an exhibition of the works of the Serbian sculptor, Mestrovic, arrived held up their hands in horror and hastily called off the public opening which had been arranged. But, judging by the works which have since been purchased by the Leeds Art Gallery, Leeds in the long run became as audacious in its artistic outlook as any city in England.

It had received a great education in artistic matters from its Vice-Chancellor in the second decade of the century.

Then a great impact was made on the city by the institution of a men's luncheon club, entirely due to Sadler's initiative. It was the first of its kind in the country. Its object was to bring together men of all kinds, business, professional, etc., once a fortnight, so that they might meet informally at lunch and hear an interesting speech. The time, chosen to meet the convenience of busy men, was arranged so that all members could be punctually back at their work, no speaker being allowed to exceed the period allotted to him. It interfered with no one's business and brought together men who would normally never have met. Sadler was one of the secretaries, another being chosen from among men connected with the city. With his wide acquaintance in the artistic and educational and indeed in the great world he was able to secure most notable persons as speakers. At the luncheon gatherings his happy gift of bringing men together and introducing them to those they would most wish to know made for an atmosphere of goodwill and harmony which contributed much to the unity of the city and all its members. This was perhaps more easily done in Leeds than elsewhere, for it was and perhaps still is among the few great cities with a single centre, geographically and spiritually. Trams from the outskirts all run to one centre and somehow or another, no doubt helped by Sadler's influence, men and women active in affairs tend to come together and know each other. Inevitably there have been and doubtless are factions there as elsewhere. But less than in most other places is the city divided into 'sets'. To a remarkable extent representatives of the municipality, the churches, the University, business, labour are welded into a single whole.

Every sort of person was encouraged to look to the University for help. When there was an influenza epidemic, which

devastated the city and its doctors, nurses and sextons, members of the University staff and their students spent their spare time in digging graves. Individual departments such as those of textiles, dyeing, etc., were constantly bombarded with questions on this or that. Even the Department of Economics, in spite of the business man's doubt as to the theoretical treatment of the subject, would be expected to give on the telephone an immediate answer as to the 'value of a man' so that the Medical Officer of Health could computate for the purposes of his annual report the precise gain to the city of a sanitary improvement which he thought had saved such and such a number of lives; or the 'correct economic solution' of the problem of wage rates in a time of rapidly rising prices.

It was natural that Sadler should take a leading part in the activities of the Workers' Educational Association, a body to which he had from the first given most generous encouragement. He had been a member of the Leeds branch since 1905 and had been a subscriber to its funds for two years before he became Vice-Chancellor and he became chairman soon after he arrived in Leeds. The late Mr L. K. Hindmarsh was at that time Assistant Inspector for Higher Education in Wakefield and responsible for the formation of a joint committee of the W.E.A. and the University with representation from the West Riding Education Committee. The work had developed more rapidly than the funds for its support, and it seemed as though the whole scheme might collapse for lack of money. As soon as Sadler came to the University the picture changed. He made Mr. Hindmarsh tell him in detail about the position, and then asked whether if he provided £25 the rest of the money needed could be found. Greatly encouraged Mr Hindmarsh got what was wanted and the work flourished. The assistance of the Vice-Chancellor did not end there. He persuaded Lady Dorothy Wood to invite people to a meeting at Temple Newsam, at which her husband (now Lord Halifax) and the

then Archbishop of York (Cosmo Gordon Lang) described the work and secured funds for it.

But money giving and getting were the least of the services which he gave to the adult education movement. He constantly addressed meetings, offered the use of university buildings for gatherings, including the use of his own room when there was some difficulty about providing accommodation for classes to be taken by Mr Henry Clay. He promoted the organization of 'Saturday Schools', which on one occasion were held on three consecutive Saturdays as being the nearest thing possible to a true 'Summer School'.

There was a sorrowful interlude in the work he was able to do for adult education because of the intervention of university students in the Leeds Municipal strike in December, 1913. Mr Sadleir has written at length about this.[1] The Vice-Chancellor's point of view was clear and characteristic. The health and well-being of a great city was, he thought, at stake. His chivalrous concern for the city made him think it right that undergraduates should intervene and run the municipal services if their parents approved. It was generally believed that they broke the strike. Sadler always thought he had been right; it was not just an impetuous chivalrous impulse which led him to take the line he did. His conviction that the University should serve the community was unwavering.

His action had unhappy repercussions on his relations with the W.E.A. He was informed that a lecture which he had undertaken to give, which was to be the first of a series organized by the W.E.A. and the Trades' Council 'would not be wanted'. And he was constrained to relinquish the chairmanship of the local branch of the W.E.A. He was not at all pleased at first when Professor Grant accepted the position in his place. But he soon recovered from his displeasure and recognized that it was fortunate that through the action of Professor

[1] *Michael Ernest Sadler*. A memoir by his son, pp. 257–63.

Grant and other members of the staff, relations between the workers' organizations and the University could continue. Some distinguished members of the University staff, forced by circumstances into the open, declared their belief that, although individual students could take what line they wished in an industrial dispute, they should do so as citizens, not as students, and that a university, as such, had no right to intervene. Feeling ran high in the University as well as outside it. But in the long run the Vice-Chancellor recognized that both points of view were legitimate and would in later life say that the great thing the University had gained by the strike was the recognition that it was big enough for its members to differ among themselves. With the outbreak of world war the following year the affair was largely forgotten, though some leading men in the city failed to learn the lesson which Sadler had thought had been taught and persisted in thinking that those members of the staff who had differed from him had been disloyal.

Something has been said in connection with adult education of his speeches and lectures. His eloquence and his willingness to allow it to be called on by all and sundry was not the least of the services which he rendered to the University and city and county. He was ready to speak anywhere, for any sound organization however obscure. If a request for a speech came in his secretary was told to find a date, which would suit those who asked, and be possible for him. He had held thousands spellbound in America, and would take just as much trouble and use just as much fervour in casting the same spell over a handful of people in a drab room in some back street of a Yorkshire town. Indeed those who were so fortunate as to hear him when he addressed less than a dozen people in a small grim room thought that his best speeches were made on such occasions. For he then more often than at other times abandoned the notes which had always been prepared with the greatest care

and spoke spontaneously with a wealth of oratory worthy of the greatest audiences. If reporters were present he kept more closely to his notes, so that they might be given to reporters and so that there could be no possible inaccuracy in the report.

His acceptance of innumerable invitations to speak was due both to his eagerness to help any good cause and to his desire that the University should be known to the district in which it was placed. This last desire led on one occasion to the institution of open days at the University, when the buildings were thrown open to any who cared to come and see what the University was doing in various departments. No one enjoyed the occasions more than the Vice-Chancellor, who darted here and there, welcoming the guests, indicating the activities which would most interest each of them. He apparently was exhilarated by the proceedings though he was more active than anyone else, but when he wished to repeat the experiment the suggestion was vetoed by members of the staff, who had found the whole affair most exhausting.

Those who worked in Leeds during the years of his office will doubtless think of many other extra-mural activities due to his enthusiastic initiative. The tale of them could not be completed in a single chapter. But there was one activity from which he was excluded and which must be mentioned, namely the educational work of the city. The Secretary for Education, James Graham, a person of great force of character, was constitutionally incapable of appreciating such a man as Sadler. He opposed him at every turn and, it would seem, delighted in stabbing his sensitiveness. Sadler had failed at the Board in his efforts to ensure University representation on the new local education authorities and here in the city which he served so ardently, there was no such representation. It was both laughable and grievous that the greatest living English authority on education should be precluded from serving on the education committee of the city in which he laboured. The effects of the

lack of someone of university standing were sometimes disastrous for the city. Had there been any such person on the education committee of the municipality the events leading to the resignation of Winifred Mercier, Vice-Principal of the City of Leeds Training College, and of a large proportion of its staff and to a Board of Education inquiry into the causes would surely have been impossible.[1] The reputation of the city and the college were gravely marred. The fault lay with authority higher than that of the city, for a lead from the Board, such as exists to-day, for the inclusion of persons of high standing in education would have averted the disaster. Sadler was deeply concerned about the episode, but was unable to help. But though the Secretary for Education might ignore him, nothing could make the city or the county do so and year by year the influence of the University and its Vice-Chancellor was more strongly felt.

Within the University itself the flame of his personality made an instant impression. He was immensely popular among the undergraduates, who knew that they could approach him on any subject and be sure of his sympathetic understanding. There were only 626 full-time students at the University when he went there and he thought it one of his most important duties to get to know them. He wrote to Hartog that he considered himself to be of more use chatting with undergraduates wherever he met them, in corridors, halls or laboratories than in attending university committees and doing university business. He showed the utmost concern for their living accommodation, for any quarters they might have within the University, and for anything which could be done to make them feel that they had a responsible part to play in university management. He helped with the work of the Student Christian Movement and any other religious society which approached him, and encouraged a plan for the holding of special services in a church close to the

[1] Cf. *The Life of Winifred Mercier*. Lynda Grier.

University. As the number of undergraduates increased by leaps and bounds he was unable to know more than a small proportion of them personally, though even so he knew more than most men could have done, for his capacity for remembering and identifying people was great.

The University became a hive of activity. But there was nothing mechanical about the activity. Quite the reverse. As more and more departments were started, as existing departments were encouraged to embark on new courses and new ventures the place became more and not less human. It was soon known as the friendliest university in the country. Professor Grant wrote that after Sadler's advent a 'warmer current seemed to enter its gloomy corridors'. Everyone was welcome. Every request for help was hailed with delight. Every suggestion for new work was a stimulus.

The organization was excellent. Sadler expected and secured a high standard of efficiency from all who worked for and with him. He boasted that the administrative costs of the University were lower in proportion to other costs than those of any other university. That power of keeping down administrative costs was shown in all organizations for which he was responsible. They always flourished and they did so with the minimum of expense. Two factors accounted for the achievement; one being the immense power of work of the man at the helm, the other his infectious enthusiasm. The Registrar would work with him all through the night when there was a great pressure of work. Sometimes he would use a little deception on his wife by rising at 4 a.m. and, having made himself a cup of tea, get four hours of uninterrupted work before anyone else was afoot. He could not bear to be inaccessible when wanted, but fortunately none wanted him before 8 a.m.

Miss Eadie (now Mrs Cobb) who had succeeded Miss Beard as his secretary in 1907 and was with him until 1920, speaks of his constant consideration for her. At the same time she admits

that she never stopped running during the twelve years she was with him. When she worked with him at Weybridge before coming to Leeds she would meet him at the station so that he could sign letters at the bookstall. Sometimes she would go to London with him so that he might dictate letters to her in the train, either returning to Weybridge by the next train, or if all were not yet done, sitting with him on the steps of London University while he finished his dictation. All who knew her at Leeds know how unremitting were her labours and how deeply she was imbued with his spirit of kindness and courtesy in what she did for others as well as for him and in the welcome she gave to all inquirers. The Vice-Chancellor made it plain to all who came to the University that both his secretary and the Registrar were completely in his confidence. He never failed to let them know the upshot of any work in which they had been concerned and told them of all developments. He believed that he had the best secretary in the country and that the University had the best Registrar. They knew that, however much they did, he did far more; that knowledge and his confidence in them inspired them to use their powers to the utmost.

Life at the University was strenuous for everyone, but it was gay, even through the war years. Sadler was far too wise and far too trusting to interfere with the work of the acadmeic members of the staff. He only intervened if his help was wanted. Then he gave it in full measure. But all were aware of the pulsing life of the University; all took their share in new developments. It was said that when Sadler went to India for 18 months and someone condoled with C. M. Gillespie, Professor of Philosophy, who was Pro-Vice-Chancellor at the time, because of the extra work which must be falling on him, he rejected the sympathy, saying that members of the University were having their first period of rest since Sadler came. And there was much truth in the statement. Members of the academic staff might be summoned to the Vice-Chancellor's

office every day for a fortnight to discuss new schemes affecting their department, to meet employers wanting a new type of lecture for their workers, to meet someone of interest to them in their subject. Often they would find themselves being consulted on matters of grave concern in the University and even in the educational world outside.

On every occasion they could rely on his helpful and most loyal support. If a disgruntled father came to him to complain that he was not getting his money's worth for the fees he paid for his son, twelve hour lectures and eleven O.T.C. being far too little, the Vice-Chancellor would explain to the disaffected parent the difference between school and university methods. He would then use the utmost ingenuity in suggesting ways of satisfying the father without overburdening the teacher. To any other man in his position such details would have brought weariness and boredom, but he regarded them as all in the day's work and therefore in the day's fun.

If any member of the staff had a new scheme on hand, his delight knew no bounds. Nor did his help. Keeping himself sedulously in the background, he would suggest speakers, ways and means of making the scheme known and successful, write any number of letters and scrutinize every sentence and the very lettering of its syllabus, all the while making sound and constructive proposals. One small instance of this may be given which occurred in connection with the Social Training Diploma, which had been established during his first year at the University. By 1916 the Ministry of Munitions had decided that in all munition factories there should be welfare workers. Up to that time there had been no training for them and the employers, many of whom did their best to secure suitable people for the work, were unable to find qualified people and had made appointments which were often fantastically and sometimes wickedly unsuitable. The Vice-Chancellor took the most impassioned interest in a plan to

adapt the Social Training scheme to one for the training of welfare workers. The matter was a very small one in view of the the far greater issues at stake in the war years, but it was treated by Sadler as seriously as though it involved the setting up of a great State department. When he had done everything possible to ensure the success of the scheme, he made it the subject of an address at Giggleswick, where many of the boys were the sons of employers and likely to become employers themselves, with so much infectious fervour that in the following vacation a considerable proportion of the sixth form came to Leeds to see what was being done. It was again all in the day's work that most of the short Christmas vacation had to be given up by him and some members of the staff to making arrangements for the visit.

Instances of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely but each could only be known to those nominally responsible for the work. Others might guess, but could not know, how far the Vice-Chancellor had taken a hand.

It could hardly be expected that there should be no difficulties, or that he should meet with universal appreciation from members of his staff, fine though most of them were. It is not given to everyone to 'be sensitive to the touch of greatness'—to use a phrase of Sir George Trevelyan's. Little men love to pick holes in great ones. And wherever Sadler went he was bound to excite envy in those in whose souls envy arises more readily than admiration. The fact that he so openly enjoyed his job was a source of irritation to some. Those of sombre temper felt it hardly decent that any man should be so merry about his work. Surely he could not be taking it seriously enough? Surely he must be superficial? Surely a bit of a charlatan? But, when those words died away in the face of repeated proofs that he worked harder than any, surely it was almost the action of a blackleg to show so plainly that he found his work great fun? Surely it detracted from the dignity and gravity and

possibly therefore from the financial value of academic work? Yet all had to admit that he had a great sense of dignity. Ceremonial occasions at the University were conducted with a decorum unknown before. The degree ceremony which had degenerated into a beargarden before he came, was thereafter all that an academic ceremony should be.

Again there were those who could not believe that his universal urbanity was anything more than a cloak. To many he was known as 'the affable archangel', sometimes affectionately, but sometimes mockingly. At an early stage even Professor Grant, later one of his most devoted friends and admirers, said: 'it is not possible for any man to love as many people as Sadler appears to'. But it was possible. People would say that he was 'too good to be true', not having learned that it is just those people of whom the expression is used who are the truest.

His artistic sensibilities, which were of the greatest service to the city and the University, often provoked misunderstanding, not only through such incidents as that already described in the matter of exhibitions (cf. p. 174), but because of his temperament. Nothing was more marked in him than the combination of artistic with keen business sense, for that is a not infrequent association, but with a dogged and sustained sense of duty. Hence, while being apparently the most mercurial, he was actually the most faithful of men. Faithful to his family. Faithful to his friends. Faithful to the cause of education whatever the temptation to take other work. Superficially volatile, he was fundamentally stable. Naturally with such a temperament he sometimes went into the depths of depression. He advertised these by suddenly appearing in a dark suit and black tie, and though even then he could be trusted to carry through anything which had already been started, members of the staff knew that before bringing any new scheme to his attention it was as well to wait until he emerged in a bright

tweed suit and red or yellow tie. The periods of gloom were few and brief. His secretary attributed them to overwork and thought they ended after a holiday or even a Sunday in bed (generally preceded by attendance at an early morning service). In a few days he would be eagerly welcoming and as eagerly initiating some new venture.

With such a temperament occasional impetuosity was to be expected. It will have been noticed that there were some who thought that Sadler erred on the side of caution. He never took an important decision on any educational issue without the most careful consideration and much consultation with others. But in personal matters, as in the purchase of pictures, his generous temper sometimes led him into making promises which in the long run he could not fulfil. Being himself convinced of the right thing to do, he could not believe that others would demur and was deeply distressed when they did and he could not secure for a candidate the post which he had regarded as a certainty when he offered it. Such occasions were rare and the victims usually forgave him, knowing that he had been misled by his own enthusiasm and his belief in them and also knowing how his spirit was seared by such mishaps. For he never forgot.

It was a singularly happy community over which he presided. Full recognition was given to the work of all. Something new and interesting was always happening. Women for the first time found themselves on equal terms with men in the academic world. To many it was exhilarating to have their opinion sought and treated with deference on public matters. It was also exhilarating to be expected to do as much work as if they were of the opposite sex. For the most part they rose to meet the demands which were made on them. Again they knew, as did all in the University, that what they were asked to do was as nothing compared with what the Vice-Chancellor did himself.

He did not seek easier conditions for himself than for anyone else. There was considerable distress among members of the staff when in the war years of fuel shortage he would sit huddled up in greatcoat and muffler, lest he should be depriving others of coal which they needed more. Frequently he would take what seemed a very inadequate snack of food in the most frugal restaurant. At all times, war or no war, his habits were of almost Spartan simplicity. He kept no car. Whenever possible he walked, or sometimes bicycled. When distance or time did not allow of either exercise he went by tram, generally strap-hanging as the trams were apt to be full and he would always find someone who needed the seat he might otherwise have had. He did not touch alcohol.

It was said that in his bedroom there would be £5 worth of furniture in the room and £5000 worth of pictures on the wall. He might be accused of a form of self-indulgence in the buying of pictures, but even that was combined with unselfishness since he constantly gave them away, was for ever lending them to individuals and institutions, and was never happier than when any purchase might help a poor artist. He did not collect pictures to beautify his house, or rooms. His office at the University was anything but beautiful, though the floor was cluttered with pictures. Possibly beauty was too disturbing to him for him to allow his business centre to be anything but a workshop. He once commented on the beauty of a woman's room and asked whether she worked in it? When told she did he said 'No man could work in a room as beautiful as this'.

To turn from the man who transformed the University of Leeds—a transformation due to his radiant and creative personality—to the things which actually happened while he was there, I am allowed, by courtesy of the present Vice-Chancellor to quote freely from the University reports. There was a distinct change in their tone after Sadler's arrival. They became

impregnated with hope and activity. The report for 1911–1912 begins:

'For the University the year 1912 was prosperous. Considerable developments took place in its work, especially in the study of Agriculture, of Economics and of Geography. New chairs were established in Philosophy and in the English Language. The new section of the Textile Department, which the University owes to the generosity of the Clothworker's Company, was opened. . . . The University Hall for the residence of women students was enlarged. New common rooms were opened for the use of men students in a house provided for the purpose by the University Council. Encouraging developments took place in the tutorial classes and other forms of instruction provided for extra-mural students. In the field of scientific research, in its educational equipment, in the development of corporate life among the students, in its relations with the public educational authorities of the district and in varied educational activities outside its own walls, the University can record satisfactory advance.'

So the reports continue with more and more work, more and more students and a steadily increasing flow of funds from one source or another. Then, in 1914, three years after Sadler became Vice-Chancellor, came the war. His responsive spirit met it as a stimulus rather than an interruption. The first paragraph of the report for 1915 contains the following passage:

'Six things are salient in the history of the University during the past year. First, it has been its privilege to render many-sided service to the nation in connexion with the war. Second, it has been brought for the first time . . . into intimate association with the universities of France. Third, the intellectual activity of its scientific research has responded at once to the needs of the textile industries. Fourth, by the affiliation of Rawdon College, it has been permitted to undertake what will in future be an important part in the higher education of those preparing themselves for the ministry of the Baptist Church. Fifth, it has been drawn into closer co-operation with the

work of the Bradford Technical College, with the ready concurrence of the Bradford Education Committee. And, sixth, it has received a succession of munificent gifts which have enabled it to set on foot two new departments of teaching and research. These will, it is hoped, be of great value to Yorkshire and will help in strengthening the power of the nation to seize new opportunities of economic development in foreign trade.'

The buoyant spirit of this extract is characteristic of the Vice-Chancellor. What was a disturbance to other men was to him a challenge and one to be met with a high heart. So adjustments were made, new schemes promoted, the services of the various scientific departments to the war effort were given every encouragement and the University, in spite of the loss of undergraduates, remained a vigorous place. Members of the staff were encouraged to help in civic efforts also, many experiencing in no common degree the austerities of war-time travel, as they represented the University in distant parts of Yorkshire.

Sadler at the same time played no small part in the councils of Vice-Chancellors. He did much to avert serious cuts in Treasury grants to the universities and in co-ordinating the policy of the universities on matters which affected all.

In 1916 it seemed for a time as though he might be asked to leave the University to take up work at the Board. It was not the first of such possibilities, for as Mr Sadleir has told, many people thought he would be asked to take the place of Robert Morant at the Board when the latter was obliged to leave it. That possibility arose in 1911 just as Sadler had taken up the work at Leeds. About this post he wavered. It has been seen (cf. p. 165) that the Leeds work was dear to him.

In a memorandum he wrote at the time he said:

'this work in Leeds is far more important than the general public at present realize. Every year the importance of it will become more obvious. Already the intelligent people see it. The West Riding has fallen some years behind the modern ideas. There is leeway to make up. But the material is good, the tone

of the University excellent and the opportunities very wide. In fact there is more to be done with this University with the existing material than with any university in the country.

'If I went to the Board I should not be able to speak in public. I should not be able to publish letters, articles or books on educational policy. I should not be able to carry forward the study of English education in modern times, as any publication on that subject would involve criticism or disclosures of official educational policy. The prospect of working with the kind of people who are likely to be made Presidents of the Board of Education during the next ten years is not very exhilarating. There is also the growing conflict between the House of Commons and the Permanent Civil Service, a conflict which will cause increasing difficulties in the relationships between Cabinet Ministers and the high Civil Servants. . . .

'Every day I find myself drawn towards the conclusion that it may be in the best interests of English education that I should not serve any more in the Board. . . . that I ought to be free to take strong action against the Board on behalf of freedom, if it be necessary; and that my future work in English education depends, in ways we cannot yet foresee, on liberty from official restraints.'

In another paragraph he suggested that if he were successful at the Board it might well lead to over-great reliance on the Board on the part of teachers and education authorities which would put the Board in a position of too much authority.

He was therefore much relieved when the post was offered to Sir Lucian Amherst Selby-Bigge for whose appointment he had hoped.

The second post was in a different category, namely that of President of the Board. It became known that the Prime Minister, Mr Lloyd George, was looking outside the ranks of existing members of Parliament for the next President. Sadler was the obvious choice, as he was out and away the greatest living English authority on education. His name was freely canvassed for the position and there is no doubt that he felt it was a

distinct slur on him that the post should be offered to a neighbouring Vice-Chancellor Mr H. A. L. Fisher of Sheffield, whose work was that of a most distinguished historian rather than of an educationist. Sadler yielded place to none in admiration for the work of the Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield. But he could not but feel, especially when wide publicity had been given to the possibility of his own appointment, that he and his office lost prestige through the choice of the other. With the confiding simplicity characteristic of him he talked freely to his friends about the question, making no secret of his expectation or of his disappointment. More self-conscious men would have said nothing about the matter at any stage, save that they had never expected to be appointed. Sadler was far too transparent for that. He did not conceal his disappointment and for a brief time he lapsed into gloom. But he was too much concerned with the work and events of the moment to dwell on the disappointment for more than a short time. He was soon writing to Hartog to say how happy he was in not having to move and how awful it would have been for him and for his wife with her Quaker views if he had been obliged to go to the Lords. It had not then occurred to him that a place might be found for the new President in the House of Commons. Many years later he ascertained from a friend of Lloyd George's that his reason for appointing Fisher rather than Sadler was that he did not personally know Sadler, though he had read and admired his reports.

No one who knew Sadler could think that his remarks about the post were an expression of sour grapes. Very shortly after the new appointment had been announced his spirit was as blithe as ever and his ardour for the work of the University as strong. But he was not able to continue it for long. Before the end of 1917 he was invited to become President of a Royal Commission on the University of Calcutta.

It was felt by the authorities of the University as well as by him that he ought not to refuse. The work of this Commission

will be dealt with in another chapter. It had been supposed that it would take only six months, but, largely because of the thoroughness with which the Chairman worked, it continued for a year and a half, and by the time Sadler returned in the spring of 1919 the war was over and he had to tackle the problems of post-war reconstruction, with swelling numbers and new and pressing problems. Before he went to India two new departments had been started, in Russian and in Spanish, and as soon as he returned another was opened in Geography.

With the rapidly increasing expansion of the University more funds became necessary. At the beginning of 1920 a 'statement of needs' was prepared to be given to those whose help was solicited. An inaugural meeting for making a wide appeal was held in the following November, and by March 1921 more than £115,000 had been contributed, of which the greater part had been received before any public appeal had been launched. This appeal was distinct from the one for building which followed it and of which the fruits were gathered after Sadler's departure from Leeds in 1923. But the spade work he did had awakened much interest among the business and wealthy men of the area and the gradual replacement of slum by worthy university buildings owes much to him.

It was thought by some that the zest had gone from his work after he returned from India in 1919. It might well have been so, for he was approaching the retiring age and his great enjoyment in work lay not only in getting new things going, but in seeing them brought to completion. Not much time was available for this. But the idea of any slackening in his work is contradicted by Miss Selby who became his secretary when Miss Eadie married in 1920. She writes that she came to the University in February 1920 and that the Vice-Chancellor:

'was in a terrifically energetic phase. He had all sorts of schemes afoot, was busy arranging courses of lectures, picture shows in the corridors of the University and paving the way for the

appeal. He was the very reverse of a "weary and dejected man". I felt in the centre of a whirlpool from the moment I set foot in the Vice-Chancellor's office—in fact his energy nearly killed me during the first year I worked as his secretary. He arrived at the University most mornings at 8.45' [it will be remembered that he had often already done four hours work] 'and expected to find his letters opened and sorted. He then had me and my assistant in and we both took down letters, memoranda, etc., at breakneck speed. The idea of this was that we could share out the job of dealing with the correspondence. He had a great number of interviews with the staff and students—he made a great point of always seeing students who wanted his advice or were in any sort of trouble. We had no tutor of women students in those days and no academic sub-deans to whom the students could go, and the Vice-Chancellor gave unstintingly of his time for this sort of thing.

'He addressed countless meetings, attended public dinners, often preached on Sundays and had all sorts of irons in the fire. He used to set aside about two whole days a month for visits to firms, influential people and local authorities. He did a great deal of preliminary work for the appeal in this way—telling people what the University was doing and what it hoped to do and literally begging for money.

'He was indefatigable and was, I think, a little shocked when I felt it a bit too much to be asked to devote the whole of one Sunday, about a month after I arrived, to "catching up" on articles for the press, etc.

'He spent a great deal of time in preparing his speeches, though he did not, as a rule, read them. We also prepared very careful précis for the press, as he hated being misreported.

'He was very keen to get the midday recitals on a sure footing and persuaded the Finance Committee to give a grant for them . . . as he saw how keen I was on music he asked me to help . . . and I finally took over the arrangements. It is certainly due to his enthusiasm that these midday recitals got going and were so successful. Though not very musical himself, he always attended the recitals if at all possible'.

It may be interpolated here that although, as Miss Selby says,

he was not very musical, he, like many not very musical people, had an immense respect for the art. He recognized his limitations in the matter and could be amused by them. He would take a friend to a concert and, having handed over the programme, would charge his companion not to reveal the items, but let him guess. He generally guessed wrong. When corrected he would chuckle and say how salutary it was for him to make a fool of himself over an art which he did not understand, as it made him more charitable to those who did the like about an art with which he was familiar.

Miss Selby continues:

'He hated the short holidays at Christmas, Whitsun and Easter when the University was closed for four or five days. He nearly always came in himself during those times and I remember one particularly fine Whit Monday when I had to be on duty to show some of his friends round and help him display his pictures. He overworked his staff shamelessly, but always assumed that the University was so important that it was a privilege to give one's whole life up to it—as he did of course.

'He expected a great deal, but one always felt one was working with and not for him. He told me about every important interview he had with anybody and always told us what he was working for at any particular moment and kept us informed of how things were going.

'He did have his depressed times. I always knew if he was not happy about the course of events as he took no interest in his pictures. But these did not last long and some new possibility would come along and he was soon in high spirits again and all agog to cope with it.

'My recollection of the time I spent as his secretary can be summed up as a breathless rush, full of excitement and interest, interspersed with some very awkward Senate meetings at which some of his rather advanced schemes were discussed (and opposed in some quarters) and illuminated with some of the best public lectures anyone could wish for. He kept us all busy but very much alive. Personally I would not have missed this experience for anything.'

Miss Selby's account bears out much that has been written in earlier pages and it is good to know that he lost nothing of his powers and his buoyancy as the years went by. She emphasizes, perhaps more than others, the amount he expected from his staff. It was sometimes said of him that he could only work with a devoted staff and there is no doubt that to some degree they spoilt him in their anxiety to keep up with him. Whether he could ever have worked with a less devoted staff is unknown, for always they fell under his spell and became as eager to do the work as he was himself. Being capable of so much himself he was unable to estimate the limitations of others and they were loth to confess them.

His time at Leeds came to an end in 1923, when he was already sixty-two and approaching the retiring age for such a post as he held. He was not a man to seek any extension of office. He accepted an invitation to become Master of University College, the most senior of the colleges in his old University of Oxford. The announcement of his resignation from Leeds and acceptance of the Oxford post was made almost at the same moment as the arrival of one of his generous gifts to the University, a war memorial in the form of a large bas-relief by Eric Gill. Of this Mr Sadleir has written at length. The design, which had not been seen by Sadler beforehand, of money-changers in modern costumes and top-hats and one with three balls, being driven from the temple, was not what he would have approved, though he characteristically would not publicly throw the blame on the artist. There was something of an uproar in the city, outraged articles appearing in the press, suggesting that at the day of judgment pawnbrokers would appear as high in the Kingdom of Heaven as anyone else. The storm blew over as such things do and the sculpture is a thing of pride to the University, being indeed a fine example of the artist's work.

Sadler was in Canada when the announcement of his re-

signation was made and at first, on his return, found himself faced in some quarters with almost more wrath than sorrow. But, regretful though he was that a gift of his should hurt any sensibilities, his resilience was more than equal to the occasion, which indeed may have done something to mitigate the sorrows of departure from a university and city for which he had done so much and which he loved so well.

Looking on the achievements of his time all, whether friends or critics, were amazed by them and filled with regret that the man who had raised the University to so high a position in the city and county as well as in general esteem among universities would no longer be putting his unrivalled gifts at its service.

The report of the University for the year 1922–1923 recorded that:

'In the past twelve years the number of students in the university has increased by 150 per cent., the buildings have been extended, the organization of the teaching work has been continuously improved, the staff has nearly doubled, the volume of the research conducted by staff and post-graduate students has made remarkable growth, the external work of the University—mainly concerned with adult education and with agriculture, education, experiment and scientific advice—has made large strides and the income of the University has risen from £61,000 to £173,000 a year'.

It might have been added that the number of halls of residence for students had grown from the one for women which had been enlarged during Sadler's first year, to six, four for women and two for men. The Council of the University, which consisted of representatives of local education authorities and other persons outside the University staff, passed a resolution which, having expressed the regret with which his resignation was received, added:

'During a period of twelve years, Sir Michael has laboured unsparingly in the interests of the University. In all branches

of its activities the University has been enriched by his distinguished services. His whole-hearted devotion to the interests of the University, the knowledge and insight which he has been able to bring to bear on the difficult problems with which the University has been faced, and his unfailing courtesy, have won for him the admiration and esteem of his colleagues on the Council and throughout the staff. His tenure of the Vice-Chancellorship has witnessed a large growth in the breadth and magnitude of the work of the University, a deepening of its influence on the community it serves, a fuller recognition both by official bodies and by the public of the importance of its functions. The high reputation in which the University is held to-day is due in no small measure to his personal efforts, the results of which have a value that cannot be measured but will remain a lasting memorial of his work . . .'.

The strictly academic body of the Senate also, in its resolution expressing regret at his going, spoke of:

'the great advance of the University in the knowledge and favour of the city and county, a widening in its outlook and a quickening in its spirit which has brought it into closer touch with public affairs and with the worlds of art and music. For these gains we have been largely indebted to the Vice-Chancellor's unequalled knowledge of educational conditions and experiments at home and abroad, to his creative imagination and to his quick sympathy with the most diverse sides of life. . . .'

The Vice-Chancellor's lavish loans from his collection of pictures to the University have already been mentioned. When he left he made gifts with equal generosity from his stores not only of paintings but of drawings, prints, books and textiles, so that the University, although it lost variety in the objects which adorned its walls, retained as permanent possessions others which were interesting and beautiful. He seemed to love giving as much as he loved buying. If an individual recipient protested that no more could decently be accepted he would say, with a splutter of laughter, 'Very well, if you will not have it as a

gift, you shall have it on a 999 years' lease' and the work of art would duly arrive, though it might well be his most recent purchase, or the best of a collection.

When he left, the University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. He was presented for the degree by Professor Grant in words which have not been surpassed for appreciative understanding:

'When Sir Michael Sadler became Vice-Chancellor of the university in 1911, it had already won for itself an honoured place in the country and had established a tradition of hard work and of high ideals; but a critical period of growth and of change was at hand which needed imagination and statesmanship. Sir Michael Sadler brought to his task an unsurpassed knowledge of educational history in our own country and elsewhere and an almost equal sympathy with tradition and experiment.

'He had already given fertile advice on educational problems in the West Riding, and the high estimation in which he was held was shown by the call he received when he was with us to report on Indian university education. The Great War changed men's thoughts on education as on everything else. But while he was our academic head we were conscious of widening horizons and an enlarged sense of the meaning of education and especially of university education. We saw beyond the examination room and the class room; beyond even the laboratory and the library; and we saw education as wide and universal as life itself. The University lost nothing of its insistence on strict scientific discipline for the studies of all faculties, but a new spirit penetrated our walls, and our grim buildings which seemed dedicated only to whatever grim deity presides over the examination system came to know something of the muses and the graces. We were proudly conscious under Sir Michael Sadler's Vice-Chancellorship that we were no longer following the example of others, but were ourselves become an example to many.

'His influence was not only felt in the region of academic studies. He recognized, as had never been done before, the

right of the students to make their voices heard in the councils of the University. The amenities of their life were increased and improved. The officials of the Students' Union received a recognized place in the life of the University.

'Further, the influence of the University was felt as never before beyond its own walls. Perhaps the greatest of all the services which he rendered to us was that he brought us into close and more genial touch with the life of the town and the county. Distrust disappeared as acquaintanceship increased. The general public was welcomed in increasing numbers to the lectures and concerts given within our walls. The city orchestral concerts, the Art Gallery and the Leeds Luncheon Club could all tell of his constructive imagination. It is not given to many men to leave so broad a mark for good on the life of a city by a decade's residence within its boundaries.'

It was difficult for those who had leaned so much on his wisdom and been so stirred by his enthusiasm not to appeal to him afterwards in any difficulties which arose after his departure. He was placed in a very awkward position by such appeals. The last thing he wished to do was to interfere with the policy of his successor. At the same time he was anxious that business men and others who had worked for the University should not through any misunderstanding be lost to its service. So, carefully keeping himself in the background, he did all he could to reconcile the irreconcilable. But he failed. It happened more than once in his work in different places that he had won the confidence of difficult persons and that no one else could hold it. It could not be held at second-hand.

The city of Leeds and its University and the whole county of Yorkshire remained very dear to him. Friends of all degrees tell how he never failed to visit them in their homes whenever he was in the place he had served so faithfully. Anything he could do for the University without interference he did. But one of his rare outbursts of anger, in this case actually written, occurred when he was reproached for having welcomed

in the press a proposal for the foundation of a University College at Hull. The protest suggested that the establishment of a new University in Yorkshire might lessen the entries to the University of Leeds. His wrath was great. All who knew the weary conditions under which students from Hull had to travel to reach Leeds, spending long hours in crowded trains each way, knew how glad he would be for anything which brought university facilities to their doors. It would have seemed to him a distorted affection for the University of Leeds which would retain students for it at such cost to them, their work and their health.

They remained his primary concern and it would have delighted him to know that a hall of residence for men which has recently been opened has been named after him; so constantly was the love of students in his heart and their care in his mind.

VI · INDIAN INTERLUDE: THE COMMISSION ON CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

1917–1919

A biographer faced with the task of writing about the work of Michael Sadler is confronted with a vast problem of selection, so multitudinous were his educational activities and interests. It seemed that he left nothing alone. If a faint hope arises that he did not do much about elementary education, it is dashed by finding that he wrote an excellent small book on the subject and by calling to mind his long interest in and encouragement of Miss Gilpin's creative work at the Hall School at Weybridge. Any thought that very early education was not his province would be quenched by his knowledge of and his concern with Froebel work and the many recommendations about nursery schools to be found in his writings.

For the most part these things can only be mentioned incidentally, unless they form an integral part of his life's work. Shelf after shelf of files in his educational library contain notes on the lives of eminent educational pioneers, such as Comenius, Pestalozzi, the Arnolds, Kay-Shuttleworth, Acland; notes on stages of educational life such as nursery, primary, secondary, continuation, adult and university; notes on the content and type of education, such as classical, scientific, practical, artistic, vocational, patriotic, moral and religious; notes on national systems of education, European, Oriental, Colonial, Negro. There are hundreds of these files. Some contain for the most part cuttings and pamphlets merely showing his interest in the subject, but even these are often illuminated by his own notes. Others are full of his remarks, his own writings and correspondence. Some deal with the work of commissions and visits to other countries. For instance the mission to Canada, on

which he was engaged when his acceptance of the Oxford post was announced, had involved visits to all the cities of Canada with three exceptions, the delivery of sixty-eight speeches and lectures all prepared for the occasion, since, he wrote, 'that is the only way of not getting stale'.

Then there was almost throughout his life his work on examinations, a constantly recurring activity. It is omitted here, because although he worked at the subject long and arduously, being chairman of one important committee after another, the main impetus came from Hartog, and an account of the work and Sadler's share in it is to be found in Lady Hartog's excellent memoir of her husband.

The work in India stands in a class apart. It took Sadler away from England for more than eighteen months. And it wrought a revolution in Indian education. Its recommendations provided a model for Indian universities other than that of Calcutta.

The Commission contained, in addition to its President, three other men from Britain: Dr J. W. Gregory, Professor of Geology in the University of Glasgow; P. J. Hartog, at that time Academic Registrar of the University of London; and Professor Ramsay Muir, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. There was one other Englishman, W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction in Bengal. He, with two eminent Indians, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a Judge of the High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, and Dr Zia-ud-din Ahmad, Professor of Mathematics at the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, supplied an initial knowledge of Indian conditions which was later supplemented by hundreds of witnesses.

The team was not an easy one to drive. But, largely through the skill of the President in not driving but leading a team, a unanimous report of gigantic dimensions was presented. It had been thought hardly possible for the Commissioners to win the

confidence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who was known as the 'Tiger of Bengal'. He was a Hindu of terrific and dominating personality; strictly religious, a person of great integrity, deeply suspicious of the British and their aims, jealous for the cause of his own country and its nationalistic aspirations. The President of the Commission set to work to win his confidence and succeeded in convincing him that in educational matters the ideas of the Commissioners marched with his own. It had been said that the Commissioners, if they maintained good relations with Mookerjee, would be wax in his hands. In the long run it would have been difficult to say whether they were wax in his hands or he in theirs, so strongly did he agree with the main lines of the Commission's report. He and the President of the Commission became truly friendly at an early stage, rising and going for long walks together, for one of Sadler's difficulties all through the work of the Commission was that of getting enough exercise, partly because of the heat of the day and partly because of the arduous nature of the work. Mookerjee was, in spite of being immensely fat, extremely vigorous and made a good companion for Sadler, who must have enjoyed 'the twinkles and fits of laughter' which, Hartog wrote, 'rolled down from his face over his body to his feet'.

Hartog took over the comparatively simple task of getting on to good terms with Dr Ahmad who represented the Muslims. None of the British were exactly easy members of the Commission, with the exception of Hartog who was throughout the greatest help and stay. When the work of the Commission ended Sadler wrote to Hartog: 'Without your help, influence, mediations, penmanship, drudgery, insight, patience, watchdog snarlings and snappings (———'s calves and when necessary the columnar legs of Asutosh) and apothecaries' art, we should never have got through to the other side.' Ramsay Muir made most valuable contributions to the report, though he became extremely angry at the length of time it took

to complete it. Very swiftly the head of the Commission began to sense the most vital problems of Indian education, about which he wrote to his father on 26 November, 1917, within a month of his arrival:

'We have thought too much of *English* teaching, too little of science and of the vernacular; too much of literature (often badly understood), too little of linguistics; too much of examination tests, too little of the essentials of training. The University is swollen by thousands of poor and ill-equipped students who should have had, locally, a good secondary education and have stopped at that point. Primary education has been woefully neglected. There is need for a man of the Booker Washington type and for schools staffed by teachers trained by him.'

In a letter written a few days earlier to his wife he related that he had seen two advertisements 'which give you an idea of how English Literature is crammed up by the weaker students':

Examinations Made Easy Series
Helps to the study of the *Cloister and the Hearth.*
All possible questions given with full explanations.
by
AN EXPERIENCED PROFESSOR
Sen, Ray & Co. Cornwallis Street, Calcutta

The University Tutorial Series
SOHRAB AND RUSTUM
Introduction, Paraphrase, Marginal Notes and full commentary complete with model questions and model explanations.
With its new features, the most helpful thing in the market.
Sen, Ray & Co. 12 annas (1/-)

In December he gave some account to his wife of the strenuous nature of the day's work, which began at six, or at

latest seven, went on steadily until late dinner at 8.45, so that bed was not reached until 11 p.m. He was much concerned about the long hours worked by the students and even the children who at the age of 9 or 10 would get up at 6 a.m.:

'mooning over their books (learning things by heart) until 8; go to school with only half an hour's break from 11 till 4.30. ... And then go to their books again (often with private tutors) for three hours in the evening. The small boys leave school at 1.30. But they also have three hours more at home. ... In a third of the time, with brisker methods and less of mere learning by heart, they would get on faster. Great industry, eager ambition, linguistic aptitude, agile minds, sensitive little natures—these are the good sides of the school life we have seen; futile studies, unbelievable efforts of memory, not really putting their minds into what they learn, passivity, hours spent in large classes under very indifferent teachers who have no notion of teaching a class of boys and either lecture or give individual tuition, lack of any real corporate life, sometimes very squalid and unregulated lodgings away from home and nothing in the whole of school life to give stimulus to the mind or wholesome vent to the emotions—these are the shadow-side. And the shadow deepens. Each generation of teachers seems to be farther from what is good in education. But the demand for school and college grows year by year and is now in flood. Thousands crave for it. Numbers are overwhelming. But there is no provision for meeting the demand efficiently. Teachers are miserably paid. Standards fall. Buildings are beastly—in most private schools'.

The work of the Commission continued steadily. The first five months were occupied in gathering information, seeing institutions, hearing witnesses. In 1918 the Commissioners retired to Darjeeling to draft the report. Until the summer a spate of letters came home from Sadler to wife, son and father. These show, as does the report of the Commission, how the work radiated from the University of Calcutta to all the

universities, the secondary schools and to some extent to the primary schools of India.

The University of Calcutta had been established by the Government in 1857 as a purely examining body on the pattern of the University of London. It often imitated that body in ways and regulations just as London decided to abandon them. It had no constituent colleges, but a large number of 'federal' or 'affiliated' colleges whose students it accepted for examination. These affiliated colleges were scattered over a wide area, several in Calcutta itself, others in the 'mufassal' (i.e. in districts outside the capital), most of them being in Bengal, but a few in Assam and even in Burma. It could boast of being the largest university in the world, since 26,000 students were preparing for its examinations. There had long been dissatisfaction about the standards of education in many of the affiliated colleges. A Commission had been set up in 1902 to report on the universities of India. To a very considerable extent the Commission and therefore the Act of 1904 which was based on its report accepted the *status quo*. It assumed that Indian universities could only consist of affiliated colleges. And it made the Government, even more than before, responsible for the work of the university. The Chancellor of the university, who was the Viceroy, became responsible for the appointment of anything up to four-fifths of the members of the Senate and his approval was necessary for the election of the rest. The Government of India was responsible for the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, the chief executive officer of the university, and had to approve all university regulations. It also retained the power of cancelling any appointment. There was indeed no detail of university policy which was not subject to the supervision of the Government.

The Sadler Commission pointed out that these stringent provisions had been instituted to prevent certain evils which had become apparent during preceding decades, but showed

that they had not been successful. It also politely suggested that the removal of the seat of Government from Calcutta to Delhi had made the position almost farcical:

'It is therefore a Government 1,000 miles away from the seat of the University and not itself engaged in any kind of academic work, which is ultimately responsible not merely for the general supervision and assistance which such a Government, by its very aloofness, may well be able to give, but for the direction of university policy and for almost every detail of university action. It may perhaps be permissible to suggest that such a system is apt to undermine the sense of responsibility of the governing bodies of the University. A university which deserves the name ought to be so constituted that it can be trusted to carry on its purely academic affairs without constant interference.'[1]

Here, as in so many other instances, we recognize the Sadler insistence on academic freedom. Several other sections of the same chapter deplore the fact that neither teachers as a body nor colleges as such were given a place on the Senate and that those teachers who did not happen to be members of the Senate were in a legal sense not members of the University at all. Moreover there was no method of ensuring that the most able and stimulating teachers should have any power of influencing university policy.

The Act of 1904 had done some good things. It had for instance pressed for closer attention to the conditions under which students lived and for an overhaul of the curriculum and the methods of examination, both of which had been entrusted to a small committee presided over by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

It had also embodied in its provisions the assumption of teaching functions by the University, which had led to the appointment of university professors and other teachers. But the teaching work of the University was confined to post-graduate work and so was removed in practice and hence in

[1] Vol. I, Chapter III, para. 77.

sympathy from the concerns of the great body of undergraduate students. Here again was something which touched Sadler very nearly. He had always maintained that the undergraduate was the true life-blood of university work, that the association of the teachers, of those doing research work, with the flow of young life coming into and going out from the universities year by year was essential to vitality. Of course research was of the greatest importance, but his conviction that it should accompany undergraduate teaching was strongly expressed in his chapter on *A Teaching University in Calcutta*:

'It is unhealthy that any sharp line of division should be drawn between the higher and lower teaching work of a university. It is equally disadvantageous that a system of more advanced instruction should be built up at the expense of undergraduate teaching, which is the foundation of nearly all advanced work. Advanced and independent work, in the university as a whole, cannot be satisfactorily fostered by the mere superimposition of an organization, however carefully devised for this purpose, upon a bad system of undergraduate training. Independent work is largely the outcome of intellectual curiosity. If this quality, instead of being stimulated, is discouraged in the lower grades of training, as it is under the present system, no great results can be expected. Unless the spirit of independent and critical enquiry has been encouraged and trained before the student reaches the stage of post-graduate work, it cannot reasonably be expected that his work under "research professors" should be, except in very rare instances, much better than mechanical.'

And so, as might be expected, there emerge in the recommendations of the Commission proposals for making the University into a true teaching body as well as a virtually self-governing one. And there is throughout a strong body of evidence of the evils of the throttlehold of examinations on the whole student life of India. One passage after another is quoted from reports of Indian thinkers and scholars condemn-

ing the system, and it is characteristic of the report that Indian opinion is quoted far more often than any other, so proving both the high ideals for education in the most thoughtful members of the country and their readiness to take advantage of better things. The head of one college wrote that 'if any student obtains a decent training, it is in spite of the system': a university lecturer that 'students attend the university to obtain a degree, but for enlightenment, for sweetness and light they look elsewhere': another member of a teaching staff wrote that:

'the present system is like a soul-destroying machine.... If the young Indian of ability passes through it, he will lose all his soul and half his reasoning capacity in the process':

another university lecturer wrote that:

'the universities of India are but factories, where a few are manufactured into graduates and a good many more wrecked in the voyage of their intellectual life. They have created a complete divorce of education from our everyday life and feelings....'

and so the tale went on, the criticisms being confirmed by the only Englishman who is quoted in this connection. The Rev. W. E. S. Holland, who had been Principal of St Paul's Cathedral Mission College, said that the university system of India 'instead of encouraging the love of learning, kills it'. And the indictment was all the more serious because, as Mr Holland added, 'there can be few peoples who have more instinctive bent of gifts for intellectual pursuits than the population of Bengal.'

Those who remember the brilliant lectures which Sadler gave on Indian education when he returned from India will call to mind his scathing anger at the system dominated by examination needs which he had found there. Lack of practical education, or anything approaching vocational education: low standards of work: vast numbers clamouring at the doors

of the universities, with little hope of obtaining later any posts for which their so-called education had fitted them, and methods of lecturing which would disgrace any school or college. He would tell how he listened to a lecture on Shakespeare, given at dictation speed, beginning as follows: 'Shakespeare-comma-a-well-hyphen-known-English-writer-comma-who-wrote-bracket-or-is-said-to-have-written-bracket . . .' and so on throughout the lecture. Later he would be roused from his slumbers by the sound of youthful voices, and looking out of his window he would see a group of lads in the compound, chanting in monotonous recitative, 'Shakespeare comma a well hyphen known English writer . . .' and so on. Still later he would look at a stack of papers on English Literature and in response to the first question on Shakespeare, the answer in each paper would begin: 'Shakespeare, a well-known English writer . . .', and faithfully reiterate the dictation lesson given by the lecturer in the first instance. The examiner was at least saved the trouble of reading further.

This particular example was probably drawn from a high school, but the evil was just as great in the universities. Each reacted on the other in their methods. 'Secondary education in Bengal is preparing candidates, not making men' said a trenchant passage in a chapter of the report dealing with the high schools. That was the complaint throughout. The system was spoiling men rather than developing them. And as on examination results depended the possibility of government service and the prestige of the family, nervous dread of examinations haunted the student and destroyed his powers of honest work, which in any case had no encouragement under the memory-testing methods of the universities.

In what was written and said about the lecture system Sadler was far from despising lectures. Anxious though he was to introduce close relations between those who taught and their pupils, he and his colleagues were fully aware of the impos-

sibility for financial reasons of fully introducing the tutorial system throughout India. Moreover he thought that lectures had a very special place in the educational set-up. In an interesting 'note on taking notes' at the end of the chapter recommending the setting up of a teaching university in Calcutta he wrote:

'The object of a lecture, as compared with that of a book, is to give a colour and perspective by means of the human voice which only supreme art in writing can evoke; to explore difficulties and present them in different ways so as to overcome the obstacles existent in minds of different types, involving repetitions which would often be utterly wearisome in print; to give illustrations particularly fitted to awaken the interest of the particular audience in front of the lecturer, which would be utterly out of place in addressing the wide public of letters.'

Then, again assailing the practice of dictation, he continued:

'It is clear that the object of a lecture is largely defeated by slow dictation on the part of the lecturer and by mechanical writing on the part of the student absorbing the greater part of his attention. He might as well be copying from a book.'

Strong commendation is given in the same note to the practice of a Bombay teacher who refused to accede to the clamour of his pupils for 'dictated notes' as their only hope of passing their examinations, and gave them one or two lessons on the art of taking notes. Having done this the pupils were satisfied and the clamour ceased.

It will be apparent from what has already been said that the Commission was not content to draw its information from Calcutta or from Bengal alone. An investigation into the University of Calcutta expanded into an investigation not only of the universities of India but of the whole educational system of India. This was characteristic of the head of the Commission. One thing inevitably led to another. At the beginning of the enquiry it was decided that a searching questionnaire should

not only be sent to hundreds of people whose opinion and experience appeared to be worth tapping, but published in the press and answers invited from any who cared to express their views. The questionnaire was sent to 671 persons and institutions and 412 replies were received, and the range of the answers went beyond that of the questions, for correspondents were asked to make suggestions and recommendations on aspects of the university problem in which they were specially interested and which were not covered by the questionnaire.

The Commission held 191 formal meetings in addition to the many informal ones which took place among its members as they visited one place of education after another. All affiliated colleges of the University in Calcutta were visited and as many as possible of the schools, hostels and other educational institutions connected with it. The whole Commission visited six of the affiliated colleges of the mufassal in Bengal, and with three exceptions all such colleges were visited by some members of the Commission. But this was not enough to satisfy the President's eager desire for first-hand knowledge. The two affiliated colleges in Assam were visited. And, as the terms of reference stated that the Commission 'might, for purposes of comparison, desire to study the organization and working of universities in India other than that of Calcutta', the Commissioners who had seen Bombay and Allahabad on their way to Calcutta, visited Southern India and saw something of Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore and Madras. The report mourned the fact that it had not been possible to visit Burma and that there had not been time for the Commissioners to study the educational institutions of North-West India, though some of its members visited individual institutions, the President in particular paying a most fruitful visit to Rabindranath Tagore's school in Bolpur.

Doubts have been thrown at times on Sadler's gifts as a chairman, but there was no question as to his excellence on

such a quest as this. He was not always good at conducting what may be called miscellaneous business, such as comes up in college or university administration. He was, for some people's taste, both too swift and too patient. His mind raced ahead of that of others and yet he could be endlessly and almost wearisomely patient with those who were slow in producing their ideas. But when he was on a single though complicated educational issue such as that of Indian education, he was superb. Both the qualities of speed and patience served him in good stead. Swift mastery of the essential points was needed if the work was ever to be completed. And patience with witnesses was necessary if all relevant factors were to be known. Finally, the fact that all his life he was the arch-conciliator and could bring the most antagonistic elements to agreement was of inestimable value.

But hard and complicated though the task was he had good hopes of its termination in the summer of 1918.

In January, 1918 he had written that he did not as yet see his way, but by May the position cleared and, as will be seen, one major victory having been won, he thought the end was in sight. He sent home a long minute, asking that it should be preserved, though he doubted whether those to whom he sent it would want to read it. It is quoted here at some length as giving a few of the most salient points and as showing something of his difficulties and his methods:

'2 *May*, 1918

'The tussle began to-day. For six months we had seen things for ourselves, had heard evidence, had read documents, had formed our impression of the situation and had traced the evil to its roots. On seven fundamental points we had come to large and fundamental agreements. We were agreed:

(1) as to the disastrous injury which the present examining system is doing to the young intelligence of Bengal;

(2) as to the need for drastic and immediate re-organization of

the Intermediate course—at an increased cost of (ultimately) £4000 a year for each Intermediate College;

(3) as to the encouragement of a greater independence and variety in the intellectual work of the better colleges of the mufassal;

(4) as to the inapplicability of doctrinaire theories of the so-called "Unitary University" to the conditions of Calcutta, partly because of the overflowing number of students, partly because of the need for preserving the freedom of the missionary colleges, partly because of the extra-Metropolitan needs of the intellectually too centralized Province;

(5) as to sweeping (though evolutionary) changes in the Indian Universities Act 1904, so far at least as Calcutta is concerned, both as regards the power and composition of Senate and Syndicate and the relation of both bodies to the Governments of India and Bengal and to the industrial, agricultural and commercial needs of the community;

(6) as to the importance of safeguarding the interests of the Mohammedans and of removing their suspicions of unfair and prejudiced treatment at the hands of the Hindus in academic matters;

(7) as to the need for unstiffening the grip of "service" regulations upon the freedom and outlook of many of the university and college teachers, both Indian and European.

'But more important in its bearing upon the next stage of university reform in India has been the gradual convergence of our minds upon the value of a colloquial element in university education and upon the need for finding, if that were possible, some new synthesis, close but elastic, between the administrative and intellectual authority of the University and the moral, intellectual and disciplinary influence of colleges associated or co-operative with it.

'University education began in India sixty years ago as an administrative collocation of independent colleges linked together solely for the purpose of collective examination. During the last fourteen years, the teaching (as distinct from the examining) activities of the University have grown. In Calcutta

the growth has been rapid and hurried during the last four years. But in Calcutta there has been no blending of college tradition and university organization. On the contrary the two elements have been polarised and kept apart. The results have been competition, estrangement and suspicion and the detachment of many young men from college work by the inducements of university appointments.'

Sadler proceeded to dwell on the evils of this dissociation of college from University, though he recognized the advantages of giving opportunities for young men (as at All Souls, Oxford) to devote themselves for a time to advanced studies. But he deprecated the method by which this advantage had been gained, which he said was merely a *pis aller* and had been employed simply because it was the line of least resistance:

'It involved no unpopular retrenchments or any raising of standards. A grant of money from the government was all that was needed. And the money once spent created a vested interest and a claim for more. Mixed motives operating in a confused situation produced the hasty development of post-graduate teaching....'

He went on to describe the difficult situation which arose because Mookerjee, who was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, had been largely responsible for the development of the work of the University along the lines indicated. There was a great struggle, no quarrel, wrote Sadler, 'but some plain speaking'. He and Hartog and Ramsay Muir were prepared to write and sign a report without the support of the other Commissioners, setting out what they thought essential.

The meeting adjourned until the next day, when Sadler wrote that he:

'more than half expected that the Commission would split up finally into fragments: that all hope of a united report was virtually at an end: that we should only be able to furnish the Government of India with divided and conflicting counsels:

that people would say that I had been a failure as a Chairman: and that I should leave India in polite disgrace. On the other hand, I felt sure that Muir, Hartog and I could write a report on higher education in Bengal which would become a classic and that in twenty years people would say that we were right. . . .'

But there was no split. For Mookerjee, to Sadler's delight, accepted the essential points for which Sadler had been pressing, and though he was for a short while extremely angry with Sadler, very soon the former happy relationship between the two men was resumed and auguries for the report and its speedy completion appeared to be as favourable as possible. As far as Mookerjee was concerned there were no more serious difficulties. He and Sadler remained on cordial and indeed affectionate terms until Mookerjee's death in 1924.

This episode has been related at some length, not only to show the obstacles with which Sadler had to deal, but his inflexible determination to go through with what he thought the right policy, whatever the consequences to himself.

The report which he had thought could be finished by the summer of 1918 was not signed until the middle of March, 1919. New difficulties arose, once again unanimity was threatened, and this time the antagonistic forces seemed to Sadler likely to destroy the whole work of the Commission if they could not be overcome. Of these Mr Sadleir has written[1] and it is unnecessary to say more of them here. Sadler laboured on heroically, but there were no more letters home about the affairs of the Commission, indeed hardly any letters at all. He was living under an almost intolerable strain, grieved by his wife's ill-health, by his mother's death, suffering from the climate of Calcutta which he said afterwards was the one place in which he knew he could not live, weighed down by anxiety whenever he thought of events in Europe, concentrating on

[1] *Michael Ernest Sadler*, pp. 300–304.

work of which it appears he could, in its most trying aspects, speak to no one.

Not that he was unhappy about the report. He recognized that it was good. It is indeed a majestic piece of work. It consists of five main volumes, for about one-third of the contents of which the President was personally responsible, and eight further volumes of appendixes. The first three volumes give an analysis of conditions, the other two main volumes give recommendations. Throughout, recommendations and analysis are cunningly interwoven without destroying the unity of each volume. For the chapters analysing the situation give strong indications of the recommendations likely to follow, frequently mentioning suggestions for the future and giving the pros and cons, so preparing the reader's mind for what may be the final proposals. And the chapters of recommendations give enough analysis, without repetition, to make the force of the recommendations as telling as possible without the necessity for back references.

Sadler took special pleasure in writing the chapter on the 'Student in Bengal' which is generally acknowledged to be one of the finest things in the report. It shows a penetrating, almost a poignant, understanding of the problems of the students, the conditions of their lives both at home and at college, and, in its understanding, leaping to meet their needs. Speaking of the characteristics of the Bengali student he selects 'as pre-eminently significant and admirable his power of emotional sympathy'; and then Sadler calls attention to his innate sense for certain aspects of beauty and to the fact that he has known in his own language 'a feeling for rhythm, for harmony, for the appropriate gesture which fits the word. . .. He has a gift for music, but a quasi-Puritanical tradition, unforgetful of the evil use to which songs and music have been put, bans music too undiscriminatingly from his early and later education. He is a clever actor, but . . . little scope is given

in the course of his school life to the dramatic instinct of which the Jesuit teachers were quick to discern the educational power'. With all this:

'He enters very quickly into the state of mind of one whose experience and traditions are somewhat foreign to his own. Thus he has an affinity and natural liking for imaginative poetry. And it is significant that, in spite of what is unfamiliar or unintelligible to him in the metaphors which it draws from western landscape and western life, English imaginative poetry has been to many a Bengali student a fountain of inspiration. But sensitive as he is to currents of feeling and to new ideas, his power of direct observation of nature and indeed of significant facts of any kind, is relatively weak and imperfectly trained. He has the "inward eye" but sees too little with the outward eye. In him the eye of the mind is more developed than the eye of his body'.

From this assessment, with much more added to it, Sadler passes sympathetically to the difficulties confronting a student of Bengal when he comes into contact with Western culture, feeling that in it for all its power, evil is somehow mixed with good:

'It is through the contact between Indian culture and that of the outer world and especially the culture of Europe and the West, that painful dilemmas are created in the mind of the thoughtful student of Bengal. He feels the eddying current of Western thought, which is forcing its way, in some degree unseen, into the quiet waters of his traditional life. The current brings with it an unfamiliar, but vigorous and agitating, literature; a mass of political formulas, charged with feeling and aspiration and sometimes delusively simple in their convenient generalisation; fragments of philosophies; some poisonous weeds of moral scepticism; bright-hued theories of reform; the flotsam and jetsam of a revolutionary age. The young man's necessary study of English has given him the power of reading what the inrushing stream brings with it. His own instinctive yearnings for social reform, for intellectual

enlightenment and for moral certainty make him eager for fresh truth. And behind this new foreign literature and philosophy, behind the pressure of those invisible influences for which printed books and journals are but some of the conduits of communication, there stands the great authority of colossal power; power evinced in political achievement, in religious conviction, in the world-wide ramifications of commerce, in stupendous industrialism, in the startling triumphs of applied science, in immeasurable resources of wealth; power, which even under the strain of a titanic struggle, puts out new manifestations of energy and suffers no eclipse.'

The Indian student, faced with and to some extent permeated by all this, yet recognizes somewhat dimly that it is all largely alien to his own tradition. All this called for a new synthesis. Indian thinkers and scholars declared that the only hope lay in a true university education which would awaken in the students a real sense of independence in both thought and action. Could the Commission suggest lines on which university education in India could achieve this? Sadler believed that it could, given that it were true university education and not the travesty which went by the name in India. At the same time he pressed the point that the best of such education could be carried through on a large scale only if it were led up to by a sound system of secondary, itself preceded by good primary, education. Thereby there would come great gain not only to those classes to whom was thrown open, for the first time in early life, education wisely adapted to the needs of life and livelihood, but also to the sons of the professional and middle classes, who, gaining 'new vigour and initiative from better teaching and more inspiring influences in school and college, would find the freshly opened fields of employment so wide that they themselves would not suffer, but would rather gain from the intellectual competition forced upon them by increasing numbers of students rising from a humbler class'.

It would be impossible worthily to summarise the re-

mendations of two large volumes in a few paragraphs. Only the briefest outline can be given of proposals which deal with questions already raised in this sketch.

The University of Calcutta, and *ipso facto* all other Indian universities, should become true teaching universities for undergraduates, as well as centres for post-graduate work. The colleges hitherto affiliated should become halls and if necessary there should also be smaller hostels. The halls should, however, not be on the same basis as university halls of residence common in England any more than they should be on the pattern of the colleges of the older universities. For there should be tutors in them who would be responsible for the arrangement of the work of a not too large number of students, while the teaching work should be done by the universities.

It was held to be most important that intermediate work should be removed from the universities and carried on in separate establishments, possibly to be known as intermediate colleges. For the Commissioners were of opinion that the intermediate work was of upper school rather than university standard and that university teachers should not be devoting their energies to it. Being relieved from this strain they should be able to have smaller classes and give more attention to individual students.

This last provision did not, however, apply to women. As might be expected in anything for which Sadler was responsible, the special difficulties and needs of women and girls received much consideration. There were at that time so few women receiving higher education in India that it was thought that it would not be possible to make sound economic arrangements for intermediate and final degree work to be done in separate establishments as in the case of men. It was therefore recommended that both types of work should still be carried on for women in the universities. The same consideration was given

to women in the proposals for training for medicine and teaching, professions in which there was immense need for women. Women doctors, because of the conditions of life for women in India, were more urgently needed than in Western countries. And with the promotion of primary education, on which the Commission laid much stress, it became essential to secure women teachers, since, as the Commission noted, it has never been possible to have a good system of primary education without the assistance of women teachers.

These special proposals for women were put forward as interim ones. For the Commissioners looked forward to a time when, as is now the case in England and other countries, such provisions would be unnecessary.

The universities were to have 'academic freedom'. They were in academic matters to be masters in their own house. Curricula, lectures, teaching methods, examinations, should be arranged by those whose business it was to understand them. The universities should be responsible for academic appointments. Every detail of administration was worked out. Paragraph after paragraph showed the intense attention which had been devoted to the proper building up of the fabric of a great university. Possible difficulties were foreseen and guarded against. It was never suggested that the structure should be unalterable; indeed pains were taken to ensure flexibility and the possibility of adaptation to new circumstances, but all was devised so that there should be no loose ends at the beginning.

So the training of teachers received close attention. The examination system was the subject of a chapter headed 'Examination Reform' in which the authors were very careful to leave scope for changes in aim and in social structure.

The special needs of Muslims were dealt with sympathetically and carefully, by the inclusion of representatives from among them on university bodies, by schemes for the pro-

motion of Islamic studies, by the establishment of Muslim colleges.

The important question of the vernacular was one to which the President gave special consideration, as is shown by various notes which he wrote on the subject as well as by the space devoted to it in the report. In June, 1918 he had written in a memorandum:

'By means of language learnt at school or later an educated man or woman should hold at least the chief keys to the world's culture. In his hand should be the passport which will admit him, through words written or spoken, to the society of thinkers and writers, dead or living, near at hand or far off. For the scholar of the Middle Ages the master-key was Latin. For the man of affairs in the eighteenth century the master-key was French. For the educated Indian of today the master-key is English. English, then, is indispensable to the higher education of India at this time. It cannot be foregone. The instinct of the people is right. It is not merely that for the Indian student English is an instrument of livelihood. It is more than that. It is a pathway leading into a wider intellectual life. And young India presses at its gate.

'But on the other hand, of primary importance is the mother-tongue. The mother-tongue is the true vehicle of mother-wit. Another medium of speech may bring with it, as English brings with it, a current of new ideas. But the mother-tongue is one with the air in which a man is born. It is through the vernacular (refined, though not weakened, by scholarship and taste) that the new conceptions of the mind should press their way to birth in speech. This is almost universally true, except in cases so rare (like that of Joseph Conrad) as to emphasize the general rule. A man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality. In our way of speech we must each, as the old saying runs, drink water out of our own cistern. For each one of us is a member of a community. We share its energy, its instincts, its memories, however dim, of old and far-off things; perhaps also its predestined fate. And it is through our vernacular, through our folk-speech, whether

actually uttered or harboured in our unspoken thoughts, that most of us attain to the characteristic expression of our nature and of what our nature allows us to be or to discern. Through its mother-tongue the infant first learns to name the things it sees or feels or tastes or hears, as well as the ties of kindred and the colours of good and evil. It is the mother-tongue which gives to the adult mind the relief and illumination of utterance as it clutches after the aid of words when new ideas or judgments spring from the wordless recesses of thought or feeling under the stimulus of contact or emotion. Hence, in all education, the primary place should be given to training in the exact and free use of the mother tongue.'

The ideas expressed in this document, although they go far beyond India or the University of Calcutta, arose from Sadler's brooding on the University and it is not to be wondered at that, the actual recommendations on teaching in the report assumed, for the time being, the necessity of university teaching being given in English, though even there it is suggested that there was no reason that such subjects as Sanskrit and Pali should not be taught through the vernacular. But great emphasis is laid on the undesirability of premature teaching in English in school, and it is proposed that candidates should be allowed to take the matriculation examination in either English or the vernacular, except in such subjects as English or mathematics. Courses in English should not be necessary for all students at the university stage, as much should be done for good English teaching in the intermediate colleges and much more would be done through the medium of the essays which would be set in various subjects by tutors at the university stage.

The report which exercised a profound influence on the whole of Indian education was, ironically enough, unable to influence the University of Calcutta. This was due in no small measure to the delay in the completion of the report, a delay largely caused by the President's difficulty in securing unani-

mity. Signature and publication therefore took place just as the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were carried into effect. These involved the handing over by the Central Government of the University of Calcutta to the Province of Bengal, which had not the funds for carrying through the reforms recommended by the Commission. Many people felt that the University should not have been handed over and that it had been unfairly treated. None felt this more keenly, indeed savagely, than Mookerjee, who had been induced to take on the Vice-Chancellorship of the University once again in the spring of 1921. He was unable to reconcile himself to the failure of the Government to promote the reforms. Sadler did his utmost at home to amend the situation but without avail, all the while keeping up a sympathetic correspondence with Mookerjee, who wrote to him constantly. But nothing Sadler could say could restore Mookerjee's faith in the British Government and when he was once again approached as to the possibility of his continuing in office as Vice-Chancellor, given that he would acquiesce in the conditions under which the University would have to work, he rejected the offer with contumely.

In the meantime Sadler had the satisfaction of knowing that the report was received almost with acclamation throughout India and in England. It was of course a great disappointment that its proposals were not carried out in Calcutta itself. But they were not without immediate effect in Bengal, for Dacca College, the largest of the affiliated colleges in the mufassal, became a University and Hartog agreed to be its first Vice-Chancellor.

Dacca, a city of 120,000 inhabitants predominantly Muslim, was the capital of Eastern Bengal and had for some years been considered the right centre for a new university. The Government of India had in 1912 decided to create a separate university at Dacca, to be the prototype of a teaching and residential university in India, which was in the first place 'to serve as

an example and test of the new type of university and in the second to effect some relief to the congested state of the Calcutta University'.

An active committee had been set up under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Nathan to produce a scheme for the university. In the questionnaire sent out by the Calcutta Commission comments on this scheme were invited and it was found that those who replied were almost unanimous in approving the creation of a university at Dacca, though there were naturally criticisms of detailed proposals.

The Calcutta Commission agreed with most of the main proposals of the Nathan Committee, though it differed from it on two major points. The Nathan Committee had suggested that the new university should be a Government institution. This was, as has been seen, strongly against the views of the new Commissioners. Moreover the Nathan Committee had assumed that Dacca should be an 'affiliating university'. This proposal also was decisively rejected by the Commission.

As there had already been Government approval for the foundation of a University of Dacca there was no ground for delay. A magnificent site was available and the climate was healthy. The story of Hartog's great achievement in building up the University on the lines suggested in the report of the Commission has been admirably told in his wife's memoir of him and does not belong to the biography of Michael Sadler, save in so far as his advice was constantly sought and lavishly given in the difficult years which the first Vice-Chancellor had to face. The University embodied in concrete form and under the best possible guidance the principles which permeated the report of the Sadler Commission.

The setting up of the University of Dacca was but the first-fruits of the Commission. Others followed rapidly. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lucknow wrote to Sadler in September, 1922:

'This University is constituted almost entirely on the lines of the Calcutta University Commission and is a purely teaching and residential University. Probably you remember the King George's Medical College at Lucknow. It now belongs to the Lucknow University and constitutes its Faculty of Medicine.'

This was one of the earliest examples of new universities on the pattern outlined by the Commission. Mr. J. B. Cunningham, formerly Director of Public Instruction in Assam, wrote in 1941 that in provinces other than Bengal, the opening of new universities on principles contemplated by the resolution of 1913 and 'elaborated on the soundest lines by the University Commission proceeded apace. There are now eighteen universities in India instead of five'.[1] The separation of intermediate from that of university work went ahead. So did the substitution of 'unitary' for affiliated universities, and though there was a brief swing-back in some places to the affiliated type the most recent educational advances have again been towards the promotion of unitary universities.

The results of the great and complicated labour of the Commission were summarized in a speech made by Lord Reading when Viceroy, at the opening of the first Conference of Indian Universities in Simla on the 19 May, 1924:

'A powerful stimulus to university reform and strong support for the establishment of the unitary type of university advocated by the Government of India was also created by the report of the Calcutta University Commission. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole course of university education has been profoundly influenced by the publication of this report. No aspect of the functions of a university in India, of the needs for which it should cater, or of the conditions essential for its success, escaped the careful survey of this Commission. The highest praise of the labour of the members is to be found in the fact that, though only dealing with the

[1] *Modern India*, Edited L. S. S. O'Malley, pp. 168–74.

Calcutta University, their conclusions were at once recognized as applicable or adaptable to the whole of India; and not only has all legislation for the incorporation of new universities since the publication of the Commission's report embodied features from their recommendations, but some of the older universities also have in some respects remodelled their structure on lines advocated by them.'[1]

For many years after his return from India Sadler was closely concerned with Indian educational affairs, corresponding constantly with those who asked for his advice. He greatly eased Hartog's labours at Dacca by regular correspondence about the affairs of the new University. Rabindranath Tagore, much troubled by the fear of utter repudiation of the West by the East, consulted Sadler in 1921 about the possibility of founding an 'international university'. Sadler, deeply sympathetic though he was personally with Tagore and with his aims, was not in favour of such a foundation. He suggested that anything founded by Tagore should be known by Tagore's own name and be called an institute rather than a university. Alternatively he proposed that Tagore should establish himself in close connexion with one of the existing Indian universities 'which need all the co-operation which great Indian schemes can give them'. And when the Simon Commission went to India in 1927 to report on Indian affairs, Sadler responded to Sir John (now Lord) Simon's request for advice on education by sending in a masterly document in which the importance of primary education was strongly urged.

Several attempts were made to persuade Sadler to return to India in one capacity or another; on two occasions he was pressed to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of an Indian university. He declined all invitations on the score of age. But he was specially touched by one from a university made to him

[1] *Speeches by the Earl of Reading*, Vol. II, 1923–26, Simla Government of India Press, 1926, p. 190.

while he was still in India, because he understood that the idea owed its origin to the students.

In England, Sadler, wherever he was, saw as much as he could of Indian students and took a special and individual interest in them. Lord Lytton,[1] after he had visited English universities to see the conditions under which Indian students were living, wrote to Sadler in 1922 that nowhere in England were such students better cared for than in the University of Leeds.

When he returned from India, Sadler was made Knight Commander of the Star of India. He appreciated the honour, though both he and his wife regretted that knighthood involved a change in the mode of address, which he wrote was 'out of harmony with the plainness and simplicity of social relations suitable to the modern world'.

Just as this book goes to the publisher the news comes that a Bill relating to Calcutta University has been passed by the West Bengal Assembly. Among other things it provides for the separation of intermediate studies from university education and the setting up of a University Council. A leader in *The Statesman, India*, 22 April, 1951, says: 'Reform of Calcutta University was long overdue. West Bengal's Education Minister suggested that the Bill just passed had, at long last, caught up with the recommendations of the Sadler Commission at the end of World War I'. The most important recommendations of the Commission will therefore be implemented more than thirty years after they were made: not at all an unusual result of proposals with which Sadler was concerned, though in this particular case he had the satisfaction of seeing the scheme framed for Calcutta become the model for other Indian universities at a much earlier date.

[1] Governor of Bengal 1920–22.

VII · RETURN TO OXFORD

1923–1934

When, after an absence of nearly thirty years, Sadler returned to Oxford as head of a college, people asked, some not without a touch of nervousness, 'What will he do in Oxford'? Some, but very few, knew of his earlier work for the Extension Delegacy. Some had heard, but few had real knowledge, of the battle at the Board of Education. Only those interested in general education knew of his work in building up secondary education in different districts in England. His reputation as a great Vice-Chancellor was known and something of his work in India, marked as it was by the K.C.S.I. What scope would there be in Oxford for a man of such experience, especially for one whom age had clearly not yet dimmed and whose vitalising gifts were as apparent as ever?

What can the head of any college in one of the ancient universities do, especially one whose life's work had been in education and more especially a man with the most profound respect for the methods and the traditions of his own University? The courses leading to the various honour schools are determined by statutes and regulations outside the control of any individual, especially of an individual whose subject is represented in no 'school'. In the colleges the arrangements for teaching for the various schools are in the hands of the tutors. Discipline is in the hands of the Dean; finance in those of the Bursar. In the chapel the head of the college is nominally supreme, but he knows that if he is to secure a chaplain who is something more than a nonentity, he will do well to leave the arrangements for the chapel to him.

In all these matters the new Master was wise. All who were Fellows of the College in his day agree that he showed the

greatest confidence in them, always backing any decision they took. No one could suspect him of being a court of appeal in matters disciplinary or educational. If there were any senior members of the College who were envious of or hostile to him, he was, if possible even more scrupulous in supporting them than others, so that there could be no suspicion of personal hostility from him. As members of the College they must have all the support they could give. Sometimes this very friendliness provoked more suspicion than it allayed. What possible motives could he have for showing such great kindliness to those who disliked him? Not all were able to recognize that it was due to his desire for fairness. But none of this should be exaggerated, for he found at University College Fellows of much distinction and great goodwill and it is reported that he infused yet more geniality into a friendly Common Room than had been known in it before.

Those who knew him before his return to Oxford, when asked what he was likely to do there, could only guess that he would do something that was worth doing and that it would at once be seen to be of importance because of what he was and that could not be hidden for two minutes in any society, and that 'things would happen' wherever he was, because he always made a vital contribution to any place he inhabited.

Roughly speaking, the head of an Oxford college can do any one of four things, or combine one or more of them. He can devote himself to the life of scholarship and produce learned works. Some distinguished men have done this and little else, save preside at College meetings, living for the most part in studies and libraries. Secondly the head of a college can immerse himself in university business, attending numerous councils, committees and delegacies. Thirdly he can largely devote himself to work in the world outside the University, where the calls upon his unpaid services grow with his willingness to give them. In so doing he may bring much fame to his

College and forge invaluable links between the University and the greater world. Finally he may devote himself to the life of the College and the students, keeping up a vast correspondence with those who have gone down, advising on careers, etc. Few men do only one of these things, but few, like Sadler, do them all. And from what has already been written about him it will be readily guessed that he did each of them with such fervour that those who met him in any one of these various capacities found it hard to believe that he had other intense interests.

Naturally none met him in the work of research. That is not a thing in which men are seen. It has already been said that he had on hand throughout his life a history of English education and those interested in such a work feel it a tragedy that it was never completed. He never neglected it. Rising at six or five or even four, a habit which his wife had by this time discovered and tried in vain to stop, he slaved at his work. Fragments of it exist in type, just enough to give some idea of the gigantic scale on which it was conceived and more than enough to show the immensity of labour given to it. Not that the whole of his early morning labours were devoted to it, there were articles to be written, speeches to be prepared, and however spontaneous each speech appeared it had always had hours of labour given to it before it was delivered. But the major part of the quiet early morning hours must have been given to his researches, which ever led him into further ones. This was known to his secretaries, but probably to few others.

The tale of Sadler's educational activities outside Oxford is past telling. It was inevitable that he should be consulted on educational matters the world over and promote liberal ideas whenever he was consulted. So long as Randall Davidson was Archbishop of Canterbury there were endless appeals from Lambeth for advice from 'the wisest of Councillors'. Weekly

letters passed between Sadler and Hartog, for Sadler's interest never slackened in the University with which he and its Vice-Chancellor had been so long and so creatively engaged. But there were other things which made perpetual calls upon him. He was chairman of the English Committee of the International Conference on Examinations and was closely concerned with its numerous publications and of course with its conferences; this work went on even after he left Oxford, for in the summer of 1935, when he was close on seventy-four, he attended the second quinquennial meeting of the International Conference held at Folkestone and made some of the most humorous and trenchant contributions to its sessions. In 1930 he gave the Sachs Foundation lectures in Columbia, which have some bearing on his uneasiness about the examination system in this country. One of his notes for the lectures runs:

'I feel very grave concern about the future of English education. The momentum of a great machine of examinations pushes us hopelessly, I fear, further and further away from the possibility of making English education consonant with the creative faculty of many English minds. Inert ideas are at a premium. To implant them is the cheapest way of giving what looks like a liberal education. But inert ideas are a blight on the mind and on the individual judgment.'

Yet again he was harping on the importance of giving free play to English gifts and genius and to his consequent hatred of anything mechanical in education.

He accepted the Presidency of the New Education Fellowship largely for this reason, the object of the Fellowship being to study and encourage new experiments and developments in education and he made a considerable contribution to its meetings and its work.

Among the most important of his external educational services was that rendered to the Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, set up under the aegis of the Colonial Office,

under the Presidency of Mr Ormsby Gore, then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. Other prominent members were Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard and Mr J. H. Oldham,[1] and after a while, on Sir Michael's suggestion, Dr Sara Burstall.[2] The Committee, which was largely responsible for the establishment of Makerere College in East Africa, owed much to the memoranda prepared for it by Sadler. With his usual skill and speed he made himself master of the situation in Africa in a way which won the admiration of directors of education in tropical Africa though he himself had never been there. His small book on elementary education published during this time proved of special value to those who had to cope with the most elementary beginnings of primary education among backward peoples. The Committee appointed in 1923, at first for three years, was reappointed for a further three and it is generally known that its conclusions and recommendations bore remarkable fruit in the furtherance of education in Africa.

None who know anything about Sadler will be surprised to learn that this incursion into the affairs of Africa carried with it an intense awakening of his interest in African and primitive art, leading to the invasion of his house by strange wooden figures, which more often fascinated their owner than his visitors. This preoccupation led to the foundation of an Indigenous Art Sub-Committee under his chairmanship, which in its turn led to the publication of a book edited by him on *The Arts of West Africa*, to which he contributed a short preface, an article entitled 'Significance and Vitality of African Art' and a 'Bibliography of Indigenous Art in West Africa'. It will be noted that all this was recognized by the Colonial Office as essentially educational since the committee itself was a sub-

[1] J. H. Oldham. Secretary of the International Missionary Council.
[2] Sara Burstall. Retired Headmistress of the Manchester Girls' High School.

committee of the one on education. A further outcome was an exhibition of African Art at the Adams Gallery in 1935 Sadler contributed a preface to the catalogue, as well as many of the exhibits.

In 1929 he joined and became one of the most active members of the Advisory Committee set up by the Colonial Office on Education in the Colonies. Even when through illness he was unable to attend the monthly meetings the committee would acknowledge its indebtedness to him for the useful memoranda he had sent. Especially valuable contributions from him came on higher education in Palestine, concerning university and technical education; on bilingualism; on the possibility of a special local examination for West Africa, a scheme which brought him into touch with Oxford again through its local examinations delegacy. He was chairman of a sub-committee on the use of the vernacular, a subject in which he had been much interested in India. And he accepted membership under Dr Sara Burstall's chairmanship of a committee on the education of African women.

A volume could be filled by an account of his ardent work for education throughout the Empire. His interest in the matter was inexhaustible. It would almost seem as though his time must also have been inexhaustible. For he did not just sit on committees as so many do, he worked for them, read for them, wrote for them. When consulted about membership of any committee he would say that it was no use to have members who could not give much time to the business in between the meetings: not only for the reading of agenda and of papers submitted for each session, but such literature as gave the background to the subject to be studied. He constantly supplied bibliographies to those who asked for them and he had generally assimilated the whole of their contents.

His interests went far beyond the Empire, great though his contribution was to India, the Dominions and the Colonies.

He had for instance always been interested in China and had accumulated a mass of literature on its educational system and was eager that the West should learn from the East, while opening anything it might have to offer to China and other oriental countries.

Early in 1925 he was approached by Dr Soothill, Professor of Chinese in Oxford, on the subject of the use of what remained of the Boxer Indemnity Fund. Within nine days of the matter being raised to him, Sadler had secured the signatures of 574 senior members of the University to a memorandum which was sent in to the Foreign Office asking that the money should be allocated exclusively to educational and medical work in China. He had immediately obtained the blessing of the Vice-Chancellor, whose signature and those of the Proctors joined those of twenty-four heads of colleges and halls and thirty-seven professors and readers. In the long run and after much controversy the money was used much as the petitioners suggested. He felt unable to accept an invitation from the Foreign Office to serve on a committee to go further into the question of the use of the Indemnity Fund, but his interest in China never failed. He was an active member of the Board of Governors of the West China Union University, which had sprung from the efforts of missionary societies in different countries. Minutes of the governing body record meetings held at University College under his chairmanship. He was always anxious that the management of the Christian Universities in China should pass more and more into Chinese hands. In Oxford he managed to see a good deal of Chinese students and expressed his pleasure in the society of those who had so much natural dignity.

But numerous as were the tasks he undertook outside Oxford (not to mention the quantity of speeches which he made in different parts of England), his refusals to speak and to serve outside Oxford and outside England were more numer-

ous still. Mr Sadleir has mentioned some of the more important invitations he declined.[1] He was not at all willing to qualify for the title of 'absentee Master'. Mrs Broadley, who was his secretary for the larger part of his time at University College, writes that he hardly ever spent a night away from College in term time. This was due in the main to his desire to fulfil his obligations as Master, but also to his constant anxiety about his wife and care for her. She was in failing health and he wished to be at hand to take her out in a bath chair and render her such services as his overfull life permitted. From time to time his own health gave trouble and once or twice on the advice of his doctor he abandoned some of his activities, though it is doubtful whether, after the first, the strain was really relieved, as he soon filled up every gap in his time with other work.

It is good to know from Mr Sadleir of the time kept sacred for holidays with him, holidays from which the Master returned to his many avocations like a giant refreshed.

In the University there was considerable competition for his services and he gave them without stint. Within a year he was elected to the Hebdomadal Council, the governing body of the University, and to three other major councils and delegacies. The number multiplied year by year. And on every body on which he served he was known as the youngest member, for new schemes sprang up in his presence and in his wake. He was often a disconcerting member, for he would come to a meeting full of his latest preoccupation. He would say to the first fellow committee member he met on entering the room, 'Have you ever studied the Sadducees? A most interesting people': or he would produce from under his arm a large Bible, place it on the table and confide to his next-door neighbour that he was hunting for the passage in which Solomon had said that 'speech is silver, but silence is golden'—following up the con-

[1] *Michael Ernest Sadler*, note, p. 340.

fidence later by a postcard saying that it was not Solomon after all, but some German philosopher, quoted in English, as far as he could make out, for the first time by Thomas Carlyle. But none of these side-issues, all as far removed as possible from the business of the meeting, prevented his giving the closest attention to it and making the most fertile suggestions. Not all were practicable, but he produced more that were of use than any other member of the bodies on which he served.

His contributions were often far more shrewd and practical than those of even the most experienced administrators. An instance is given of this in a letter written by the Rev. Alex. Fraser relating to an occasion when he was Principal of the great African College of Achimota and he met the Colonial Office Committee concerned with African education of which Sadler was a member. The letter begins: 'I want to remind you of one of your great victories, one of your most eloquent speeches and one of the greatest services you rendered African Education.' The letter goes on to describe the pressure which was put on its author to make the college secular, or supply it with a religious catechism of instruction 'which could be approved by the Roman Bishop, the head of the Presbyterian Mission and the head of the Wesleyans. I thought it hard and was perfectly willing to resign rather than agree to either alternative.... Ormsby Gore, Lugard, Oldham, Sir Hugh Clifford all tried to make me reasonable and you kept silent, and then when everyone was fairly well worn out you raised your head, looked down the long table to Ormsby Gore and said something like this, "I have no doubt that we all have considerable confidence in Mr Fraser, but are we not stretching it somewhat when we demand that he should draw up a form of Christian teaching acceptable to all types of Christian thought within the next month? It is a task which has been attempted for nineteen hundred years without success." That killed the proposal, and as the Advisory Committee were in favour of

religious instruction, I was allowed to carry on for the time being.' Mr Fraser concluded by saying that the arrangement which he made for handing over the care of the Roman Catholics to a member of their own church had proved satisfactory and also acceptable to the highest authorities of the Roman Church. Mr Fraser, recalling the episode, writes of the four distinguished men who had tried to persuade him to be reasonable and points out how Sadler rose to heights above them all and adds that Lord Lugard was delighted. All who served with Sadler on committees can recall similar occasions on which he saved the situation by timely and skilful intervention.

He pressed at an early stage, though unsuccessfully, for the founding of a Chair of Education in Oxford, which is now the one university in the country which has no Professor of Education. (Cambridge shared the honour of being without such a possession when Sadler returned to Oxford).

Then there was the great question of the Extension of the Bodleian Library. All who worked with Sadler on any educational body quickly became aware of his strong insistence on good and accessible libraries as providing the life-blood of education, higher or lower. He would produce statistics showing how miserably poor in many cases was the proportion of funds spent on books by educational bodies. When, therefore, he became one of the curators of the Bodleian Library and realized how starved it had been in the matter of funds and how urgent was the need for new accommodation if the library was to serve future generations, his anxiety and his activity on its behalf knew no bounds. Sir Edmund Craster, Bodley's librarian from 1931–1945, kindly allowed me a preview of his history of the library, from which it appears that in 1925 the Society of Friends of the Bodleian was founded, mainly through Sadler's enthusiastic drive. It was the first society of its kind to be formed for any English library, though

the idea of some such body had been mooted as early as 1912. The annual contributions from this fund have made a substantial addition to the resources of the library.

The matter of providing space for books and readers for the future was a larger issue, needing truly great donations and much consideration as to what buildings should be erected. Sadler was immediately to the fore again. In 1926 he drew up a pamphlet clearly setting out five alternative schemes for the future of the library. A month after its publication he received a message from an American citizen stating that he would consider giving £500,000 for the erection of a new building. Sadler was made chairman of a committee to recommend a site, which it did within four weeks.

Controversies over the site and the actual kind of building to be erected have tended to obscure the leading and successful part taken by Sadler in 'getting something done'. It is not suggested that nothing would have been done without him, certainly he would have been horrified if anyone had made such a suggestion; but it was characteristic of him and his methods that once he took a leading part in anything the results were swift.

Mr Sadleir has said something about the discussions over buildings and sites which dragged on for some years[1] and Sir Edmund Craster's book will give future generations all they wish to know further on the matter. Mr (now Prof. Sir) E. Ll. Woodward was the chief protagonist of a scheme for a single great new building and for a time he enlisted Sadler's support. This scheme was rejected, but Professor Woodward writes that he thinks Sadler's interest in it was 'mainly an aesthetic interest. He didn't want a mere book deposit in Broad Street and the thought of a fine building in a garden site excited him more than anything relating to the efficiency of the Bodleian as a library'. This is in a sense countered by

[1] Ibid, pp. 344, 345.

the evidence of those who tell of Sadler's intense concern with the efficiency of the library and his frequent insistence on the fact that the purpose of any library is to give the best possible facilities to those who want to read in it. But it is also true that he gave the most careful attention to anything which might affect the beauty of Oxford. He had clay models made to show the change which would be wrought in the silhouette of the city by the addition of any lofty buildings. He would show these models to any who were interested, saying how much concerned he had been lest the silhouette should be spoilt, but when you examined the model from every angle you became aware that the city really had no silhouette!

The final compromise bore a general resemblance to the original scheme suggested by the committee over which Sadler had presided in 1926, though he had for a time been won over to the idea of a large and more complete library. When he thought no more could be done for the larger scheme and he found Mr Woodward unhappy about the abandonment of the fight, he wrote him a long letter at the end of October, 1928, apologising for over-amiability and expressing something of his reasons for not forcing any issue too far:

'. . . there is a good deal to be said for being patient at present—actively and strenuously patient, seizing opportunities as they come, hitting hard in argument, not funking anybody, speaking out, especially in private and in college meetings and in delegacies and in council, but not fighting each engagement *à outrance*, not calling in allies from outside except when publicity is essential to any hearing of our case here, to getting help financial and moral and when it brings in spontaneous allies. . . . But it's been my job to be in the outposts all my life and one gets into the habit of Brer-Foxing. Rightly to be condemned.

'Only, as a general rule—I think it is good strategy to be angry when you want to stop things; good tempered and patient when you hope (after all) to get something done. And

one thing is mixed up with another. The panorama has no intervals. And several reels are unrolling themselves, at different speeds, at once.'

Sadler ultimately fell in with the scheme adopted by the University which was in accordance with the recommendations of a Library Commission which had investigated continental and American libraries. He served first as Vice-Chairman and later as Chairman of the Curators' Building Committee.

Sadler's contributions to other university activities were not so noticeable, except those concerned with 'town and gown'. How far work for the city and the surrounding country are to be counted as educational is an open question. Open that is for most people. Not for Sadler, who, as has been seen, thought that it was the duty of universities to serve the cities in which they were placed and that good relations between the two were of the utmost importance if the university was to do its work successfully. Mr Sadleir has written at some length about the progress of the Oxford Preservation Trust, launched by H. A. L. Fisher, who was by that time Warden of New College. The preservation of the beauties and, as far as might be, of the peace of a seat of learning seemed to Sadler to come happily within his educational work and Oxford to-day owes much to his efforts.

Many, especially among those who had known Oxford before the days of motors, were appalled by the damage done to the beauty of the place and the danger to its buildings by the thronging and heavy traffic of its streets. But none was so active as Sadler in proposing plans for the preservation of the University. He collected facts about the vibrations of the buildings, which he printed in the University College magazine. Not all his plans were popular. Indeed some were much the reverse. It is impossible to propose plans for any city without running up against vested interests and hardly possible to

[1] Ibid., pp. 146–7.

frame plans for the preservation of the streets of Oxford which would not endanger some college playing field or be destructive of the glories of Christ Church meadows.

In his intense anxiety that town and gown should be brought together Sadler did not content himself with sitting on such bodies as that of the City of Oxford School, but made those concerned with education in all its branches welcome at his house and such welcome was extended to all those responsible for the administration of the city. He founded in Oxford, as he had done in Leeds, a luncheon club, which brought together men of all sorts and avocations and broke down as far as might be any aloofness between those of the academic and civic worlds. He became an active member of the City's Publicity Board.

The City Council recognized his generous services by unanimously agreeing to confer on him in 1931 the Freedom of the City 'in grateful recognition of eminent services rendered to the City'. The Town Clerk of Oxford writes that during this century Sir Michael Sadler is the only Honorary Freeman who was the head of a college and held high office in the University. The Town Clerk also writes that the records of the city are not specific in stating what were the 'eminent services' which won this honour, but that Sir Michael's name appears frequently in connection with various memoranda submitted by the Oxford Preservation Trust on the planning of the northern by-pass and the approaches to the city. Sadler's gifts of pictures to the city and of land, in memory of his wife, to the Oxford Preservation Trust were an expression of his happiness in the growing good relations between University and city. The city had hoped for further service from him as Mayor, but having passed the age of seventy and being near the moment when, against the wishes of his College, he insisted on retiring, he reluctantly refused.

In telling of these things, educational work 'proper' has

somewhat dropped out of the picture. The dividing line between educational and other work was invisible to him and is perhaps non-existent in fact. But it is impossible to appreciate his work in any sphere without some mention of the things which he did in many fields, for all were enriched by the range of his work and interests.

Turning finally to what he did for the College of which he was the head, all who knew him in that capacity say that no dividing line is possible. 'He was an education in himself' is the common phrase used about him. None came into contact with him without some widening of the vision. Sir John Maud, who held a research fellowship at the College from 1929 and became Dean in 1932, very specially insists on this aspect of the Mastership. All members of the College, from the most senior to the most junior, obtained an entry to a wide and highly civilized world in the Master's Lodgings. They were introduced to every sort of person, writers, artists, statesmen from all countries and were assured afterwards, often by a note from their host, that the eminent guests had taken special pleasure in their company. There was no false flattery in this, for Sadler, full of delight in the young dons and undergraduates, would win unconsciously from the guest of the evening some cordial expression, which would immediately be handed on. Himself a wonderful talker, he preferred to leave the field to others and such was his skill that the tongue-tied became vocal while the brilliant glittered. He would encourage the tyro in conversation not only by paying the most intense attention to any utterance, but by repeating in an appreciative undertone any phrase which caught his attention. With the more eminent his technique was different; determined to make them play up for the sake of his other guests he would be in turn provocative, challenging and sympathetic. So H. G. Wells would wax autobiographical and explain that he thought it the salvation of his parents that, though both were in domestic service, they

were too high in the hierarchy to receive tips. Princess Bibesco would say that a woman against whose company she had been warned, but whom she had invited to lunch because she liked to see everybody 'just once', was like a 'black predatory nut-cracker'. He had some difficulty when entertaining von Ribbentrop in 1934[1] one evening after dinner, when Sadler was determined to make him talk politics and for some time he refused to be drawn. His host's tactics grew ever more provocative until at last Spengler having been mentioned, he asked Sadler whether he had ever read him.

'No,' said Sadler looking incredibly puckish, 'isn't he rather an ass?'

Von Ribbentrop drew himself up, apparently somewhat affronted, and said 'No, I do not think he is an ass' and went on to say that though he did not agree with Spengler in everything, there was one thing with which we must all agree 'if the very elements of Western civilization are to be preserved', namely that the individual must be sacrificed to the cause.

'And what,' asked Sadler, looking if possible more puckish than before, 'are these elements of Western civilization which you are so anxious to preserve?'

Von Ribbentrop, clearly unaccustomed to such a challenge, began with the Christian religion, a statement which was received in unacquiescent silence by those present, and went on to art. This was rather too much for some younger member of the company, who objected that the art of China, Persia, Japan and India were not exactly negligible. At this stage Sadler clearly threw up the sponge and made no further attempt to draw out a man who appeared to utter nothing but clichés.

The best of Sadler's talk was reserved for social occasions on which there was no distinguished guest present, when he would himself entertain his companions, of whom there

[1] Ibid., pp. 369–71.

might be only one or two, with flashing wit ranging over an immense number of subjects and all the while seeking for some opening which would win contributions from those who were with him.

His company and the company he provided and laid at the feet of members of the College were certainly a liberal education; as were the varied collections of works of art which were scattered all over the house, the latest acquisitions being shown with pride to all comers. It must be admitted that Sadler, his guests and his possessions were sometimes overstrong meat for the undergraduates. Even some of the senior members of the University and of the College were filled with consternation by some of the objects which found an honoured place in the Master's Lodgings. It is credibly reported that one of the most senior and distinguished members of the College refused to visit the Master in his study upstairs, when a large and primitive wooden figure from Africa was placed on the half-landing. He declared that it had been set there to cast the evil eye on him and nothing would induce him to pass it. Some less intimidating meeting-place had to be found on the ground floor. There were moments when the Master's sense of fun got the better of his tact, and finding that some of the objects he showed shocked the susceptibilities of his guests, he could not resist showing them things which would shock them even more. He would encourage them to say just what they thought about his exhibits and shake with laughter at the result. But though such displays may not have been tactful they were educational. Many who saw them owed their awakening to the world of modern art, and their joy in it, to a series of shocks administered by Sadler. Shocks frequently provide the first approach to appreciation and thought.

Something of the effect which Sadler produced on the minds of those who were fortunate enough to be at University College when he was there is shown in their letters. One of

these from Mr Alfred Stirling, Australian Ambassador to the Hague, is quoted by Mr Sadleir [1]. Mr Hogg, another Australian, now a Master at Eton, writes:

'It is his conversation I remember best. He seemed to be able to talk on a great diversity of subjects with expert knowledge and in a fascinating manner; indeed the range of his mind was vast. At times I used to find it hard to follow him, since his mind had moved forward three or four moves while mine had made but one. But this was a stimulus and a liberal education in itself. I shall never forget the conversation at Headington, which Alfred Stirling mentions in a letter at the end of Michael Sadleir's *Life*. I was the other Australian present on that occasion and well recollect the delight caused by the flights of imagination and the shafts of wit which flashed from him on that day.'

Mr Hilton, now representative of the British Council in Palestine, who was at University College during Sadler's last year there, 1933–1934, writes:

'To think back some sixteen years in search of someone who was rather felt as an influence, a presence, than known as a person is a Proustian exercise in which I am not much practised. For the first-year undergraduate as I was during his last year as Master of University College, Sir Michael Sadler was the "Mugger"—a rather short, rosy-faced and awesome personage with a glory of white curls.... About this personage there was an aura of benevolence that was only modified, crystallized and in no way diminished by closer contact. Vague awe for the Master became firm regard for the man who by so long familiarity with and contemplation of works of art as much as by long living and hard working in a world of men and affairs had acquired a wisdom that saw through all the mental muddle and pretentiousness of youth to some truths that we could only guess at and would perhaps never find.

'To dine with him at the Master's Lodging was an initiation into a new world of values. One had known paintings and

[1] Ibid., pp. 414–15.

sculptures in public galleries, in museums of dead things: but here, in this house, where, as I remember it, Cézannes hung in the bathroom for lack of other wall-space, they became living things. A picture by Kandinsky that in an exhibition was merely a disturbing object, became here a living prophecy, a speaking forth that his enthusiasm and his knowledge made intelligible. In this man one felt there was a touchstone—perhaps something of eternal youth but purged of the ignorance, the uncertainty and the conceit of youth.

'The farewell dinner that he gave the College has naturally lost distinctness at this distance in time: it remains in my mind as a sadness—a feeling of "what shall we do without him?" that his successor, dear though he was, could do nothing and did, in fact, nothing to dispel. In the three years between this dinner and my own going down it seems the College lacked a head, wanted features.

'You must forgive me that these memories are so vague and general: although I am one of the last of Sir Michael's undergraduates, it is all a long time ago. As I say my memories are more of an influence or a presence that to me, at least, was wholly good then and wholly pleasant in retrospect. I had so little to do with him personally—but that little opened my eyes wider and with my eyes, I believe, my mind. And that must have been true of many.'

Dr Paul Swain Havens, President of Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa., writes:

'Sir Michael commanded the unwavering respect of University College, both dons and undergraduates. I doubt that the undergraduates fully recognized his distinctions, but there was none who was not aware of his distinction. I have often watched him come through the College gate from the High when there was a group of gay undergraduates by the porter's lodge. The gaiety did not cease, for Sir Michael loved gaiety; but there was an instantaneous stiffening of the spine and a little hush which indicated better than any words the respect in which Sir Michael was held. More than anything else I think that respect was based upon Sir Michael's acknowledged

interest in quality in a world which worshipped quantity. He himself was a pre-eminent example of quality, both mental and spiritual.

'Moreover, we all *liked* Sir Michael. Perhaps it was because his cheeks were so rosy and his posture so erect; but I think it was more because of his essential kindliness. It was in his greeting to us all and in the tone of his voice as he read Evensong in Chapel. It was evident in his official relationships with us and also in the drawing room of the Master's Lodgings. . . .

'Sir Michael impressed us by the scope of his learning and by his power to relate one field to another. The College literary society was discussing one evening the poetry of John Donne, and Sir Michael was one of the guests. The paper, I suppose, was competent enough, but the assembly came to life when Sir Michael drew a very astute comparison between the poetry of the early seventeenth century and the architecture of the main quadrangle of University College. I know that from that evening dated one man's lifelong interest in the architecture of Oxford and in the reflections there visible of many social and intellectual movements.

'There was only one college event which we felt Sir Michael did not anticipate with pleasure or attend with particular joy. That was a Bump Supper. The University boats in those days were strong and we had a succession of Bump Suppers both after Torpids and after Eights' Week. They were no more hilarious than other Bump Suppers, but Sir Michael was a teetotaller and appeared to be uneasy. Perhaps the greatest of all proofs of his kindliness was that, whatever he may have felt about these occasions, he still managed to propose the final toast . . . with a smile that was wholly without accusation or disapproval. Then he would promptly disappear from the room, order the gates locked and leave us all to the Dean.'

This last paragraph in Dr Havens letter touches on a subject which was evidently a great concern of Sadler's, that of discipline.

The question of college discipline was a burning one in the twenties throughout the university world. It was a world

which had gone dancing mad. In some colleges and among certain groups there was heavy drinking and University College was not free from such a group. Sadler arrived in Oxford in the autumn term of 1923 ahead of his wife and wrote in a letter to her in October that he was 'being very careful not to be a new broom. But things must be tackled thoroughly as they come up. These questions of discipline especially'. He would not have dreamed of mentioning such a matter to anyone else outside the College, and even within it he would only do so to those who were resident or in some way immediately concerned. There is just one reference in one of his weekly letters to Hartog, written at the end of 1924, which expressed satisfaction because the men, who he said were doing well, had voluntarily decided to give up a smoking concert, which had, though an old institution 'become rather riotous and unseemly'.

Stephen Spender, who was an undergraduate at University College in the twenties, writes that the college 'known then as "the pub in the High" was claustrophobic. A student was not thought well of if he had to do with men of other colleges'.[1]

It took Sadler some time to deal with the situation. It appears that he instituted a long-period policy of widening the clientele of admissions to the College, bringing to it men from the new grammar schools. He made a special point of accepting many of the innumerable invitations he received to give away prizes and speak at the Speech Days of such schools. His eloquence and personal charm, not to mention his great reputation in the educational world, readily won candidates for entrance to the College of which he was head. Sons of old students had to compete with boys from these new schools and get in on their merit, not solely on their heredity.

It is difficult to determine from the evidence available how far the improvement in the College which undoubtedly occurred in Sadler's time was due to his influence and how far to

[1] *World Within World*. Stephen Spender.

changing conditions not only in Oxford but in other universities. Increases in the number and size of scholarships everywhere made it possible for lads from the newer secondary schools to compete with those from more ancient ones. The wealth of the twenties gave place to the comparative poverty of the thirties, and with poverty came sobriety.

The habit of snatching at anything which could be called pleasure, of which men and women had been deprived in the second decade of the century, became wearisome to those with no special sense of deprivation and in increasing numbers they found delight in things which were not labelled 'Pleasures'. But senior members of University College who insist that it was a very different and much better place when Sadler left it than when he came to it, attribute the change unhesitatingly to his influence and to his work.

He made a point of encouraging and promoting modern studies. The Honours School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics was new when he became Master and he was one of the few who had taken the School of Literae Humaniores, 'Greats', who was favourable to the new School of 'Modern Greats'. It gave him particular pleasure when the University Readership in Economics came the way of University College, where it was combined with a tutorship. He was yet more delighted when Mr G. D. H. (now Professor) Cole, was chosen for the post. Mr Cole's reputation as a writer and as a mine of information on economic matters was great and the Master was keenly aware of the distinction which his appointment would bring to the College. He was, of course, fully conscious of the fact that Mr Cole's political opinions were unpopular in many quarters and therefore rejoiced very specially in his popularity among senior members of the College. He said, 'They like Cole much better than they like me; he is bright red, I am merely pink. They rightly prefer the more vivid colour'.

During Sadler's Mastership Mr Basil Blackett[1] gave a scholarship open to those who were to read for the new school, the popularity of which increased rapidly. It proved its value, not only in Civil Service examinations and in various walks of life, but in the awakening of intellectual interest in those who had found more ancient studies arid. Constant encouragement, which involved constant stimulus, from the Master helped much in the development of modern studies in University College.

Sadler neglected nothing which might raise the standards of the College or help him to a personal knowledge of its undergraduates. Each year he examined the general papers written by candidates for entrance and scholarship. It was a long and not very exhilarating piece of work, but it was dear to him because of the knowledge it gave him of those who might come up. That he considered one of the most important parts of his work: he would say with a gleam in his eye 'I am getting to know undergraduates'. It seems that he almost welcomed occasions on which there was slight illness among them, for they gave him opportunities of making personal visits to their rooms, whether in college or in lodgings, bringing fruit or flowers or some other offering. The present Master of Balliol, Sir David Keir, who was Dean of University College during some of Sadler's early years there, declares that he was the best sick-room visitor ever known. Mr Hogg confirms this and writes of 'the keen interest he took in the welfare of the undergraduates. This extended not only to their academic progress but to their health and well-being.' Mr Hogg also writes of the Master's whole-hearted devotion to the College as the mainspring of all his actions at University College, and goes so far as to say that Sadler's outside work was done for the sake of the College. This of course was not the case directly, though the fact that anyone so eminent outside Oxford was the head of the College redounded to its honour. It is also true that he would never

[1] Later Sir Basil Blackett.

have undertaken any work outside the College which interfered with what he could do for it.

He was keen on college sports. One letter to Hartog relates how he had been running beside the college boat. As far as possible he was present at contests in which the College was engaged. He also took an intense interest in college societies, some of which were moribund when he came; he attended the meetings and did what he could to revive them, with considerable success. Some of the undergraduates were at first somewhat surprised at the incursion into their meetings of the head of the College, but his presence soon won a welcome because of the life it brought to the proceedings.

He was unable to entertain as freely as he would otherwise have done because of his wife's failing health, so that for many years breakfast at which she was not present was the only meal to which he could invite undergraduates. The extent to which he got to know them in the circumstances was remarkable, for his own health was none too good in the twenties.

The death of Lady Sadler in 1931, the 'Beloved Friend' and sympathetic companion on whose strong support, penetrating sincerity and unshakeable standards he had relied for forty-six years made him retreat from the world for a time.

But he emerged for the sake of the College and of a young granddaughter, and the Master's Lodgings, and the house at Headington to which he went when he retired in 1934 became centres of great hospitality for members of the College past and present.

In addition to his work for and with undergraduate members of the College with its far-reaching effects in liberal education, there were other important college activities. Senior as well as junior members of the College have told of these. Sadler took on the editorship of the college magazine, the *Record*, which consisted of a meagre four pages in 1923 and by 1934 of eighty-three. Year by year it grew, with lengthy editorials and articles

from the Master, and as time went on, illustrations became frequent, showing early stages of the college buildings or giving portraits of eminent University College men.

Mrs Broadley tells something of Sadler's early efforts to get into touch with former undergraduates of the College of whom there was no effective record, by extensive advertisement. And he then instituted weekends for them, so reviving their interest in and affection for their College.

Much of his thought for the College expressed itself in care for its beauty. He wrote to Mr Stirling in December, 1932:

'The Hall has been very carefully redecorated—with walls you wouldn't know for new and with bright touches of colour on the pendants of the roof and the spandrels of the screen. A difficult job but one well worth a month's very careful experimenting and oversight.

'A new and attractive college store has been opened in the seventeenth-century basement under the Hall. Italianate vaulting....

'The chapel is being lighted by electricity. This was a venture. We took enormous trouble to try out the best methods. The candles we keep—whether they will be lighted we dont't know.... At the top of the west screen is a floodlight turned onto Sir William Jones's memorial carving (not flaunting). And the reredos is discreetly lighted by two lines of downward lighting.'

The Very Rev. John Wild, Dean of Durham, until recently Master of the College, writes that Sadler:

'effected with his own hands a daring transformation of the Victorian east window. This was a complete success and the college has reason to be immensely grateful to him for it'.

And the Dean quotes from Sadler's own account of the change that:

'Sir Gilbert Scott, through dislike of Jacobean architecture, deliberately aimed at making a complete change in the appearance of the interior of the chapel. The stained glass with

which the new east window was filled was discordant with the colour and tone of the famous windows painted for the chapel by Abraham van Ling in 1642'.

The quotation goes on to explain that the alteration made (with no mention of the identity of the craftsman) could easily be removed and that none of Scott's work had been interfered with; it was merely concealed, for 'taste might change again'. The Dean goes on to say that Sadler's modesty and unselfishness were evident also in his generosity and he has little doubt that where the *Record* says that the cost of some change was borne by one of the members of the College it was generally borne by Sir Michael himself.

His care for the chapel sprang not only from his love of beauty, but from his strong religious sense and his delight in its services, at which he was present every morning. Canon Grensted, who was for some time chaplain of the College writes:

'Of course it was an immense support to me . . . that he was so intensely interested in the chapel and its services.'

None could tell the full tale of all he did for the College, for the simple reason that none could know it, not even he himself could have related it, for there was never any man whose right hand was less aware of the deeds of the left. Moreover as soon as one thing was done he was immersed in the next. Mrs Leys, widow of Mr Kenneth Leys who was history tutor at University College during Sadler's time there, says that her husband always declared that the best thing the College ever did was to elect Sadler as Master. His unremitting labours and his all-pervading kindness vitalized and warmed the college. His transforming influence was at work there as it had been in every institution with which he had to do. Now and then his kindness made it difficult for him to recognize the need for severity, though he would always loyally uphold any decision made by the Dean. Canon Grensted writes: 'I think it was part

of his strength that he liked everybody and could hardly think ill of anybody'. That had been both his strength and his weakness throughout life and it is so rare a thing that there were always some who could not believe in it.

Mr Kenneth Leys wrote of him:

'Strong as the interest was that Sir Michael Sadler took in the affairs of the city and of the University, after his return to Oxford, it was in the College where in a happy hour he chose to make his home that the qualities which were fundamental in his nature found their readiest and constant expression. He loved study because he loved men and especially he loved the young. The senior members could perhaps best appreciate his remarkable quickness and clearness of mind, his acute perception, the skill he had gained by a long and wide experience in affairs, his perfect fairness, his devotion to the College and to the harmony of its life. The whole College was proud of his gifts and his distinguished record of public service. Most of all the younger members and especially those who shared his "free and open nature', recognizing his superiority, were happy and at ease in the warmth of his sincere regard for each and grateful for his steady concern for their common life. Men of all conditions and occupations scattered through England and abroad, remember now his courtesy and consideration, his generosity, his grave integrity and his wise counsel.

'His gift of eloquence has been noticed. Always he spoke with taste and dignity. In his own College he spoke slowly, often very happily, sometimes with much care and effort and with great weight. The best of his utterances were addresses given in the college chapel. In these it was plain that greater than quickness of mind, fine taste and unusual range of interest and of knowledge, were his courage, his humility, the depth of his moral feeling and his quickness of heart. These expressed in his daily life and intercourse gave him his peculiar influence and gained for him warm and lasting affection.'

And, as Canon Hutchinson said at the end of the memorial service held for Sadler in St Mary's Church, Oxford: 'It was almost impossible to believe that anyone could be so kind.'

When Sadler left University College at the end of 1934 at the age of seventy-three, the following announcement appeared in the college magazine:

'The editor of this *Record* retires from the Mastership of University College on 31 December, 1934. He has held the office for eleven years. His resignation is due to a desire for more leisure for writing and in particular for completing the report of the International Examinations Inquiry, of the English Committee of which he is chairman. He will continue his work for the Oxford Preservation Trust. It is announced that his marriage to Miss Eva Margaret Gilpin, head mistress of the Hall School, Weybridge, and director of the summer holiday courses for British, French and German children, will take place on 18 December.'

The new address and telephone number at Headington were given so that those who wished to get into touch with him could do so.

Work for education still beckoned him, but the record of what he was able to achieve in his new home with the companionship of a wife whose brilliant educational work owed much to his early encouragement, is not of sufficient magnitude to call for another chapter. The examination inquiry work went on, including the publication in 1935 under his editorial chairmanship of a volume of *Essays on Examinations*. More than half the contents come from his pen, but both the articles he contributed had been published before. He still responded, though more and more seldom, to requests for speeches and he did much writing of fragments for the incomplete history of education and of various articles. Hospitality was dispensed unstintingly to all and sundry in the new home. Educational pundits from foreign countries as well as from all parts of England still sought out the man whose store of knowledge on matters educational was greater than that of any other and whose wisdom was highly prized. Although physical

powers began to fail soon after Sadler left University College, mental ones were as vigorous as ever and as much at the service of others.

He accepted the need for a quieter life with tranquil resignation and so long as his second wife lived he enjoyed an Indian summer. Even after her death in 1940 he would still write the most encouraging letters to those who he thought were trying to do good work for education and would be willing to see any whom he could help by advice. For that he could set aside his grief at her death and the death of a beloved grandson.

Dr Logan, Principal of the University of London, who was at University College first as undergraduate and then as a post-graduate student from 1928–1935, tells something of Sir Michael during his last years at the College and later:

'I came from the Liverpool Collegiate School, a secondary school which stemmed from an institution founded in the middle of the nineteenth century. The whole institution was reorganized in the first decade of the present century and I believe that in this process the advice given by Sir Michael Sadler was largely followed. He therefore knew my school and was interested in the people who came from it.

'This is in fact my most lasting memory of Sir Michael. He was interested in individuals and maintained that interest in a most vivid fashion remarkable in older people. At terminal "collections", even in the first year, we felt that he recognized us individually and knew what comments he had to make on our work without reference to the papers before him. His office on the ground floor of the Master's Lodgings was easily accessible and I do not remember any occasion when he was not available on due notice to undergraduates. If in fact we failed to consult him, the fault was ours and not his....

'He was at his best when entertaining undergraduate societies and his annual dinner to the Martlets—the College Literary Society—was an event not to be missed....

'At the close of the Michaelmas Term, 1934, he gave a dinner in Hall to the whole College and received us all after-

wards in the Lodgings. That evening has lived in the memories of many of us and I think there can have been few occasions when the retirement of the Head of an Oxford College caused so much personal regret amongst the undergraduate population.

'My visits to Oxford after 1935 were not frequent, but when I did go I never failed to go to the Rookery to see Sir Michael. I can remember vividly one Sunday afternoon in the autumn of 1938 in the uneasy stillness between Munich and the seizure of Czechoslovakia. The gloom of the outside world clearly depressed him and drove him more to his pictures. The topic . . . that afternoon was the work of David Jones, and Sir Michael lost himself and his forebodings as he developed the theme. Naturally he illustrated it by frequent references to the works of the artist which he himself possessed.

'I last saw him in February, 1941 when I went to the Rookery to introduce my wife to him. By this time the second Lady Sadler had died and the Rookery was being used to accommodate blind refugees from London. It was a damp morning of the type one often meets in Oxford during the winter and the Rookery was bitterly cold, but he did not seem to feel it. His last act was typical. Filled with unnecessary prickings of the conscience at not having sent us a wedding persent, he gave us there and then one of his own possessions—an original woodcut by Claire Leighton.

'I imagine that Sir Michael left different impressions on all of us. For my own part I suppose I went up to Oxford with a slight inferiority complex about coming from a working-class home and not having been to a public school. I soon learned that these were things to which he attached no importance and that he was interested in persons as persons. He stood out in vivid contrast to the intellectualism of some of the senior members of the University with whom we came into contact—intellectualism which on occasions could be very arid. There must have been occasions when his exuberance and perhaps even his irresponsibility were very trying to his colleagues—but of this we naturally saw nothing. What we saw was someone who, though seventy years old or more, still had the

intellectual vigour and enthusiasm of youth. Finally, he set an example in personal courtesy which I have rarely seen equalled and never excelled.'

Further quotations for this period come from his own letters to Mr Stirling:

21 *December*, 1937

'You are working in the quarter-square-mile where most is known of the International weather. I have been reading old Nick Machiavelli again and it's like some of the sentiments in certain foreign newspapers to-day. I hope we shan't have as long a time of storm and war as followed Machiavelli's activities. Anyhow there were great men and great discoveries then as there are now, but the pedestals are not so high or so firm to-day as they were in days of shorter communications.'

23 *September*, 1940

'Alas, five days ago my wife got worse. She is near the end of the journey. She was happy to have seen you. You know how much she cared for what you care for. Some time we'll meet. You are in the thick of things. The Australian policy has been one of the momentous things in our history. I look forward with confidence to a future I shan't live to see.'

25 *September*, 1940

'I must send a line of grateful thanks for your telegram which came last night. She felt the link deeply. It was a real pleasure to her to see you. Don't drop me!'

4 *July*, 1941

'We live in two worlds—personal relationship, and the Witches' Sabbath of Destruction. They often overlap. But often they are quite distinct and separate. Your message and my memories of you belong to the happy zone.

'Last night they kindly asked me to supper in Univ. King Alfred's bust has been taken from the mantel in Common Room and put into a darkish corner of the library basement. Now the panelling is unsplashed by white. They may have to turn the Shelley chamber into a tank of water for A.R.P. The first thing I saw in college was a slim, springy negro from

Achimota, near Accra. He is getting a first in Modern Greats.

'I find the Psalms nearer than most other things to the ups and downs of our hopes and fears.'

Many of the preoccupations which made Sadler so great an educational influence in University College are touched on in these last extracts. Happy human relationships; interest in the appearance of the College; delight in seeing a negro there and knowing that he was doing well, having himself done so much for negro education; concern with world affairs; and as always, turning to the Scriptures for light in darkness. And nothing of himself.

It may not be unfitting to quote here a prayer uttered by Sir Michael Sadler in Oxford at a time of great national stress, for it gives something of the purpose of his life, something of the means whereby he pursued it:

'O Lord Jesus, Son of God and Son of Man, use us if we are worthy of being used as human instruments of the Divine purpose. O Thou who art timeless, teach us who live in time how to read the signs of our time. Master and Servant, show us how through self-mastery to serve. Strengthen the weakness of our wills. Enlighten our minds. Chasten our hopes. Disarray our fears. Give us compassion, insight, wisdom, courage. Guide us, O Ancient of Days, Whose words are ever new, in adjusting new knowledge to ancient wisdom. In our hearts and minds sober the excitement of change by a sense of Thy changelessness. O Thou who art the Way, teach us the true way of life. Thou who art the Truth, make us fit to bear the trust of truth. Thou who art the Life, give us more abundantly of the life which flows from Thee.

'Humbly and penitently we ask this of Thee, who suffered and died for us and rose again from the dead to redeem us from evil.'

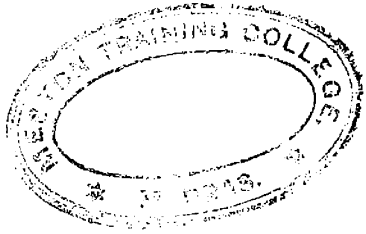
It has been possible to mention in this book only major achievements and not activities. Numerous bodies, committees, etc., may complain that it contains no mention of the work Sadler did for them. All that has been attempted is a record of the most outstanding of his achievements. No other Englishman has had so great, so diverse, so distinguished a record of creative work in education. None ever gave his life more consistently, more devotedly to any public service. None can have done it with greater gaiety and few with greater gifts and eloquence.

Yet, if all could be recorded of the things he actually did, many would feel that the tale was still but half told. For those who knew him, those who were inspired by his eloquent speech, his radiant personality, his wisdom and his enthusiasm will say that his greatest achievement lies in the hearts and minds of innumerable men and women to whom he gave confidence in themselves, belief in their work, courage to pursue it. The torch, which his ardour lit for them, they hand on to future generations and this many will say is his most glorious, his unnamed and undying memorial.

They may be right. Bishop Heywood, paying his own tribute and that of his congregation to this 'illustrious Englishman' in a memorial service held in Leeds, took as his text a passage from the *Second Book of Maccabees:* 'Thus this man died, leaving an example of nobleness and a memorial of virtue not only to the young but to the great body of his nation.' It is clear from the bishop's address that he knew but a fraction of the achievements of Michael Sadler, so sedulously had they been concealed by their author. But he knew the man and his greatness; knew his pioneering spirit; knew his Christianity; knew that he had sown seed which will, in the service of generations to whom he is unknown, bear fruit an hundredfold.

He was a man of vision, but not a dreamer. He was truly an artist and for ever creating. But he did not lay down laws, because he knew that if education were stereotyped it would die.

THE END



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